GUIDE TO THE AE3 SINO-TIBETAN BORDER FILE

[The AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border file is composed of a melange of cultural data on a number of relatively scattered non-Han tribal groups occupying generally the border region of western China (western and northwestern Yunnan, northwestern and southwestern Szechwan) and Tibet, with one group, the Mewu Fantzu, located on both sides of the Kansu-Ch'inghai border some 200 miles southeast of Koko Nor. The file focuses principally on five of these Border Peoples, the Min Chia, the Ch'iang, the Lu-tzu (Lisu), the Moso (Nakhi) and the Mewu-Fantzu. The Min Chia are located in western Yunnan between 25° 30' and 26° 40' N. and 99° 10' and 100° 20' E., north of the Burma Road, between the Mekong and Yangtze Rivers. The Ch'iang live in the region around the T'o and Min Rivers in northwest Szechwan. The Lu-tzu (Lisu) are found in western Yunnan, between 28° and 28° N., bounded on the east by the Salween-Mekong watershed and on the west by the Nmai Hka people. The Moso (Nakhi) occupy the region located in northwestern Yunnan between 26° to 29° N. and from 98° 30' to 102° E., on the west as far as the Mekong, north to the Tibetan border, and east into southwestern Szechwan. The location of the Mewu Fantzu is as noted above. Other groups of the Sino-Tibetan border peoples discussed briefly or noted in passing in the file are the Gia-rung, the Black River People, the Fan, the Ch'iu-tzu, Aka, Wa Ssu, Heh Shui, Iuh Hua, Gia-rung-Ch'iang, and Po-lo-tsu. Agriculture, herding, hunting and gathering, in that order, form the basic subsistence pattern for the Sino-Tibetan border peoples. Languages of the Tibeto-Burman family are spoken by most of the groups in the file sample, with bilingualism common, especially with regard to Chinese. Because of their geographical locations all of the Sino-Tibetan border peoples are

subject in varying degrees to acculturative influences from Tibet and China, this is especially to be noted with reference to religion (e.g., ancestory worship) and political and social structure.

Of the seven sources making up this file unit, four are in English (sources 1, 3, 4, and 5), two are translations from Chinese (sources 2 and 7), and one from the German (6: Stübel). There is no single source in the file that would give an over-view of the Sino-Tibetan border people as a whole, but 4: Liu does give some limited ethnographic information on the Ch'iang, Gia-rung, Fan and Black River People. In 1: Fitzgerald, written by a well-known Sinologist with considerable anthropological training, we have a thorough study of the economy, religion, social structure, value system and environment of the Min Chia people of Yunnan. 2: T'ao Yün-K'uei is a collection of creation stories obtained by the author, an ethnologist, from members of the Moso, Lisu, Ch'iutzu and Aka groups of Yunnan. 3: Torrance, also written by an ethnologist, is an attempt to show the common origin of the Ch'iang and the Hebrews through a comparison of their monotheism and other aspects of their religion. As noted above in 4: Liu, written by a geographer, outside of the limited ethnographic data it contains, this source also tries to show how the geographic environment affects the social organization of the Sino-Tibetan border peoples. 5: Graham presents some general ethnographic observations made by the author, an ethnologist, on the Ch'iang people during his contact with them in 1933 and again in 1941. 6: Stübel is a general ethnographic study of the Mewu Fantzu of Ch'inghai province, with special emphasis on religion. The author is an ethnologist. 7: Hu Chienmin, written also by an ethnologist, seeks to analyze Ch'iang religion in terms of classical anthropological usage. Elements of the religion which are clearly

acculturative are contrasted with aboriginal beliefs. Sources 1: Fitzgerald, 5: Graham, 6: Stübel and 7: Hu Chien-min are all rated as "5", or containing excellent primary data. Sources 2: T'ao Yün-k'wei, 3: Torrance and 4: Liu are rated as "4" or containing excellent secondary data. This file was originally called Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples. The word "peoples" was dropped during the processing of the file. As a result sources 1 to 6 have "Peoples" in the OWC code. Source 7 does not. All sources were processed in 1955-1956.]

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101 IDENTIFICATION--name of the society or cultural group; alternative names bestowed by selves and others; meanings of names; location of group with reference to comparable and larger groups; names given by selves to other groups; affiliation with a culture area or subarea; period as of which the culture is described, and its relationship to other time periods; local and temporal subdivisions employed in the classification of data; specification of date and locale of field study; etc. See also:

Territorial organization 63
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175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101 meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563 names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [29] Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563 disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554 plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829 are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

MAP OF ABORIGINE DISTRIBUTIONS

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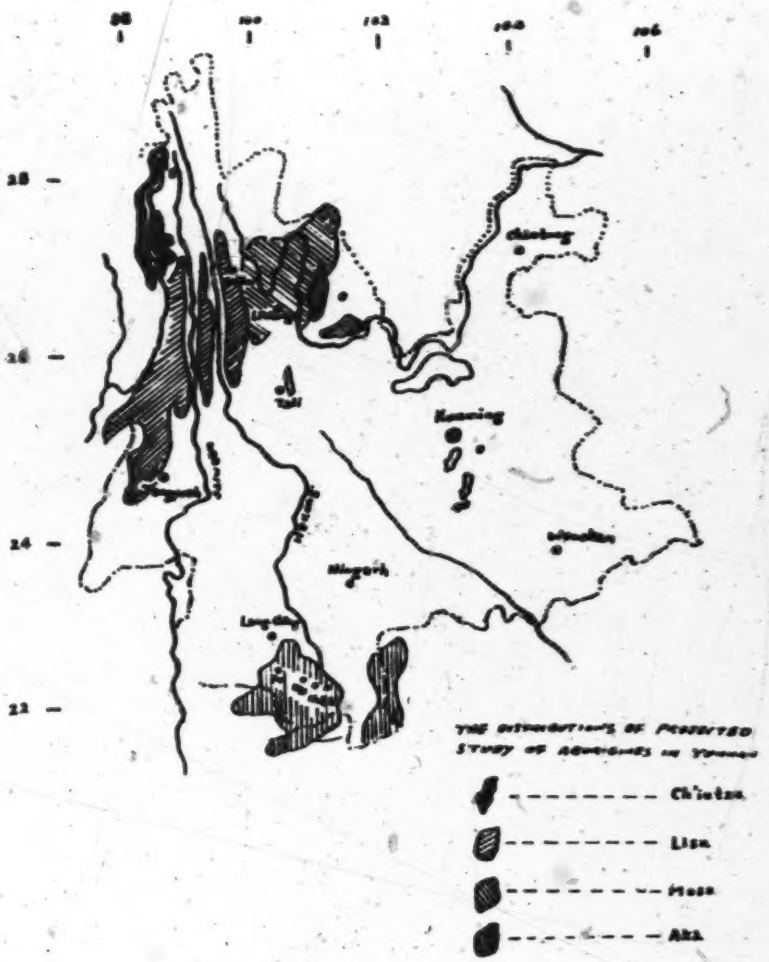

[4]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

5: Graham E-5 (1933, 1941) 1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farmlands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of

132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Tuh Hua and the Heh Shui, two

136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jin Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

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177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

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131 For four or

five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 The Lu-tzu 鹿子 have no written language, while the spoken language
212 itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and
262 their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor.
273 They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan Fu-i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 麗麥茶 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野夷). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*:—The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

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strange to say, it occurs here, in Burma, and on the island of Formosa, but nowhere else.

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The main peak of Ke-nyi-chum-po is a blackish rock, probably porphyry which rests on limestone, and rises from about the center of the mountain pass, with a rampart-like crest extending from its northern flank, sheltering the glacier. To the south-east the rocks are cut into steps and grooves, the result of former glaciation, for the main glacier is now retreating. The spur from which the panorama is described, adjoins a high, forested mountain, the sides of which, facing the gorge, are cleft into deep, narrow canyons with rock pinnacles extending along their sides. In the distance to the north-east a snow-covered range is visible, while towards the south lies the beautiful Salween—Mekong divide with its southern peak, the Nam-la-shu-ga, about 16,000 feet in height.

A trail leads on the northern valley slopes of Si-ki-t'ong, below the glacier to the summit ridge and thence over the Gom-pa La and several other passes to the Ch'iu Chiang 球江, or 球江, the Trun (spelled erroneously Taron on foreign maps) of the Ch'iu-tzu 球子. At the foot of the Gom-pa La is a large lake in a wilderness of rock; altitude approximately 14,000 feet. The Trun is the easternmost branch of the Nmai Hka, transcribed En-mei-k'ai Chiang 恩梅開江, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi which at Tu-lung 毒龍 flows at an elevation of 5,400 feet, there a rope-bridge spans it; it is the Du-dum of the Lu-tzu. This region is inhabited by Ch'iu-tzu, a tribe related to the Nu or Nu-tzu of the Salween.

Shang-p'a. — Below Tu-lung the Ch'iu Chiang is called Tu-lung Ho by the Chinese, and its eastern affluent, the Meh Hka the Lung-ku Ho 龍骨河 or Dragon bone River. Two terrible trails lead to P'u-t'ao 普討 (Fort Hertz) in Upper Burma, one from Lyu-ra-gang (the Yuragan of the maps) south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, and another trail via Si-ki-t'ong and the Gom-pa La to the north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.

The main or western branch of the Irrawadi, called Nam-ch'iu or Mali Hka, transcribed Ma-li-k'ai 麻里開 and Mai-li-k'ai Chiang 邁立開江, is not the Ch'iu Chiang of the Chinese but is called the I-lo-wa-ti Chiang 伊洛瓦底江, a transcription of the word Irrawadi.

Shang-p'a 上帕, or 上怕, the seat of a magistrate, whence the Li-su-inhabited part of the Salween is supposed to be governed, is situated at about the height of Li-chiang, on the eastern (left) bank of the Salween. A trail leads from Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 via La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴, salt-wells and Tien-shang 甸上 to Ying-p'an-kai 營盤街 on the Mekong, thence to So-lo 棧羅 via Chi-wei 吉尼; from So-lo one trail leads west to Chih-tzu-lo 知子羅 via the So-lo La and another north to Shang-p'a on the Salween. To the south of Shang-p'a is the hamlet of O-ma-ti 俄馬底.

The mountain range to the east of Shang-p'a is called the Nu Shan 怒山 (Shan-mo 山脈).

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The Ch'iu-tzu tribe. — The Ch'iu-tzu (PLATE 197), according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 202, p. 19b, "dwell beyond the great snow range of the Mekong. They belong to the wild tribes of the western region of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang.

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CHAPTER II

The Eight Mo-so Chieftaincies in South-West Ssu-ch'uan

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The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch'uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch'ien-so 前所 T'u-ssu (Front *So*) and the Tso-so 左所 T'u-ssu or (Left *So*); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so 中所 (Central *So*) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so 後所 (Rear *So*) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so 右所 (Right *So*) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left *So*) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch'uan. These comprise the Wu-so 五所 (Five *So* or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 T'u-ssu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh 瓜別 T'u-ssu in the north near the bend of the Li-t'ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t'ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河 (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T'u-ssu's southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T'u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t'ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la 阿撒喇 T'u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 草直廬,[1] whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 寧邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies' map, in fact the only one of the eight T'u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T'u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T'u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

1. KUA-PIEH 瓜別

"The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

[1] In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine *so* (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch'ien-so and Hou-so.

[p. 453]

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Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

S ST 651

"The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101

"There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173

Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner). — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, and where the distinction between them lies.

S ST 197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

S ST 101

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits, who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and Cochin China.

S ST

291 301 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

Yao AE6
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Lolo AE4

L 131 101 [291] 585 L 764 [102 cont.]
are very close relatives of theirs. The garments of the women are analogous to those of the "Pen-ti-lolo," but less decorated.

Marriages always take place during the winter.

The women follow the funeral corteges weeping, in the manner of the Annamese weeping women. When the head of a family has been buried, his sons keep a fire burning on his grave for nine days.

The "La-ti" (1)

1. See note 1 under "Lao" on page 110.

S 101 131 The "La-ti," most of whom are settled in the Chinese canton of Tu-long, are represented in Tonkin by about one hundred families, in the sectors of Xin Man and of Man Mei. They are also called "La-chi"; they call themselves by the name of "A-Khu" (the men). Their classification in the "Thai" group is rather doubtful.

[103] CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

[104] [Blank page in original text.]

[105] CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

Y 101 The term "Man" in the Chinese language literally signifies "rude barbarians." It is the name given by the Chinese to all the populations of foreign race inhabiting the southern borders of the empire.

The Chinese also call the group "Yao," which we designate by the name "Man," but bearing in mind the fact that many of the neighboring groups (Thai, Annamese, Chinese of Upper Tonkin and

S 342 [177] other customs. The houses (Plate VI, 3) are built in the wide marshy lake region, sometimes close to the shore, sometimes on small islands. For a great part of the year some of them stand directly in the water. Some of these settlements look like real lake dwellings. Communication between them can be done only by boat. Therefore the pile substructure must be particularly high and strong. There I found very large verandas. The awnings extending over them were also unusually large. The verandas were completely enclosed by low walls. This almost wholly walled-in room is used as living quarters and for visiting purposes. Wood is predominantly used for the houses, since they are very much exposed to moisture, and the same material is employed for the floors and walls. Striking are the long boards which cross each other at both gable sides over the awning and extend high in the air (15).

S [361]

15. About the same custom cf. below pp. 214, 217, 220 and 225, col. 1, fn. 2 at the sections about the houses of the Taungthu, Wa, Palaung, Meithei and Naga. About the same gable decoration of the Kha Paille in northern Laos: Mission Pavie /Pavian Mission/ 5 (Paris, 1902), p. 232. About the Intha villages in general, cf. also A. Fischer, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie /Journal for Ethnology/ Vol. 35 (1903), p. 982.

Si ●101 In Yunnan and the adjoining areas, and also dispersed in the eastern regions of Burma, live the Lisu, a Tibeto-Burmese tribe--1911: 8,487; they are known in the districts of Bhamo and Myitkyina as Yawyin, a name which they owe to the Kachin (16). Their center is in the Salween

31: Scherman--23 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

•101

16. The pronunciation of the name (Liso, Lisu, Lisaw, Li-Hsaw, Chinese: Lutzu) is disputed. It was pronounced by the inhabitants of the village of Pangsapyi as Lishō, Lishū. More recent literature: UBG I, 1, p. 587 (Lisaw, Burma) and p. 615 ("Lissu am Salween Yünnan") /Lisu on the Salween, Yunnan/; C.C. Lowis, "The Tribes of Burma" (Ethnographical Survey of India, No. 4, Rangoon, 1910), pp. 33 ff.; A. Rose and J.C. Brown, "Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 3, (1910), No. 4 pp. 249-277; R. Brunhauber, An Hinterindiens Riesenströmenx /On Indochina's Giant Rivers/ (Berlin, 1912), pp. 73 ff.

area. The wildest and most independent tribes live isolated in the barren highlands of the upper Salween.

The civilization of the Lisu shows mostly Chi-
177 nese influence. Rose and Brown report about
342 their architecture that at the upper Salween they use grass roofed pile dwellings under which they keep their domestic animals, and that they build ground level huts in the mountains at Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai (17). Their layouts apparently

17. Cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., p. 260 and Plates IV, Figure 2; VII, Figure 2; VIII, Figures 1 and 2. E.C. Young, "A Journey from Yün-nan to Assam," Geographical Journal Vol. 30 (1907), p. 159, describes Lisu houses, not far from Lu-kou, at the upper Salween--in the same area which was visited by Prince Henri d'Orléans; he too reports about the pile dwellings of the local

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

103

103 PLACE NAMES--lists of the names of settlements and geographical features; etymologies of place names; historical and cultural connotations; etc. See also:

Settlements . . . . . 36 Territorial divisions 831
Personal names 581

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su [276] or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

103 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for
it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan
Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho
T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to
Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172]
tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may
date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled
city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile
in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the
west and east walls by a third again, and building a new
south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old
south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of
Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Al-
though the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of
it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street con-
necting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and
west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes,
which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market
gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden,
and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and
fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression
of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some
ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus
probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

105

105 CULTURAL SUMMARY--synopsis of the whole culture (as a background for specific information); references to summaries in other works. See also:

Cultural history . . . . . 17 Ethos 181

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons. 174 177

5. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months. 174

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B.C. 1121. 174 171

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork. 174

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information. 105

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

5: Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

105 war, government, trade, and intermarriage, and they have been influenced by the Chinese more than by any other cultural group. The establishment of more friendly relations and the opening of primary schools in recent years have accelerated this influence.

Physically the Ch'iang are of the yellow race, possibly of the Tibetan-Burman racial group, with dark eyes, black and straight hair, and a brown complexion.

The Ch'iang have a supreme god whom they call Mu Bya Sei or Sky God, to whom they look primarily for help in their quest for a satisfying life. He closely resembles T'ien the god whom the Chou people worshipped as a supreme god in 1121 B. C. when the Ch'iang assisted the Chou in the war that put an end to the Shang Dynasty. The Ch'iang are not monotheists, for they have numerous gods which they have probably worshipped for many years, besides the Chinese gods whom they have learned to worship in recent times.

They have no written language, and the chants and rituals have been handed down by word of mouth from one priest to another. There are elaborate rituals with sacrifices for worship on the housetops and in the sacred groves. These rituals are most carefully and reverently performed. The gods and the priests have, it is believed, superhuman power made available through the ceremonies and through charms and incantations. The white stone is symbolic of the purity of the god, or gods, and near it communion can be had with the deities, who are actually present. The white stone possesses superhuman potency in common with charms, sacred implements, cowries, etc., and it is sometimes used as a means of protecting the homes from demons.

The Ch'iang are a strong and industrious people whose morals on the whole are good. They should be treated with sympathy and respect. With the cooperation and friendship of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, and with better schools and religious contacts, they can make a valuable contribution morally, commercially, and it may be culturally to the future of the western highlands and of China.

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China

113. 133. 177. 621. 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

113, 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

[For a cultural summary of the Ch'iang, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 49-50. --Analyst]

113, 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Akha

[For a cultural summary of the Akha, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, see category 116, Pp. 317-318. --Analyst]

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

111

111 SOURCES PROCESSED--complete bibliographical references to all sources actually processed, with a brief critique of each. Sources are numbered, and arranged numerically.

1: Fitzgerald, C. P., The Tower of Five Glories. London, The Cresset Press, 1941.

Pp. xii, 280; 31 plates; 3 maps; index; glossary.

Yale: Bj19, Y8, 94lf.

[The economy, religion, social structure and environment of the Min Chia people of Yunnan province is discussed in some detail by the author. Fitzgerald, one of the worlds outstanding Sinologist, has had anthropological training which enables him to handle this subject, which is essentially ethnographic, in a very able manner. Considerable insight into the customs and values of this people is given. The isolation both from greater China and the outside world is shown to be a factor against acculturation of the Min Chia. --Analyst]

Field date: 1937-1938
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Historian-5
Processed in 1955

2: T'ao Yün-k'uei. Chi-ko Yün-nan Tsang-mien yü-hsi t'u-tsu ti ch'uang-shih ku-shih [Some Creation Stories Told by the Native Peoples of the Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan.] Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung [Frontier Studies], pp. 1-12. Chengtu, 1945.

Yale: Bjla. P591.

Translated from the Chinese for the Human Relations Area Files by Yankee P. Tsang.

[These recorded creation stories were obtained by the author from members of the Moso, Lisu, Ch'iutzu, and Aka groups of Yunnan. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert E. Winter

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4
Processed in 1956

3: Torrance, T. The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Chiang. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. 6, pp. 31-48. Chengtu: West China Border Research Society, 1933.

5 plates.

Yale: Bj12. 67. 5-6.

[This article attempts to show the common origin of the Chiang and the Hebrews through a comparison of their monotheism and other aspects of their religion. In so doing the author describes the sacred groves where the Chiang worship, some of their sacred objects and beliefs, and some of their religious ceremonies and sacrifices. The author spent some time among the Chiang people in Northwestern Szechwan. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4
Processed in 1956

4: Liu, En-lan. The Social Customs of the Tribes Peoples as Affected by their Climatic and Geographical Environment. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, ser. A, Vol. XV, pp. 11-21. Chengtu: 1944.

Yale: Bj12.67.15 /a

[This article is a short description of the ethnic-linguistic affinities of various Sino-Tibetan border peoples, their geographic environment, and the effect of the latter on their social organization. The peoples discussed are the Ch'iang, Gia-rung, Fan, and Black River People. There is a map showing the distribution of these peoples in Li-Fan County (Hsien); this map would be more useful if latitude and longitude and scale of miles were given. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Geographer--4
Processed in 1955

5: Graham, David Crockett. The Customs of the Ch'iang. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, pp. 69-100, Vol. XIV, Series A. Chengtu: Yung Hsing Cooperative Press, 1942.

Yale: Bj 12.67.14A.

[This monograph covers the observations of the author on the Ch'iang, as a result of his contact with them in 1933 and again in 1941 as a member of a group sent to the borderland for social service and research. The author gives an excellent resume of the history and content of the culture of the Ch'iang with many excellent first-hand materials and clearly indicated secondary ones, covering its setting, anthropometry, economic life, habitations and settlement patterns, occupations, food, clothing, tools and utensils, social life, marriage, birth and death practices and the religious life, including ceremonies and the training of priests. There is also a brief discussion of the hypothesis that the Ch'iang are Hebraic in origin. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933, 1941
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955.

AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border
Mewu

6: Stübel, Hans. Die Mewu Fan-tse von Ch'inghai /The Mewu Fantzu of Ch'inghai/. Unpublished manuscript. 1954

Pp. 1-90

Secured on loan from author. /HRAF MS. Pp. i, 1-72/

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

/This source is a general ethnography of a Tibetan tribe, partly nomadic and partly sedentary, living to the east of T'ao-chou, about 200 miles southeast of Koko Nor, on both sides of the Kansu-Ch'inghai border. Special emphasis is placed upon Mewu religion, including funerals, eschatology, the Lama monastic system, shamans, religious syncretism, and divination and sorcery. Attention is paid to Mewu community organization (though not in detail), settlement of disputes, relations with non-Mewu, and the Mewu militia system and its relation to Chinese control of the area. Some coverage is also given to physical type, history, settlement pattern, subsistence (mainly pastoralism), and the environment in which the Mewu live. The author focusses his attention mainly on the nomadic rather than on the sedentary Mewu. --Analyst/

Field date: 1936 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Arthur Fields Processed in 1956

AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border
Ch'iang

7: Hu Chien-min. Ch'iang-tsu chih hsin-yang yü hsi-wei /Beliefs and Practices of the Ch'iang Tribesmen/, Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung (Frontier Studies) Pp. 1-44, Chengtu China, 1941.

Yale: Bj la. P591.1941

Translated from the Chinese for HRAF by John T. Ma.

/Hu, a Chinese ethnologist, seeks to analyze Ch'iang religion in terms of classical anthropological usage. The totemistic and animistic elements of Ch'iang religion are isolated and described. The elements of Ch'iang religious practices which can be ascribed to the sinicization process are contrasted with the aboriginal beliefs. Very little data on material culture is included. --Analyst/

Field date: 1937
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

113

113 ADDITIONAL REFERENCES--bibliographical lists; annotated bibliographies; works referred to in processed sources; etc.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

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3. Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III. Part II. London, Trubner and Co., 60 Paternoster Row. 1865.
4. Li, Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1928.
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13. 汶志記略 卷一 嘉慶十年
14. 明史 第三百一十卷 四川土司一百九十九
15. 松潘廳志 邊防 民國十六年
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18. 茂州志 卷三 邊防 道光十一年
19. 唐書 卷二百二十一上 西域列傳 一百四十六上
20. 康熙字典 未集中 羊部
21. 理番廳全志 卷一 同治五年
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Minchia

[For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

[For a cultural summary of the Ch'iang, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 49-50. --Analyst]

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Akha

[For a cultural summary of the Akha, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, see category 116, Pp. 317-318. --Analyst]

113. 133, 177. 621, 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

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114 COMMENTS--reviews; critiques of earlier sources; information about authors and their backgrounds; general statements on field experience; etc.
See also:

Methodology . . . . . 12 Date and locale of field study 101

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Chiang

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. *Preface.*

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍溪寨, Mu Shang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei, Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'u Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ts'a Po, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary Ma Ssu official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-hsuai 張伯瑄博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1933 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

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the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died. 796 778

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most 174 114

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Mouu

PREFACE

The present account is based on notes which I took on a journey 114 through Kansu in the summer and fall of 1936. The purpose of my trip was to become better acquainted with a Tibetan nomad tribe. Unfortunately, difficulties arose on the trip which I could not foresee. I was obliged to break off my work prematurely, for while I was in the Tibetan grasslands Mao Tse-tung's army invaded southern Kansu on its famous great march to the North. (1) I was in danger of

1. from Kiangsi through South China to Yünnan, thence through the western border region of China to Kansu, and finally to Yen-an in Shensi.

being cut off from the capital, Lanchow. This march to the north was a portent of the troubled times which began with the Sino-Japanese War and which were followed by the Second World War and the Communist revolution in China. In the tumult of this period I lost first my ethnological collection in China, which I had gathered on the trip, and in the end also a large amount of photographic material that I had accumulated. Thus the illustrations which I planned as an essential part of this work are lacking, and without the objects I collected it was impossible for me to give as detailed an account as I should have liked of the material culture of the tribe I visited. I therefore wish to refer the reader first of all to the illustrations and the excellent brief description which W. W. Rockhill (2) has given

2. Rockhill 1).

of his collection in the US National Museum in Washington. For the landscape the best illustrations are found in A. Tafel's (3) book on

3. Tafel 2).

his Tibetan journey, and for ethnic types and folk costumes the reader is referred primarily to the illustrations of M. Hermanns. (1)

1. Hermanns 3).

/2/ In the meantime our knowledge of the nomads of northeastern Tibet (or Kansu) has increased tremendously. In this

114 connection I should like to mention above all the comprehensive work of Father M. Hermanns (2): Die Nomaden von Tibet, and the

2. Hermanns 3).

excellent portrayal by R. B. Ekvall (3) of the sociological and eco-

3. Ekvall 4).

nomic conditions of the region I visited. The book by Hermanns gives a wide survey of the culture of the Tibetan nomads; the work by Ekvall is rich in factual material and discusses the cultural relationships between Chinese, Mohammedans, and sedentary and nomadic Tibetans. This is extremely interesting for the ethno-sociologist.

The authors of these two books had the advantage of living for many years among the Tibetans and of speaking their language. I can present only a modest supplement to their work by setting forth
124 my observations of a single tent camp. Besides my assistant Mr. Wu Hsin-wei, an experienced ethnological field worker, I was fortunate enough to have as traveling companions an excellent interpreter for Tibetan and a reliable Tibetan stableman who spoke Chinese. My interpreter was a Chinese trader who lived in He-tso; the Chinese and Mohammedan settlement of some size nearest the area I visited. As a young man he had been forced into the region of the Tibetan nomads, following a Mohammedan uprising, and he lived and traded among these people for many years. He was particularly friendly with a few of the Tibetans in the camp I visited. He was a keen observer and was apparently himself interested in the life of the nomads. He was always willing to answer my questions as objectively as was possible for a simple trader, to arrange introductions /2a/ with Tibetan informants, and to interpret patiently.

133 The landscape and climate of the Tibetan steppes have often been depicted by more competent persons, so that a description will not be necessary. For the author, the weeks he spent in a small tent adjoining the camp of the Mewu-Fantzu were not only a period of ethnological field work, but also an inspiring experience of nature. In the height of summer the steppe is a gay carpet of flowers, especially edelweiss, luminous blue gentian, yellow and red pedicularis. On the heights between the shallow, narrow valleys there is a limitless vista on all sides, when it is not broken by individual steep, light-colored limestone massifs rising up more than 5,000 meters, their peaks often covered with freshly fallen

771 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief
184 reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory descrip-
114 tion of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal
771 conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course,
124 difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and
101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are
527 the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

By the same author

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CHINA: A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY

[p. ii]

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Border Peoples AE3

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

A STUDY OF

THE MIN CHIA OF
TA LI, YUNNAN

BY

C. P. FITZGERALD

LONDON
THE CRESSET PRESS
1941

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PREFACE

[22] 121 THE investigation of which this book is a record was made with the assistance of a Leverhulme Fellowship for the years 1937 and 1938. As the work was carried out alone, and in a field hitherto neglected by ethnologists, I am conscious that there must be many omissions and oversights in this survey of the Min Chia culture as it is to-day. The language barrier was certainly not wholly surmounted, for while I cannot claim to have learned to speak Min Chia with real fluency, the Min Chia of the less educated class do not speak Chinese without difficulty and cannot express all their thought in that language. The vocabulary printed as an appendix will no doubt reveal the effects of these difficulties, and the system of romanisation adopted for Min Chia, being based on English and not on the Wade system used for Chinese, may not meet with the approval of all readers. My justification for this must be that I have endeavoured to render Min Chia pronunciation as it is sounded, and that the vocabulary was made primarily for my own use when learning the language. I can only hope that this first attempt to record the Min Chia language and its grammar may prove of some interest to specialists.

000 While in Yunnan I received at all times the assistance and hospitality of the missionaries of the China Inland Mission, and I wish especially to acknowledge my debt to Mr. and Mrs. W. Allen, Mr. H. Owen and Mr. E. Holmes, of the C.I.M. in Ta Li. I also had the advantage of consulting the late Mr. Fraser of this Mission, whose knowledge of the peoples of Yunnan, and especially the Li Su, was unrivalled.

The debt of pupil to teacher, so well understood in China, is due to Professor B. Malinowski, under whom I studied anthropology before venturing into the field.

[p. vii] [pp. iv, v, vi, are blank]

000 Above all, I owe the original inspiration which directed my work to the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., whose friendship and fruitful suggestions guided my enquiries. I am happy to know that not long before his death he read the manuscript of this book.

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The eastern shore of Erh Hai lake	222

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MAPS

Environs of Ta Li City

Yunnan Province

Ta Li District and Erh Hai Lake

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CHAPTER I

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

131 A LITTLE TO the north of the main caravan route between China and Burma, in the mountains of western Yunnan, there is a strip of fertile rice land stretching northwards between T'ien Ts'ang Shan, the Celestial Azure Mountain, and Erh Hai, the Ear Lake. This plain of Ta Li is the home of the Min Chia people, one of the most numerous, and most civilised of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia also occupy the valley of the Erh river flowing into the lake from the north, the hills on the eastern shore, and the valley of the Yang Pi river west of the Ts'ang Shan range. They are found in the region of Ho Ch'ing, north east of the Erh Hai lake, and in more scattered colonies as far west as the Mekong river. They thus occupy a wedge shaped territory which from the apex at the south end of Erh Hai lake to the base along the valley of the High Yang Tze near Shih Ku measures about one hundred miles from north to south, while the base of the triangle from Ho Ch'ing to the Mekong is approximately the same distance.

133 The whole region, part of the plateau of Yunnan, is extremely mountainous, the average altitude of the lake plateaux and valleys being from 6,000 to 8,000 ft., and the dividing ranges rising to 10,000 and 14,000 ft.

132 Although Yunnan is so high lying, the climate, as the meaning of the name—"south of the clouds"—implies, is mild and equable. The southern part of the province is within the tropics, but the country of the Min Chia, at latitude 25 North, lies just outside. Thus while the altitude moderates the heat of summer the sub-tropical latitude ensures a warm and sunny winter. Shade tem-

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132 perature in summer rarely exceeds 80 degrees Fahrenheit, and the light ground frosts of winter are not severe enough to prevent the cultivation of oranges at 7,000 feet above sea level. The permanent snow line in western Yunnan is well over 14,000 ft., the altitude of T'sang Shan behind Ta Li city, for this mountain is free from snow at the end of June.

Western Yunnan lies in the area subject to the south west monsoon from the Indian Ocean and therefore has a climate and seasons rather different from the rest of China. There are in fact only three seasons: the Dry season, from the end of October to the end of March, when temperature is moderate by day and cold at night, is not quite without rainfall; at intervals of perhaps three to four weeks the sky becomes overcast for two or three days, a light drizzle falls on the plateaux and this becomes snow above 9,000 ft. These few cold spells, recurring three or four times in the dry season, are the only "winter" Yunnan knows. The second season, the Hot, lasts from the end of March to the end of May, or middle of June. Apart from occasional thunder showers the weather is dry and the sky clear, but shade temperature can rise to 85 degrees Fahrenheit by day and rarely falls below 60 degrees at night. The Rainy season, which completes the cycle, begins with the breaking of the monsoon, which may be as early as mid-May, or as late as the end of June. It lasts until October, which can be a very wet month, and heavy rains in November are not unknown, especially west of the Mekong-Salween divide. During these months temperature is much lower than in April, and spells of continuous rain lasting a week or nine days occur. Few days are without a shower, although an occasional dry week breaks the monotonous succession of wet days. The weather in this season, with its low or moderate temperature is not unlike a bad English summer.

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

Apart from the Rainy season, the climate of western /132
Yunnan with its lovely dry and sunny "winter" and its shorter warm spring is certainly one of the best in the world. There are no droughts; severe frosts are unknown, rainfall, though heavy in the wet season, is rarely excessive. These conditions, which are those of the Ta Li plain at 6,700 ft., are somewhat modified further north in the outlying regions of Min Chia occupation, the upper valley of the Yang Pi river and the district of Ho Ch'ing. Here the plateaux are higher, not under 8,000 ft., and the proximity of very high mountains on the border of Sikang or Chinese Tibet—the Yu Lung Shan range near Li Chiang exceeds 20,000 ft.—brings cold winds in winter and an increased rainfall at all seasons. Winter crops, which are grown on the Ta Li plain, cannot be raised sixty miles to the north at Chien Ch'uan in the upper Yang Pi valley, and heavy falls of snow can block passes at 12,000 ft. until April.

The plain of Ta Li, in reality a lake plateau, is a typical /133
example of a feature common to the whole of the Yunnan plateau region. Yunnan is geologically a shelf of the Tibetan massif jutting out far to the south east of the main Himalayan-Tibetan ranges. At the point where the main ranges, which to the north of India run roughly east to west, turn north to form the escarpment separating Tibet from China, there is a gap, as yet imperfectly mapped, through which the great rivers rising on the Tibetan plateau, break through southwards towards the sea. The Yunnan plateau divides these rivers, forcing the Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, and Salween westward to the Indian Ocean, while the Mekong and Yang Tze flow south and east to the China Sea. The main plateau lies between the Yang Tze to the north east and the Mekong to the south west; it drains into these two rivers and into the two which rise on the Yunnan plateau itself, the West River which reaches the sea at

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133 Canton, and the Red River which flows past Hanoi to the coast of Indo-China at Haiphong.

The plateau is ribbed from north to south by continuous ranges of steep and well wooded mountains divided by narrow valleys, which often become inaccessible gorges, but which here and there widen out into lake plateaux, some still occupied in part by large sheets of water, others now a fertile plain from which the lake has wholly drained away. These plateaux, the only areas where large scale cultivation and a numerous population are possible, are separated by mountain tracts virtually uninhabited, and still covered on their lower slopes with pine forest and scrub, on their crests with a dense rain forest of conifers, bamboo, rhododendron and large deciduous trees. Such ranges form barriers cutting off one lake plateau from another by as much as fifty miles of wilderness. In these valleys peoples of widely different culture, race and language for long lived in virtual isolation, which even to-day, after six centuries of Chinese rule, is but slightly disturbed by contacts with the outer world.

Between the Ts'ang Shan range—the Azure Mountain, and the Erh Hai—the Ear Lake, is one such plateau, thirty-five miles long, but only two to three miles wide. This is the Ta Li plain, so called from the city of Ta Li which stands two miles from the lake shore under the highest point of the towering Ts'ang Shan range, which rises 14,000 ft. above sea level, a full 7,000 ft. above the plain. The plain lies north and south, the mountain to the west, the lake to the east, beyond which there rises from the water itself a lower line of mountains enclosing the plateau on all sides.

At both the northern and southern ends of the plain the lake comes close to the base of the mountain narrowing the approaches to the plain to two famous passes, the Dragon's

Head Pass (Lung T'ou Kuan) at the northern end, where the 133 ancient fortress of Shang Kuan, the Upper Fort, stands between the shore of the lake and a deep, impassable ravine, running up the flank of the mountain. An enemy coming down on Ta Li from the north by way of the Erh river valley could only reach the plain by forcing this strong position. At the southern extremity of the plain, nearly 35 miles from Shang Kuan, the outflow from the lake forces its way through a cleft in the Ts'ang Shan range, a passage so narrow that the stream is at one point bridged by a huge boulder wedged between the cliffs. This is the Dragon's Tail Pass (Lung Wei Kuan) through which passes the ancient caravan road to Burma, and to-day the just completed motor road. Where the outflow stream narrows at the mouth of this pass the swift current is crossed by a fine stone bridge, defended on both banks by the double fortress of Hsia Kuan, the Lower Fort, and this bridge and fortress is the only means of access to the Ta Li plain from the south and west.

The lake itself, roughly ear-shaped, thirty miles long and from two to five miles across, is deep and navigable, providing an easy means of communication from one end of the plain to the other, and also with the eastern shore, where mule paths wind through the rocky hills to the valleys leading to the High Yang Tze. Hsia Kuan, at the Dragon's Tail Pass, commands not only the east-west caravan road to Burma, but also the north-south road along the Ta Li plain, which is part of the principal caravan route between Eastern Tibet and the tea growing districts of southern Yunnan. It therefore has had for centuries a commercial importance equal to its strategic value.

To the west the immense wall of the Ts'ang Shan range blocks all access to the plain. Only one narrow track winds over the mountain and this, too narrow and steep for mules,

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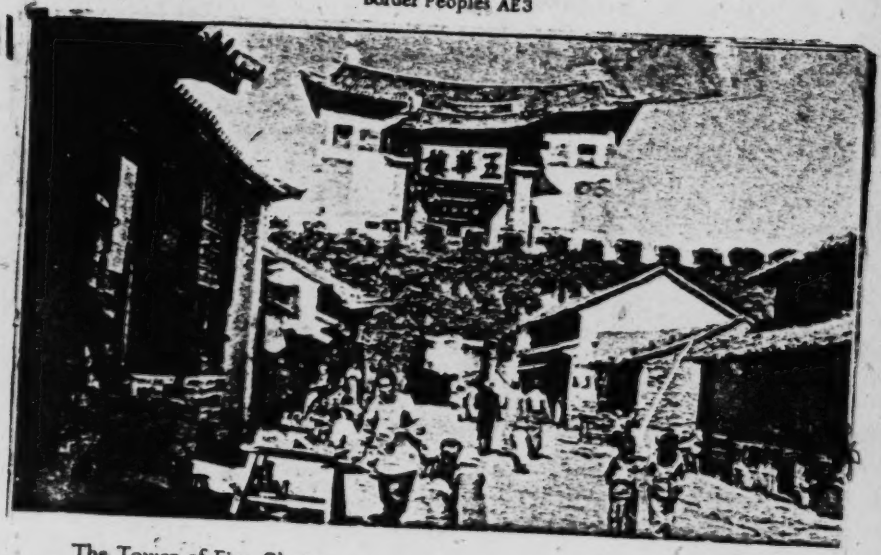

The Tower of Five Glories

Ta Li city and Erh Hai lake.

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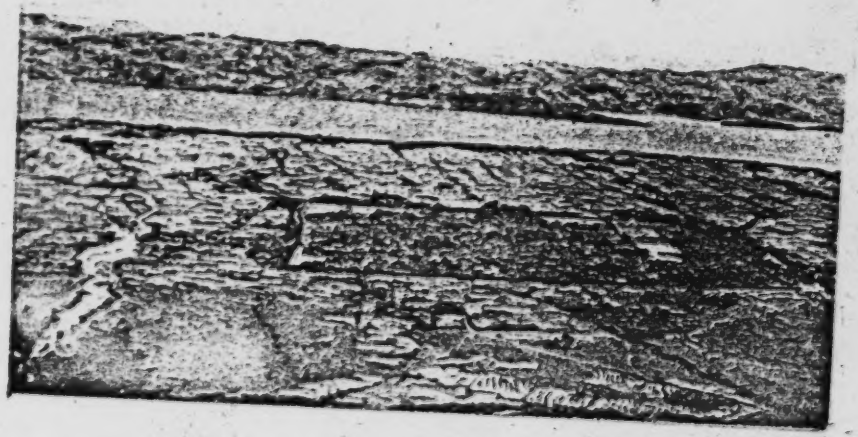

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183 and blocked by snow for six months of the year, is only used by wood cutters and charcoal burners. Elsewhere the knife edge crest of the range is so precipitous and so overgrown with dense rain forest as to be inaccessible. At a few points it is possible to reach the crest, but the western face being more precipitous than the eastern, it is never possible to cross the range.

162 Ten miles up the plain from Hsia Kuan is the city of Ta
633 Li, capital of the *hsien* or county of the same name, and an important military and governmental centre for a wider region. Ta Li itself, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants,[1] is an ancient place, the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, which covered the greater part of the modern Yunnan province. As the centre of government it has a mixed population including Chinese Mohammedans, formerly more numerous than at present, immigrant Chinese from Ssu Ch'uan province, and mixed families of Chinese and Min Chia descent, but at least one third of the inhabitants of the city are Min Chias. The villages of the plain, of which there are more than one hundred, are entirely Min Chia, apart from a small number of Mohammedan villages.

133 The plain of Ta Li, though the most easily defended, is *not one of the largest or richest of the lake plateaux of* Yunnan. Approximately 100 square miles in area, it is much smaller than that of Yunnanfu (or K'un Ming) in the east of the province, or than the plain of Pao Shan to the west, from which the ancient lake has now disappeared. Cramped between the mountain and the lake the Ta Li plateau is nowhere more than three miles wide, and in many places the cultivable area is much narrower. On the other hand the high range to the west ensures a constant water supply, for

[1] No census exists, but this figure is that generally given by inhabitants and officials of the place, and accords with a personal estimate.

133 the mountain streams which discharge into the lake are perennial, which is not the case on plateaux bordered by lower hills. Against this advantage must be set the strong winds which prevail in winter, due to the juxtaposition of a high mountain and a large sheet of water.

The area of good land is also diminished by the wide "fans" of rock-encumbered soil discharged by the mountain torrents at the point where they debouch on to the plain. This accumulation of boulders and detritus forms a continuous belt about a mile wide of rocky sloping land along the foot of the mountain. It has some value as grazing 312 land, but cannot be cultivated. As the streams leave the lower slopes they are carefully canalised and broken up into an infinity of small channels which distribute water to every plot of ground between the hill slopes and the lake shore. This work of irrigation, undoubtedly of great antiquity, has transformed what must once have been a marsh into a carefully graded series of terraces sloping almost imperceptibly to the lake. As a result the Min Chia farmer is really independent of the monsoon, for he can flood his rice fields from this system of water channels, fed by the perennial streams from Ts'ang Shan.

312 Curiously enough it is the land nearest the shore of the 134 lake which has most to fear from a late monsoon. The level of the lake varies as much as six feet between the dry season and the end of the rainy season, consequently in spring the water is some four to five feet below the level of the adjoining rice fields, which cannot be flooded from this source. As the fields nearer the mountain slopes tend to absorb all or most of the water from the mountain torrents, it sometimes happens that if the monsoon is late the fields nearest to the lake cannot be planted with rice until as much as three weeks after those nearer the mountain. The area adjoining the lake is further subject to some danger of

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312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
134 able to escape through the very narrow passage of the Dragon's Tail Pass, overflows on to the flat western shore. Unless the flood becomes so deep as to cover the ears of rice, this does no harm, and such exceptional depths are rare. Yet on account of these two risks the land nearest the lake shore, in appearance the best on the plain, is in fact of less value than fields nearer the mountain slopes.

134 Unlike almost all other parts of Yunnan the soil of the Ta Li plain is not the red clay associated with the prevailing Yunnan limestone rocks, but a heavy black soil due to the fact that Ts'ang Shan is an upthrust of granite breaking
133 through the limestone cap of the Yunnan plateau. This geological peculiarity has one serious disadvantage, the frequency of severe earthquakes on the Ta Li plain. Slight shocks are common in the dry season, especially after one of the winter spells of drizzle, but a major earthquake in the spring of 1925 not only destroyed most of the city of Ta Li but caused much greater havoc and a very heavy loss of life in the lakeside villages, where a wave from the lake did further damage. Local records mention other severe earthquakes in previous centuries, but for many years before 1925 no serious shock had occurred, nor has there been a major earthquake since that date.

311 Apart from a narrow belt of willow groves along the lake shore, where flooding is usual, the entire surface of the plain is under cultivation. The villages as far as possible are built on the shore itself, or on the lowest slopes of the mountain, to free as much land as possible for the cultiva-
[491] tion of rice. Even the main caravan road, a stone-paved path about six feet wide, skirts the slopes of the mountain, and the paths leading to villages and fields are narrow and follow the dykes along irrigation channels. Very little land is devoted to market gardening, usually only such patches by

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the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the /133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, /132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede /133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the /162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[31] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse 361
road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by [489]
this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance,
each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In 631
sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the 175
kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan 563
or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101
meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563
names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [291] Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563
disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554
plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829
are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

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563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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people hardly to be distinguished from the Chinese, and the 186
fact that many Ta Li Min Chia are bi-lingual, or have a store 197
of "market Chinese" has strengthened this impression. It is
none the less false. The language itself, though using many 197
Chinese loan words, pronounces them in accordance with definite rules, and in a manner unintelligible to the Chinese, while more than half the vocabulary and the grammar of Min Chia is wholly unlike the Chinese language. As it is not and never has been a written language it has no doubt changed very extensively in the course of centuries, but a critical examination of the vocabulary and grammar shows that three elements originally quite distinct are found in the Min Chia language of to-day. These elements may be classified as :—

(1) A non-Sinitic polysyllabic language which may be called "Old Min Chia".
(2) Monosyllabic words resembling Cantonese, perhaps "old Chinese" loan words.
(3) Chinese loan words, derived from the Yunnanese dialect of Mandarin but which are pronounced in a Min Chia manner according to set rules.

These three elements are used, broadly, for three different categories of words. "Old Min Chia" words for example are confined to simple and primary ideas, the most used verbs, the names of animals, plants and parts of the body, and the prepositions. Many of these Old Min Chia words are polysyllabic, or it would be more accurate to say, appear to be so. As Min Chia has never been written down it is only possible to distinguish between monosyllabic words and polysyllabic by analysing the syllables which compose the latter class. If these syllables are not identifiable as words in themselves, then the word is classed as a polysyllabic word, and where the syllables can be shown to be

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197 separate words combined to make a compound word, such words are not here classed as truly polysyllabic.

An example will make this distinction clear.

Gudaiji, the Min Chia word for "throat" is a polysyllable, because neither *gu* nor *dai* nor *ji* can be shown in this instance to be separate words in themselves. *Dao-ser-dser-domo*, the long Min Chia word for the "thumb" can, on the other hand, be proved to be a compound word composed of three separate words, *dao*, "big", *ser-dser* a "finger" and *domo* "before", the whole word really meaning "before the big finger"—an interesting proof that the Min Chia word for thumb explicitly recognises the essential value of that little limb, the fact of its apposition to the long finger.

The second large element in the Min Chia language is the class of monosyllabic words faintly resembling their Chinese counterparts, which I have named "Old Chinese Loan Words". The resemblance between this class and Cantonese words of the same meaning is often close, and as it is generally recognised that Cantonese retains many old forms of Chinese pronunciation, it is perhaps not incorrect to attribute this class of Min Chia words to borrowing from Chinese at an earlier period, when the spoken language of the Chinese settlers in Yunnan was more like modern Cantonese than modern Mandarin.

Many names of animals are found in this class as are also the points of the compass and some verbs, usually of the more abstract type.

In such words as *der*, "east" and *ser* a "rat" the connection with the Chinese forms *tung* and *shu* is slight, but *ber*, "north" *sai* "west" *gai* a "chicken" and *gai* a "bowl", also *ngur* a "cow" and *mer* a "horse" are not far from their Chinese and Cantonese equivalents, as a table of comparison will show.

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Min Chia	*Chinese and Cantonese*		*English*
ber	po		north
sai	hsi	sai	west
gai	chi	gai	chicken
gai		gai	bowl
ngur	niu		cow
mer	ma	ma	horse

The third, and perhaps almost the largest class of Min Chia words are loan words from Yunnanese Mandarin, a slightly variant dialect of the widespread speech of all western and northern China. Such words in Min Chia cover all modern terms, Chinese place names, many of the abstract nouns and verbs, and a large class of common nouns covering many of the objects and utensils of ordinary life.

Though quite easily identified as Chinese in origin such words would not for the most part be understood by a Chinese unacquainted with Min Chia, for loan words are changed and pronounced by the Min Chia in accordance with their own rules. There is no final *n* or *ng* in Min Chia, and these common Chinese terminals are dropped in the loan words. Min Chia has also very few initial *n* words, the *n* being changed to *l* as in many parts of South China. But whereas Chinese words such as *wang* and *nan* are pronounced by the Min Chia simply as *wa* and *la*, those which end in *ing* or *eng* become in Min Chia *iu* and *o*. Thus Nan King is in Min Chia *La Chiu*, unrecognisable to a Chinese, but none the less a Chinese loan term. *Ch'en* becomes *tso*, and *Ch'eng* also. *Sheng Ch'eng* the Chinese colloquial term for the "Provincial Capital" is *So Tso* to the Min Chia.

A short vocabulary of Min Chia words of the three types with their Chinese counterparts will illustrate both the affinities and the wide differences between the two languages.

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

OLD MIN CHIA

	Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
197	Dilulu	ying	hawk
192	Digulai	Ch'iao shu	squirrel
	Salagai	huang shu	locust
	Serdserler	hai tzu	boy
	Niepi	Jih, yat	sun
	Shier	no separate term	day
	Gao	hu, hai	lake or sea
	Lao	shang	on
	Dso	shang	up
	Urdaobai	hou	behind
	Boru	hou	after
	Gupu	chiao	leg

OLD CHINESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
Kwa	Kou	Dog
Sur	Shan	Mountain
Mo	Meng	Dream

YUNNANESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
Zer do	Chih tao	know
Wai Shieh	Wei hsien	danger
Dsua jia	Chuang chia	crops
Tsu miu	Tsung ming	intelligence
Mier dser	Ming tzu	life
Yao jiu	Yao chin	important
Fa ni	Fa lu	law
Da biu	Tang ping	to enlist as a soldier
Gai bieh	Kai pien	to change

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It will be observed that Min Chia is much richer than Chinese in prepositions, and that these words are invariably of the "Old Min Chia" type. In Min Chia indeed there are prepositions for all shades of meanings ; on, onto, up, upon; and back, behind, after ; are distinguished as in English, whereas Chinese uses one word for these ideas. On the other hand Min Chia appears to have lacked most of the abstract nouns, and even words for such a common and vital activity as farming, perhaps a proof that in the earliest times the Min Chia were not an agricultural people. The names of most of the domestic animals, except the pig, are also "Old Chinese" and this may suggest that the Min Chia at one time had no other livestock. 197

Grammatically there are also certain marked differences between Chinese and Min Chia. In Min Chia the adjective may precede or follow the noun, the choice depending on euphony, whereas in Chinese it always comes first. Thus a fat pig and a fat goose in Min Chia are respectively *go dai a der* and *O a der go* and no rule can be framed to cover this usage. The preposition follows the noun, as in Chinese, although this is not necessary to distinguish meaning as in Chinese, because the Min Chia prepositions are differentiated. (*Shan shang*—on the mountain, in Chinese, *Shang shan*, the upper mountain, or to go up the mountain). Unlike the Chinese, the Min Chia put the negative after the noun or verb. *Bai mu*—not going, *hu mu*—not good, whereas in Chinese the reverse would be the case. In Min Chia the pronouns are still declined, there being a nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative case, not found in any other nouns, and non-existent now in Chinese. The Min Chia, of course, even those with Chinese education, are unaware of this fact, since they have no knowledge of grammatical terms, but a study of the usage of the pronoun words makes it clear that declensions exist. 193 197

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193 Both languages use the device which has been called
197 "numerical adjuncts" or "classifiers" unknown to European tongues, but familiar from the pidgin English expression "one piecee" preceding the noun. In Chinese the most part of the nouns use the classifier *i ke* which pidgin English has translated as "one piecee" but certain others exist also. In Min Chia the variety is extreme. More than sixty separate classifiers are in use (there may be many more) and of these only twelve are used for more than one or two nouns, and the greater number are only applied to a single noun. There are about six in which the application can be strictly covered by a rule, for example all animals have the classifier *a der* which follows the noun, not as in Chinese preceding it. *Mer a der*= a horse, *mer sa der* = three horses. *A ni*, the classifier for human beings is applied not only to the word for man, woman, etc, but also to nouns describing vocations, which is not the colloquial Chinese practice, e.g. *biu a ni* = a soldier. Two exceptions to this rule for animals and humans exist. Bandits are given the classifier *a der* thus ranking them with the animals and insects, and spirits and gods have the human *a ni* classifier. Malignant ghosts *ger* are on the other hand given *a der*, like animals, perhaps a distinction having the same origin as the *hun* and *po*, the spiritual and animal souls of men which the ancient Chinese distinguished.

563 That the Min Chia are therefore a distinct people is established, and as will be shown in subsequent chapters, their social and kinship systems show radical differences from the Chinese, while their religion retains many features unknown to China proper. Nor is there much evidence to connect them at all closely with the neighbouring non-Chinese peoples of Yunnan. The Na Khi or Mo So who border on the Min Chia to the north speak a very different language and their religion and social customs are equally distinct. All

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that the two peoples have in common comes either from the similar conditions of their economy or from the common contact with Chinese culture since the conquest.[1] 563

The Li Su tribe, one of the largest, but most scattered in Yunnan, are found to the west and north west of the Min Chia country, whose markets they occasionally frequent. This people, definitely on a lower cultural level than the Min Chia, speak a distinct language, much broken up into dialects, which is in no way closely related to the Min Chia speech.[2] In religion they also differ widely, and being hill-men who rarely cultivate rice, their social and economic systems are quite unlike those of the rice farming Min Chia.

To the south east of the Ta Li plateaux, in the lofty Ting Hsi Ling range a people variously described as Lolos or Tu Li occupy the tract of country dividing the Chinese settled plain of Mi Tu from the Min Chia of the Erh Hai basin. It has been suggested by missionaries who have visited some of their villages, that these people also may be an offshoot of the Li Su, and not Lolos, a name which if used at all, should be applied to the No Su[3] found in north eastern Yunnan. This tribe also has no affinities with the Min Chia.

The possibility cannot be ignored that the Min Chia are related to the Shans, or Tai race, which covers so much of the south west of Asia, from Siam through southern Yunnan and eastern Burma even into Kuei Chou province. The

[1] Rock, Dr. Ancient Nakhi Kingdom of Yunnan.

[2] This was the opinion of the late Mr. Fraser, of the China Inland Mission, who devised the Fraser Script for writing the Li Su language, of which he had the most thorough knowledge. His view was communicated to the author in Ta Li, 1938.

[3] The opinion of Mr. H. Owen, of the China Inland Mission, Ta Li. The term Lo Lo is Ssu-chuanese slang meaning a basket, and is at best a popular west Chinese term for any non-Chinese people, used quite loosely and without precise application. It is only Europeans who have attached this name to the No Su rather than to any other tribe.

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563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su [E2K] or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

103 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

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CHAPTER 2

THE RICE STANDARD

RICE IS THE real standard of wealth among the Min Chia. 436
Direct barter of rice for commodities is common, rents 243
are paid and calculated in rice, and rice producing land is the chief investment of the wealthy, and the principal source of revenue for the government. No other crop compares 243
with rice either in actual value or in the estimation of the 311
people. Land which is unsuitable for rice cultivation is hardly regarded as anything better than waste. In consequence of this preoccupation with the rice crop the Min Chia neglect the development of other forms of agriculture and have failed to exploit all the possibilities of land on which rice cannot be grown.

The Min Chia are rarely if ever found on land where rice cultivation is impossible, they avoid the mountains, and when the excess of population makes its impossible for all to engage in rice farming, they prefer to emigrate to distant parts of the Province rather than cultivate other crops upon the mountain sides. Whether this is to be explained as the failure of an immigrant people of lowland origin to adapt itself to the life of mountaineers, or as the whole-hearted conversion of a people, once pastoral hillmen, to the advantages of intensive agriculture, there is no direct evidence to show. The Min Chia lack any tradition of immigration to their present home, and it may be regarded as certain that they have practised their present mode of life for at least seven centuries.

Although there is thus an ancient tradition in support of 243
rice farming, and an almost psychological aversion to living on the mountains, there are also strong economic arguments

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Ploughing flooded rice fields.

Transplanting rice seedlings.

[Face p. 24]

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243 in favour of rice cultivation. The yield of rice, very much higher per acre than that of wheat or maize, the alternative cereal crops, enables a larger population to live in a restricted area. Furthermore, the climate of Ta Li (though not of the northern Min Chia areas) makes it possible to grow wheat and beans on the rice lands in winter, so that two crops a year can be harvested off the same land. A comparatively small holding of rice land, ten Chinese acres (*mu*) or an English acre and a half, is sufficient to support a family of five persons.[1] Consequently there was little incentive to undertake the cultivation of maize or fruit on the mountain sides while population still remained low, or fresh rice land in adjoining valleys was easily available. When these conditions ceased to apply the tradition of rice farming had secured so strong a hold upon the people that they preferred to emigrate to great distances rather than abandon their manner of life.

243 Other considerations have combined to enhance the
311 value of rice land and reinforce the hold which the "rice
423 standard" has obtained on the Min Chia mind. Since the area suitable for rice is limited, and was long ago brought under cultivation, good land has a[illegible]ed a scarcity value, and this in turn has been enhanced by the universal will to ownership. The poor seek to buy land even at great sacrifice, the rich regard land purchase as the only safe investment. To be landless is regarded as a grave misfortune, and even to have to rent additional land is considered regrettable. It is of course true that in a community without banks or joint stock companies, land is the best investment, indeed the only really safe one. Land will survive most calamities. Fire may destroy merchandise or a hoard of treasure, and insu-

804 [1] The *Mu* or Chinese Acre by which land all over China is measured, is not, however a fixed unit. The *Mu* varies slightly in every district, and even in different villages. In Yunnan the equivalent of ⅙ of an English acre to the *Mu* is approximately correct for the Ta Li district.

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243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

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438 tity to supply the local markets, rice can never be an export
435 crop for the Min Chia farmer. A quantity is sent up to Li
511 Chiang and Chien Ch'uan, which having a colder climate, are less productive; but the cost of transporting rice on mule back, the only means of transport, is so high that this trade can never develop on a large scale. Therefore, in a good year the price of rice at Ta Li falls very low and the farmer's purchasing power declines proportionately ; in a bad year the quantity of rice harvested is not sufficient to provide an export surplus, and the poorer farmers, after paying their rice rents, have difficulty in living off the remainder of the crop, and cannot afford to make other purchases. The rice standard is therefore a check on trade and a factor causing the standard of living to remain low.

249 The Min Chia, who are in most respects a practical and hard headed people, were not unaware of these disadvantages, and sought to escape from them by producing an export crop which would not interfere with the cultivation of rice, and would yet command a good price in distant markets. Such a crop must have a high value for small bulk, for as it must be transported for at least two weeks on mule back to reach any market of importance (either Yunnanfu or Burma) no bulky inexpensive commodity would show a profit after the costs of transport were deducted. Such a crop they found in opium, which was introduced into Yunnan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Opium admirably fulfilled the conditions outlined above. It was planted on the rice lands as a winter crop, harvested in May before the rice seedlings are transplanted. Therefore it did not interfere with rice cultivation. It was light and fetched a very high price in the markets of Yunnanfu whence it was transported to other parts of China. It thus provided the Min Chia with, from their point of view, the perfect export crop, which brought outside money into the closed economy of Ta Li and

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enabled the farmer to buy the products of other regions for cash. 249

It is an ironical fact that the efforts of the Central Government of China, urged on by the moral pressure of the rest of the world, to do good, should have resulted in the infliction of great economic damage and hardship, at least temporarily. 249 185 276 In 1935 the Central Government, inspired by the reforming ardour of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, introduced its plan for the gradual suppression of opium cultivation throughout the Chinese Republic. The Provincial Government of Yunnan, in spite of the prospect of severe loss of revenue, was induced to co-operate, and the suppression plan was applied. Learning from the disastrous consequences of the earlier attempt at opium suppression undertaken by the Manchu Dynasty in 1910, the authorities made no attempt to prohibit cultivation at once and everywhere. The plan provided for the suppression by *hsien* or administrative districts, and was applied in two stages. In the first year warning was published that suppression was to come into force. No fresh planting was to be permitted, but if opium crops were raised from old plants, no action was taken. In the spring of the second year public proclamations announced the application of the second stage of rigorous suppression. Farmers were warned to weed their fields, for if so much as one poppy were found growing in a field, the field was to be confiscated to the public lands.

This plan was applied to Ta Li and the other Min Chia areas in 1936 (first stage) and in 1937 the second rigorous stage of suppression was carried out. From the summer of 1937 there has been no opium poppy grown in the Min Chia region, nor in the other *hsien* of western Yunnan as far north as Wei Hsi and from Yunnanfu westwards to Teng Yueh.[1]

[1] Personal observation. The *hsien* of Wei Hsi and Chu Tien in the valley of the High Yang Tze came within the scope of the scheme one year later than Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

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249 185 276 It speaks well for the influence of the Central Government in a remote area, and for the authority of the Provincial Government of Yunnan and its officers, that this campaign of opium suppression has been carried out with perfect success and without occasioning revolts, lawlessness or open resistance, although it has vitally affected the entire population of Yunnan, very much to their immediate detriment.

249 185 276 458 No one will seriously question the right and duty of the government to suppress the cultivation of opium as the only sure way of eventually suppressing the consumption of the drug and freeing the Chinese people from an undoubted evil. No one, either, who has lived in western China will doubt their courage in undertaking a task both difficult and highly unpopular. That the nation will ultimately derive great benefit from the ending of the opium habit is incontestable; but that the immediate effects in western Yunnan have been most serious is also unquestionable. In the absence of any alternative export crop to replace opium, and the absence of communications making any more bulky export commercially profitable, the result of suppression has been a profound economic depression in the areas affected. Land values fell by one third in 1936, and in that and subsequent years business at the great fairs in and near Ta Li, when the Min Chia make their annual purchases of goods produced abroad or on the coast, fell to a fraction of that done in former years.

248 185 Against this must be set the efforts of the government to provide a new export crop and develop communications. It is probable that had not the war with Japan absorbed the energies and the money of the government in the national struggle these efforts would have been more effective than they have been. An attempt has been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton. This has made some small progress in other districts, but the climate and soil of Ta Li are not suitable, and cotton growing could not be attempted there.

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able, and cotton growing could not be attempted there. Silk, 231
which can also be conveniently and profitably transported 185
long distances on mule back, has been suggested. A few families on the Ta Li plain have taken up cocoon raising, but the technique is not generally understood, there are no large groves of mulberry trees, and many years will be needed before the production of silk can be of any commercial importance. So far the Min Chia have found no alternative to the opium crop. The government, as is now well known, have 489
completed the remarkable motor road from Yunnanfu to Burma, which is connected with Ta Li by a short branch. The road was built by forced labour and as a war measure. A railway, which however will not pass within forty miles of Ta Li, is now under construction. The eventual benefits of these improved communications will no doubt be felt by the Min Chia, but at present they are more conscious of the demands on their time and energies.

The suppression of opium has therefore left the Min Chia 243
for the present at the mercy of the rice standard, unalleviated by any cash crop raised for export. It is the working of this almost closed economy, as yet unaffected by any serious volume of intercourse with the outside world, which forms the subject of this chapter. Since rice is the dominating factor in this system it must have pride of place.

The method of rice cultivation is well known, nor do the Min Chia differ in this respect from other rice growing peoples. The rice is grown in seed beds planted in the latter part of March, the second lunar month, when frost need no longer be expected. The fields are cleared of the wheat and bean crop in May, and are then ploughed in readiness for the flooding, which is either effected by irrigation on land nearest the mountain, or by the monsoon rains which begin, on the average, at the end of May. As soon as the fields are flooded the rice seedlings are transplanted from the seed

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243 beds, an arduous task for which all the labour of the village, men and women, is needed. Once the transplanting is over, the crop, apart from a little weeding, is left to grow until it matures in October. The harvest at Ta Li is usually ripe by the beginning of November, when the fields are drained, and the crop gathered. One kind of rice, which has become popular in recent years owing to its higher yield, is called "Tiao Ku," "Dropping rice" because the grain falls very readily when ripe, and therefore has to be threshed in the fields and cannot be carried back to the farm house. Large baskets are taken out to the fields and the grain is beaten out into them as the sheaves are reaped. The usual method with other kinds of rice is to bring the sheaves back to the village where they are threshed on a prepared floor with the flail. The rice is then taken to the mill to be husked, or stored [376] until required. Husking is always done at a water mill on the Ta Li plain, as the abundant water power makes the use of the treadmill found in other parts of Yunnan unnecessary.

804 In the vicinity of Ta Li it is calculated that in a normal year one *mu* yields from ten to twelve Chinese pecks or *tou* of rice. The *tou*, like other weights and measures in Yunnan varies from one locality to the next, for though it is always made up of ten *sneng* or measures, these in turn contain a varying number of rice bowls, which being the only constant measure are the best standard for comparison. The following table sets out the measures as used in the Ta Li district and their equivalents in English measures.

Measures and weights compared

12 bowls	= 1 *sheng*	= 9 lb	avoirdupois
120 bowls	= 1 *tou*	= 90 lb	,,

243 One sixth of an English acre (one *mu*) produces on average ten *tou* or 900 lbs of rice. If it be calculated that each member of a family consumes daily eight bowls of rice (four at

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each of the two meals) it requires approximately 25 *tou* to 243
feed one man for a year, or 125 *tou* to feed a family of five persons. Taking the yield of the *mu* at 12 *tou* per year it follows that the produce of 10 *mu* (1 and 2-3rds English acres) is just sufficient to feed a family of five persons, but allows no margin for other expenditure. As the winter wheat crop also brings in a certain return it is possible for a family to live off 10 *mu*, which is confirmed by the testimony of Min Chia farmers themselves, who state that 10 *mu* is in fact the minimum holding necessary for a family to be self sufficient.

A poor farmer owning only 10 *mu* must however set aside 243
one *tou* of his yield as seed grain, it being calculated that one 427
tou of seed grain is sufficient to sow ten *mu*. It follows that most families having only 10 *mu* must in practice rent more land. Rents are paid in kind, at the rate of from five to six *tou* per *mu* of the rice crop and half a *tou* of wheat. Beans are not accepted as rent for the winter crop, wheat rents being calculated at about one tenth of rice rents, although the cash value of wheat is usually about one fifth of the price of rice out of season, and one tenth the price of rice just after the wheat harvest.

Large holdings are unknown in the Ta Li region, but many 243
families have more than the minimum ten *mu*. Holdings of 423
more than fifty *mu* are almost unknown, forty *mu* is the average of the most wealthy, and from this upper limit all gradations down to those who have less than five *mu*, under one English acre, are to be found. These small holdings are explained partly by the long process of subdivision occasioned by the break up of families, partly by the very high price of the land. The best rice land, that lying midway between the 434
mountain and the lake, sells, even since the fall of values 243
after opium suppression, for 200 Yunnan silver dollars the 423
mu. At the rate of exchange prevailing before the war with Japan started, the Yunnan silver dollar was worth about

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434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. 0d. or £45 0s. 0d. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 $ Nat. = 2 $ New Paper = 10 $ Old Paper	= 1*s.* 2*d.*	sterling
1 $ Yunnan Silver = 3 $ Nickel	= 0*s.* 9*d.*	,,
1 $ Nickel = 10 nickel cents	= 3*d.*	,,

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THE RICE STANDARD

Since the war with Japan began the National Currency has 436
fallen in relation to sterling, but the internal purchasing power of the local currency has hardly altered at all. Therefore it is better to express the value of the local currency in sterling in accordance with the rate of exchange prevailing before the war, in the first half of 1937.

In calculating the value of the yield of any farm in the Ta 434
Li region it must be remembered, that as rice cannot be exported in any quantity owing to the high cost and inadequate nature of the transport, when the crop is good the price is low, and when the price is high, it is because the yield is poor. The Min Chia farmer therefore never gets the maximum return from his land which is theoretically possible, and an estimate of the income derived from rice farming must take account of this. We may take the harvest of 1938 as an example. The year was good, the crop abundant ; consequently the price of rice was low, seven nickel cents to the *sheng*, or about 2½*d*. for nine lbs. The yield was high, twelve *tou* to the *mu*, therefore,

One *tou* of ten *sheng* gives 70 nickel cents = 7 $ Nickel
One *mu* yields 12 *tou* giving 84 $ Nickel
One acre or six *mu* gives 504 $ Nickel = £6 6*s*. 0*d*.

which is not a poor return on an investment of £45 0*s*. 0*d*. A further return of about one tenth the value of the rice crop is obtained from the wheat or other winter crops.

A family of moderate means, owning 18 *mu* or three acres, 434
would therefore have harvested in 1938 crops to the value of 511
about £20 0*s*. 0*d*. If the family consisted of some five or six 427
persons, adults and children, £10 0*s*. 0*d*. worth would be consumed by themselves as food, leaving at most half the crop to sell or exchange for other commodities. The purchasing power of such a family would in other words be at most £10 0*s*. 0*d*. per annum. If however they had to rent half

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434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

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provide the labourers with three meals of rice. Labour is 243
engaged mainly in the planting and harvest seasons, and even 465
large farms do not have hired hands permanently on the pay roll. A farm of forty *mu*, or about seven acres, which is large in the Ta Li region, would pay out not more than fifty dollars nickel in the year or about 12*s*. To which must be added the rice for the labourers' meals.

Taxation in Yunnan is light. The land tax and a tax on 651
slaughtering animals are the only direct taxes paid by the people. The newly introduced income tax, first collected in 1938, only applies to the salaries of government officials and teachers, who can ill afford to pay it, and to merchants whose income exceeds 10,000 National Dollars per annum. There are none in this category at Ta Li. The land tax is levied only on cultivated land, and was formerly graded into three categories, applied to the best, medium, and poor land. In 1938 this was changed to a flat rate applied to all cultivated land without distinction. Collected in two equal instalments twice annually, the old tax was as follows:

Grade	*Tax per mu*	*Sterling equivalent*
Best land	4.00 dollars nickel	One shilling (6.0*s*. an acre)
Medium land	3.00 ,, ,,	ninepence (4*s*. 6*d*. an acre)
Poor land	2.00 ,, ,,	sixpence (3*s*. 0*d*. an acre)

The new system requires a flat rate of 2.40 dollars nickel from all land. This is also collected ~~in~~ two equal instalments at the end and in the middle of the year.

This new rate is about equivalent to sevenpence halfpenny per *mu*, which being very much lower than the old rate of a shilling on the best land, and not a very great increase over the old rate of sixpence on the worst, would

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651 suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

[661] Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

651 The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or
262 three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. 0*s* 0*d*., would thus have paid £0 11*s*. 3*d*. in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about 1*s*. 2*d*. ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or 2*s*. 3*d*. Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig
[253] arises. For minor festivities pork can be bought in the city or at a market, thus the butchering tax falls mainly on the professional butchers of the city who cater for a steady market.

426 It is inevitable that with such small margins of ready cash available, the Min Chia farmer is often obliged to contract debts. A wedding, or a funeral, involves expenses for which there is no provision possible unless by borrowing money or mortgaging land. As the rates of interest are very high it is often impossible for the debt to be discharged when due,

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and in this way the peasants become more and more indebted to the richer landowners, who are also the moneylenders. The standard rate of interest on cash loans is three per cent per month, or any period less than a month. 36% per annum is to European standards a very high rate of interest, and this is by no means the highest rate prevailing in Ta Li. Pawnshops, which act as banks, charge 4% per month or 48% per annum. In practice of course, the peasant who wishes to borrow money cannot hope to pay at this rate of interest and is obliged to mortgage his land, which is the only asset which could be realised by his creditor. Mortgage rates are a little lower than those charged on cash loans or by the pawn shops, because the security is better. 2½ *tou* of rice is the interest demanded for an advance of 100 dollars nickel secured on land. The value of this quantity of rice in 1938 was 17.50 dollars nickel, so the rate of interest was not more than 17½% per annum on mortgages. Even this rate is of course very high and a farmer who had been compelled to mortgage half or more than half of his land would have great difficulty in making ends meet.

Since the abolition of opium cultivation the problem of debt has therefore greatly increased in the Ta Li region and this in turn depresses purchasing power and adds to the economic depression. Land Banks, which in other parts of China had been set up by the Central Government to assist the peasants and provide an alternative to the moneylender at cheaper rates, have not yet been established in Yunnan. In fact there are not as yet any banks at all in the rural districts of this province, even in the cities. In a purely agricultural countryside, without industries of any importance, and with only a restricted commerce, no bank which had not government support and backing can be established, or if established, charge rates of interest lower than those offered by the moneylending richer families.

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511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s.* 0*d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

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the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147] women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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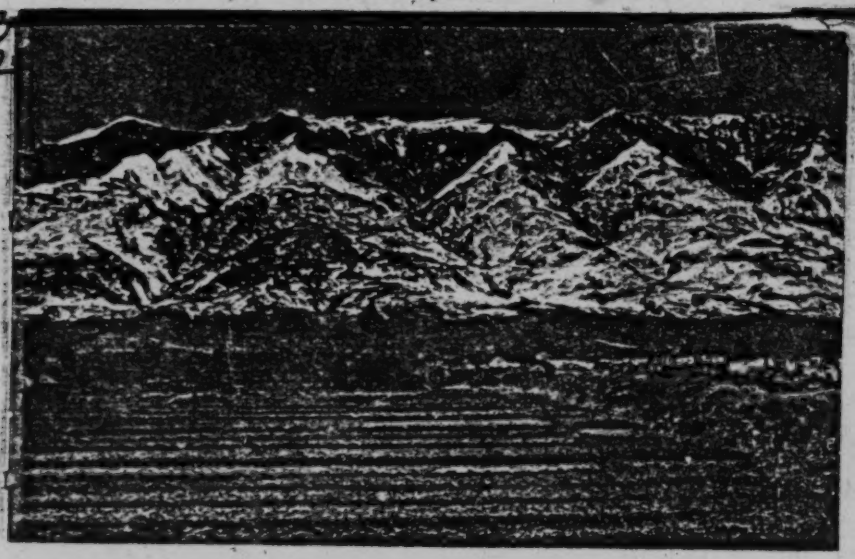
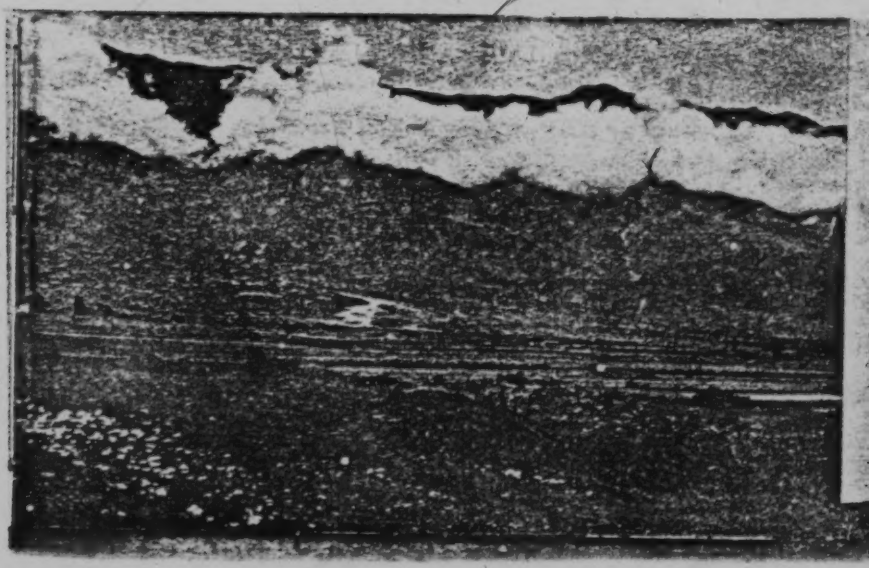


Ts'ang Shan mountains in winter.

Ts'ang Shan mountains in summer.



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231 Shan is public land. On the lower slopes, easily reached from the plain, some cattle are grazed, but as they are driven down to the city or villages every night, and no attempt has ever been made to build cow byres on the mountain itself, they cannot reach the middle slopes, where the pasture is 234 much better. On the other hand the Min Chia, in sharp contrast to the Chinese, milk their cattle, and make two kinds of cheese, called *niuzai* or "milk cakes," and *zerbiu*. Although the Chinese in other parts of the country regard cow's milk as unfit for human consumption, and milk drinking as a disgusting habit, the Yunnanese have taken to *niuzai* or "*Ju san*", as it is called in Chinese, which is even brought up to Yunnanfu, where it is a delicacy.

231 The steepness of the slopes of Ts'ang Shan accounts in some manner for the Min Chia failure to raise more cattle, but the neglect of sheep raising cannot be explained on these grounds. Small flocks of sheep and goats—always more goats than sheep—are driven up daily to about the 9,000 ft. level, but they are always brought back to the villages or the city at night. They cannot therefore reach the fine pastures lying below the rain forest between 9,000 and 11,000 feet, where rich grass remains uncropped from year to year. The small flocks that do exist are not large enough to graze the area in daily reach of the plain, and they largely consist of that rather useless animal, the goat. When asked why they do not raise more sheep, the Min Chia shepherds give a reply which reveals the mental habits bred of long isolation. They say "there are no more sheep". In other words the small flocks they own, are, to them, the only existing flocks of sheep. Other places, remote beyond the encircling mountains, may have sheep also, but this has no practical importance. Sheep from such districts are not available, cannot be, or at least never are, brought to Ta Li, and have no more bearing on their problem than sheep in Australia.

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231 The quality of the wool produced by the Ta Li sheep is
236 hairy and poor, and the few hundreds of sheep in their flocks do not give any appreciable amount. The demand for mutton, especially since the Moslem population has declined, is small. Though these points are always put forward as an explanation of why there are so few sheep and so much wasted pasture, the manner in which the Min Chia answer these questions shows that they have never really thought about them before. "There are no more sheep" ; this expresses their attitude, and the reasons why there are no more only occur to them as afterthoughts, when some stranger takes it into his head to dispute or argue about a fact which to them is as satisfying as it is obvious.

314 Stock raising in fact is only a minor side line of the villages lying at the base of the mountain. Those families who have not enough rice land to live on engage in a little stock raising, or woodcutting, or cutting the mountain grass for fodder. But these activities are rather despised. Only the very poor, one was constantly told, would try to earn a living on the mountain, and the implication that this sort of livelihood was in some way rather barbarous was clearly present. That the returns are poor is certainly true. A woman or girl—such work is usually left to them—who goes up the mountain at dawn, perhaps to 10,000 or 11,000 ft., a three hour climb, and cuts a load of hay, only gets two nickel, or a halfpenny, for her fodder when she gets down to the city by four o'clock in the afternoon to sell it to the muleteers at the caravan inns. So much work for so poor a reward would obviously only be undertaken by those reduced to great poverty.

313 Bamboo cutting, which involves going still higher, to the bamboo forest at 12,000 ft., under snow and inaccessible in winter, is a little more paying. Bamboos are made into brooms, or cut for sticks, and these can be sold at the fort-

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313 nightly markets in Ta Li. The cedars in the rain forest which begins near 13,000 ft. and continues to the crest are cut for building timber to some extent. As they grow on steep and often almost sheer slopes and precipices, much of the timber cannot be cut, or if cut cannot be fetched down. This industry is therefore very limited, and the lengths obtainable small. Large beams for house building and boat building are more easily obtained from the forests on Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain behind the eastern shore of the lake.

824 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which
261 grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

313 In recent years the *hsien* government, which acts as trustee for such public land as the mountain, has done something towards reafforesting the lower slopes with pines. Much of the ancient pine forest has been cleared by woodcutters, but re-planting undertaken within the last twenty years has restored the lower slopes to forest, and strict licensing of wood cutting is now enforced. On the other hand no attempt has been made to exterminate or even reduce the wolves which infest Ts'ang Shan and not only prey upon the small flocks of sheep, but also raid the villages of the plain
312 for pigs and chickens. The main value of Ts'ang Shan, in Min
316 Chia eyes, is as a source of perennial streams for irrigating the rice land, its secondary value as the source of the famous Ta Li marble for which the city is known all over China.

226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

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village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous 226
and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large [342]
boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population en- [361]
gages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no 443
shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

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443 held on fixed days at one or other of a few large villages. Equally, all produce is sold either daily on the streets of Ta Li, or at the large fortnightly fairs in the city and the smaller markets held every six days in one of these market villages. Commerce is thus not part of the activity of the village as such, and it will be convenient to describe the character and scope of Min Chia trade in a separate chapter.

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CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172]
tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the west and east walls by a third again, and building a new south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Although the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street connecting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes, which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden, and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

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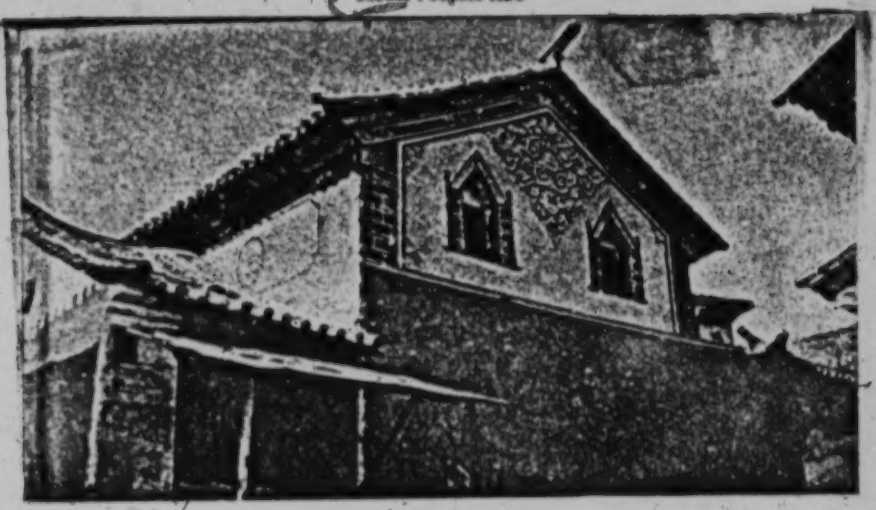
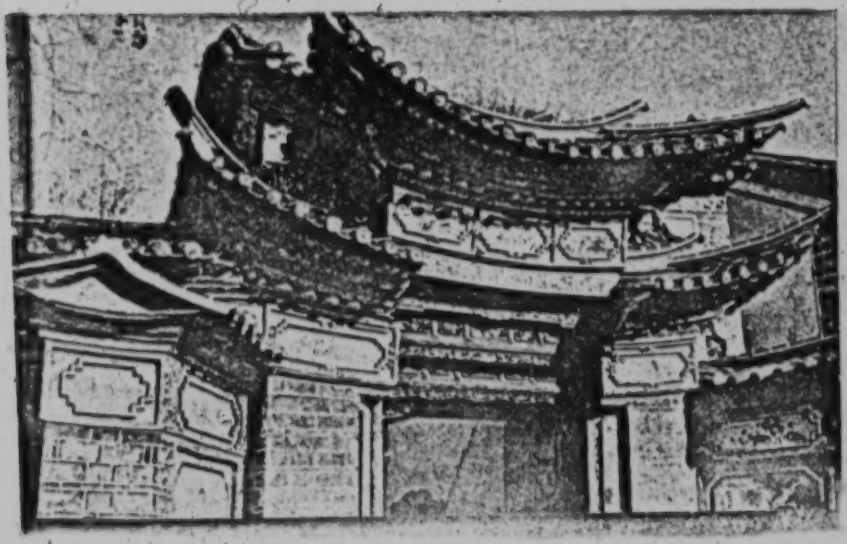


Ta Li house. Decoration shows Moslem influence.

Gateway of wealthy house in Ta Li.



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669 perished. The extensive ruins of their houses, now covered
731 with cactus and wild shrubs, still encumber large parts of the walled enclosure. These older ruins are for the most part in the south east part of the city, those due to the great earthquake of 1925 are found in all parts. This second disaster caused great destruction and a heavy loss of life. The main street was burnt out, and thus the merchant community suffered a total loss of their goods, which were not of course covered by any form of insurance. The loss of life was not so heavy as in the country, where along the lake shore hundreds died in the sudden collapse of their homes. Most of the dwellings in the city were however, either ruined, or so badly damaged as to be uninhabitable. More solidly built, or as the faithful believe, protected by the gods, the great pagodas outside the city and the main temples inside the walls, withstood the shock, as did three out of the four Gate Towers.

As there is no form of insurance operating in Yunnan these heavy losses fell wholly upon the householders themselves. For years the city lay almost in ruins. Slowly, as wealth accumulated, men began to rebuild, first their shops, then the homes of the richer classes, and still to-day the work of reconstruction goes on. During the years 1937 and 1938
341 more than thirty ruinous houses were rebuilt. Fortunately Ta Li was then still far from the centres of progress and innovation, so the old style of architecture was employed in rebuilding the city, unchanged by the rather unhappy influence of European ideas found in too many of the new buildings in the greater cities of China. Ta Li to-day, no longer a city of ruins, is one of the most attractive examples of a small Chinese city built entirely in Chinese style. The end and back walls of the better class houses are made of the local granite building stone, the front, where the windows and doors are placed, of wood, and the roofs are tiled. The three solid walls are plastered and whitewashed on the out-

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341 side, the blank surfaces at the gable ends and under the eaves being decorated with black and white arabesques. The doors in the wooden fronts are carved, and the window spaces closed with lattices of intricate and unusual designs. The houses, as in all parts of China, are built on the courtyard plan, but are usually two storied.

This style of architecture is not of course peculiar to Ta Li, and there is no difference between the houses inhabited by Min Chia and by Chinese. If there was ever an indigenous type of house unlike the Chinese kind, it has entirely disappeared. On the other hand, the custom of decorating the end walls with black and white arabesque patterns is peculiar to the Ta Li region and is not found in other parts of Yunnan. The small pointed windows let into the end and back walls, another peculiarity of Ta Li houses, are not found in ordinary Chinese designed houses and these, and the decoration found in conjunction with them, may perhaps be attributed to Moslem influence.

351 Every residential house has a garden as well as the central
247 courtyard. The garden, part of which is used for vegetables, is usually shaded with fine trees and gay with flowering shrubs. The camelia or tea tree, of which there are many varieties, is very popular at Ta Li in the winter months. In summer, roses, azaleas and rhododendrons (the latter with difficulty acclimatised to the lower altitude), give a constant succession of flowers, and the plants are trained with loving care into strange shapes representing Chinese characters for happiness and good luck. The people of Ta Li are keen amateur gardeners and in recent years many foreign flowers such as zinnias and marigolds have been introduced. Loquats, oranges and pears are grown, although the quality of fruit from the eastern shore of the lake is much superior. These trees are grown in Ta Li more for their blossom than for the fruit.

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.

361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

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The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families who are landowners in the country, while many of the richer merchants have invested their profits in land and become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These families with rural and urban connections can be classified broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

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565 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed
369 for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the
423 sons have been given education up to the middle school
443 grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 The second class of family with city and village homes is
369 composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for com-
423 fort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed,
607 are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

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country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the chief pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

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441 438 563 The remainder of the inhabitants of Ta Li may be classified as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

441 563 A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

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of business. Thus some of the tailors may be Chinese, or of such mixed origin as to be very doubtfully Min Chia, and the distribution of trades among the Chinese is even less fixed. Though not rigidly defined like an Indian caste system there is still a marked separation between the kinds of business done by Chinese and Min Chia on the one hand, and different groups of Chinese on the other.

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Shops in Ta Li City

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Barbers	11	Ssu Ch'uanese
Bedding	8	Yunnan Chinese
Books and stationery	5	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Brassmiths	7	Min Chia
Butchers	5	Min Chia
Cakes and confectionery	5	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Carpenters	5	Min Chia
Charcoal braziers	1	Min Chia
Coffins	13	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Crackers, incense and candles	7	Ssu Ch'uanese
Crockery	2	Yunnanese
Dentist	1	Cantonese
Drapers (cloth)	4	Min Chia
Embroidery	1	Min Chia
Furriers	4	Min Chia
Hatters	39	All groups
Ironmongers	6	Min Chia
Marbles	17	Ssu Ch'uanese and Min Chia
Medicine shops	55	Cantonese and Yunnanese

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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
441 563 Mixed imported goods	31	Cantonese and Yunnanese
Musical instruments	1	Ssu Ch'uanese
Paper images (for funerals)	4	Min Chia
Photographer	1	Cantonese
Picture sellers	5	Yunnanese
Printers	6	Yunnanese
Ready made clothes	11	Min Chia
Restaurants and Tea houses	64	Min Chia and Yunnanese Moslems
Saddlers	9	Min Chia
Second hand clothing	6	Min Chia
Shoe shops	73	All groups mostly Ssu Ch'uanese
Silk stores (mercers)	42	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Silversmiths	18	Min Chia
Tailors	42	Min Chia
Tinsmiths	7	Min Chia
Tobacco, straw sandals, etc.	101	Min Chia
Transport firms	3	Moslem Yunnanese
Trunk makers	6	Min Chia
Watchmakers	3	Yunnanese
Wine and salt shops	64	Min Chia
Writing brush makers	4	Yunnanese
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441 The above list is as clearly defined as possible, but in fact many shops do two kinds of business, for example a marble

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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral pro- [764]
cession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refresh- [291]
ments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these com- [275]
modities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a govern- [263]
ment monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

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438 the manufacturing towns of Kiangsu. Since the fall of Shang-
443 hai these have had to be imported with some difficulty via Hong Kong and Canton, and more recently via French Indo-China. In consequence stocks were falling and prices rising
278 at the end of 1938. Medicine shops do not handle western
443 types of medicine. Their stocks include many kinds of herbs, and also highly valued medicaments of doubtful curative value such as deer and rhinoceros horn, powders made of fossil bones, and various minerals. This business is very lucrative and the owners of the medicine shops are among the richest merchants in the city. Much of their raw material is brought from the Tibetan marches and from the un-
438 administered forest tracks of northern Burma. Chinaware,
323 by which is meant porcelain, is imported from the famous potteries in Kiangsi. This ware is used by the wealthy; a local very much cheaper pottery from Yung Pei in northern Yunnan is sold at the fortnightly markets in great quantities.

443 The shops in the city thus provide a fairly wide range of
438 better class goods, but for food supplies and the articles of everyday use the population depends on the daily markets and the fortnightly fairs. Apart from the butchers there are no shops selling produce in the city. Vegetables, fish, rice, and grain are sold daily in the street markets which open about ten o'clock in the morning, when the peasants reach the city, and are usually over by four in the afternoon, when the country people set off for the villages before darkness can overtake them on the way.

The fortnightly "great markets" are held on the second and sixteenth of every lunar month on open spaces inside the north and south gates respectively. These fairs in fine weather attract very large numbers of people from the country and even from districts distant three days journey. During the morning all roads and paths leading towards the city are thronged with peasants and traders, women being

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quite as numerous as men. Some of the goods sold are 443
brought from districts fifty and more miles away, and, 438
especially in the winter months, some Tibetan horse dealers are sure to come down with ponies to sell. By mid-day the market is fully open. Booths are set up in long lines for the sale of silks, and other goods which would be damaged by the sun, temporary restaurants and tea houses do a thriving trade, while the air is rent with the shrill screaming of innumerable pigs, tugging and straining at the ropes which secure them by the hind legs. Elsewhere pottery, bamboo [286]
brooms, brass and copper ware from Li Chiang, fruit from the eastern shore of the lake, mats from Mi Tu, and a line of booths gay with the peasant embroideries made by the Min Chia women, attract a crowd of customers and idlers.

Bargaining is keen and shrewd. No one buys anything until every vendor has been visited, his wares priced, cheapened, and compared, and finally, after many return visits, when the price has been lowered by a nickel or two at most, the sale is made. Traders complain that now the crowds come more to see than to buy, and they regret the old days when opium was still grown. Some of the wares offered for sale are surprising. Carved doors and staircases for houses ready made and apparently of a standard size, are made in Hsi Chou north of Ta Li and offered for sale at these markets, to which they are brought fifteen miles on the backs of girls and men. There are the parrot sellers, whose "wares", small green parrots which are found wild in many parts of Yunnan, sit serenely, untied and tame, upon a large wooden frame of perches, carried on the vendor's shoulders. On the edge of the market, squatting on the ground, the Tibetan horse dealers, in their leather knee boots, with grimy bare chests, and long, matted, lousy hair, sit aloof and alien, watching their mounts, and the Mohammedan muleteers who come to look them over. Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia

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 Towards

443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0*s.* 0*d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

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and in this month it is sometimes possible to find curios—usually of no value—which have been sold by some family in urgent need of funds. As a rule, however, the stock of the few merchants who sell curios, or secondhand objects of all descriptions, is as valueless as it is varied. Rusty swords, spearheads and daggers, are mixed up with bottles, tins, and cracked porcelain, cheap jade ornaments, silver bangles, an occasional broken bronze Buddha, and a quaint assortment of rubbish of European origin such as old table knives and forks, brass buttons of a Ghurka regiment, a battered English Grammar, or an old pair of opera glasses with the lenses missing. As an inspection of some European Curio shops "Chinese" wares shows equally well, the rubbish of one culture is a "curio" in another.

The fortnightly Ta Li market is thus essentially a means of exchanging local products, and not an occasion on which imported manufactured goods are sold in any quantity. On the other hand the two great annual fairs, the Third Month Fair held at Ta Li in the spring, and the Fish Pool Fair (Yu Tan Hui) held near Shang Kuan at the northern end of the plain, in the autumn, draw merchants from distant places to sell their wares, and afford the country people over a wide area an opportunity of buying the products of the coast and foreign countries. These two fairs, one in the brief slack season before the wheat is harvested and the rice planted, the other held just before the rice harvest, are timed to fit in with the programme of the farmers' year, so that the peasants can find leisure to travel some distance to attend them, when the weather is suitable. The Third Month usually corresponds fairly closely to the Solar April, before the monsoon breaks, and the Yu Tan Hui held in the Eighth Month, falls in the Solar month of September, when the rainy season is nearly over and the rains have in any case become sporadic and slighter.

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THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

The Third Month Fair, *Sa Wa Dser* in Min Chia or *San Yuch Kai* to the Chinese is held on the 16th of the Third Lunar Month this being the traditional birthday of the Boddhisatva Kuan Yin (Avolekitesvara) and the official name (never used) for the Fair is "Kuan Yin Shih" the "Kuan Yin Fair". The Fair usually lasts about five days, the date of termination depending on the volume of business. It is famous all over Yunnan, and seems to be very ancient, as it is said to have been instituted by King Pi Lo ko of Nan Chao in the eighth century. To-day one is constantly told that business is far less than in former times, and the abolition of opium cultivation is always given as the reason. It is interesting to observe, however, that the same remark was made to one of the first European travellers to visit Ta Li, Archibald Colquhoun, who passed through Ta Li in 1882. It is true that this was only a few years[1] after the end of the great Moslem rebellion which devastated Yunnan in the seventies. In Colquhoun's time opium cultivation was still universal. It is generally agreed that the attendance of the public is as great as ever, but that the customers come to look and not to buy.

The fair is held outside the west gate of Ta Li city on a piece of open ground on the first uncultivated slopes of the Ts'ang Shan mountain, which also serves the purpose of a burial ground for executed criminals. Here, among the crude graves of these unhonoured dead, a little town of tents and booths, arranged in orderly streets, springs up on the day before the fair opens. These are the shops of the merchants of perishable goods, cloth, silk, imported mixed goods, and indeed all the trades represented in the streets of Ta Li itself. In addition there are many Cantonese merchants who have come for the fair itself with manufactured goods

[1] Across Chryse, Archibald Colquhoun. Vol. 2. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. London. 1883.

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443 for sale, and there are the usual restaurant booths and tea
438 houses, always crowded, and serving excellent and tasty meals cooked on an improvised stove of stones and clay. At
278 least one half of the fair ground is occupied by the tents and
443 booths of the medicine merchants, for this fair is above all
438 famous as a market for drugs and herbs. The merchants, some of whom are from the marches of Tibet, bring enormous quantities of these goods to the Third Month Fair, which is attended by buyers representing the great medicine firms of the coastal cities and even of such distant places as Peking. The strange ingredients used in Chinese medicine, deer and rhinoceros horns, rare fungi from the forests of north Burma, the caterpillar plant (which, though really a seed pod, exactly resembles a caterpillar), tiger claws, and herbs which are probably possessed of more useful properties than these things, come very largely from the wild country of south west Yunnan and the great forests along the Yunnan Tibetan border ranges. Deer horns, believed to restore sexual potency, sell at the coast for as much as 5,000 National Currency dollars the pair (nearly £250 0*s.* 0*d.*) but they must be of a special kind, only found in the Burma-Yunnan borderland, and only those from the wild deer are valuable. The merchants state that the horn of the wild deer can be readily distinguished from horn of the same species reared in captivity.

443 These goods can of course be obtained for comparatively
438 low prices at the Ta Li fair, not far from their country of origin, and although the cost of transport to the coast is high, it is not difficult, comparing the cost and sale price, to understand why the Chinese medicine trade is one of the most profitable. The general merchandise imported for sale does not differ in character from that sold in the few mixed goods shops in Ta Li city, but the quality and range of the articles is superior. European or Shanghai piece goods, hats,

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hardware, and knitted woollen goods, especially for children, are most in demand, Some local specialities such as the hard wood carved furniture made near Teng Ch'uan north of Ta Li is also sold, but not in the quantity offered at the Yu Tan Hui in the autumn.

The horse market vies in importance with the drug and herb trade. Tibetan dealers come down to Ta Li in very large numbers for this fair, stopping on their way to the tea districts further south, for it is partly with the cash from the sale of their horses here that they buy the tea further south. With their wives and families they camp among the graves that cover the lower slopes near the fair ground, grazing their mules and ponies on the fresh spring grass. In order to show the merits of their horses a kind of "race meeting" is held on the third day of the fair, under the west wall of the city, where there is a stretch of flat ground, now further levelled to provide the "by pass" for the motor road which is planned to connect Ta Li with Li Chiang. The races are not competitive in the European manner, but consist of displays of horsemanship by one rider at a time. An official air is lent to the proceedings by the presence of the Magistrate of Ta Li and some of the officers of the garrison and other notables, who watch from a tent erected on a convenient mound. The horsemen, not all of whom are Tibetans, ride past the official tent at full gallop, and the points are awarded for the appearance of the horse, its paces, and the horsemanship of the rider. The winner is presented with a red silk flag inscribed with the official approbation, while the best of the other competitors get similar green flags. This flag is then pinned to the saddle of the horse, and the coveted distinction considerably enhances its value.

The general character of the Third Month Fair is thus not so much concerned with the wants of the farming population, the Min Chia themselves, as with purchase and sale of

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Yu T'an Hui (Fishpool) Fair.

Western Min Chia girl wearing her regional head-dress.

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[Face p. 64]

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448 the products of the border regions of Yunnan, for which Ta
438 Li, near the junction of the main east and west and north and south caravan routes, is a convenient site. Held at the city itself it is convenient for the purchasers who have come from distant places and must lodge in the town inns. Although a large number of the peasants from the plain attend the fair, perhaps half those present are strangers from the north or east, or town merchants who come to replenish their stocks. It is this large outside element which has made the Third Month Fair well known to Chinese from other provinces and from Yunnanfu (K'un Ming) whereas the still larger fair of the autumn, the Yu Tan Hui, has not this character and is comparatively unknown even to residents in eastern Yunnan.

The Yu Tan Hui, or Fish Pool Fair, is so called because it is held on a rocky hillside overlooking the northern end of the Erh Hai lake, close to a temple where there was once a large fish tank (now dry). The site is curious, and in many ways inconvenient. There is no town nearer than Teng Ch'uan, which is five miles away, or the decayed fortress of Shang Kuan, distant only a mile, but reduced to a small village within its crumbling walls. Although there are other villages within easy walking distance of the Fair Ground, none of these have more than one or two small and dilapidated inns apart from the ordinary farmhouses of the village.
[487] On the other hand the site has good communications. The main north caravan road from Ta Li to Li Chiang and Tibet passes through the fair ground, and the branch road to Yung Pei, the pottery centre, crosses the Erh river estuary by a stone bridge at this point. Also the fair ground is on the shores of the lake, and the large junks can be moored in deep water against the rocky shore. If the customers were mainly merchants from distant places, as at the Third Month Fair, the inconvenience of the site would be considerable, but this fair is primarily for the country people, the Min Chia of

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443 the villages, and they either live within reach or are ready to
438 lodge in crowded farmhouses nearby.

The Fair is held on the 13th of the Eighth Month, a date corresponding in a normal year to 18th of September (1937) but if there is an intercalary month, the date falls later, as in 1938, when it was the 7th of October. In either case the rains are barely over, and in fact rain during the Fair is not uncommon. As the soil of the neighbourhood is red clay, the inconvenience caused by bad weather is considerable.

It is curious that this fair, where the accomodation is so limited, and the goods themselves only protected by flimsy tents of unwashed cotton cloth, should be held in a month where rain is certain and at a place so exposed. The only explanation is the fact that were it held later it would clash with the rice harvest, when the presence of the farmers would be impossible. The Yu Tan Hui is attended by immense crowds of people, nine tenths of whom are Min Chia farmers and their families, women being especially numerous. It continues for nine days on average, and is quite twice as large as the Third Month Fair. The streets of booths and tents cover a wide area on the hillside, nearly every shop in Ta Li, Teng Ch'uan, Chien Ch'uan, Hsia Kuan, and even further off places having its tent or stall. The customers are Min Chia farmers, but the vendors are the townsmen of the neighbouring cities, outside merchants being a minority.

The character of the fair and the goods sold are different from the Third Month Fair; here there are few medicine merchants, and fewer horses and Tibetan dealers, although in 1938, on the news that buyers from the Central Government Army were coming, large numbers of Tibetan mules were brought to the fair. Essentially however the Fair represents a reunion of all the merchants of the local cities at a site where their peasant customers can conveniently purchase city goods, and in exchange sell, not their farm pro-

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443 duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery,
438 needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities.
[326] A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li,
[297] Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded
[301] headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

291 Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min
443 Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull
438 caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the
322 shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The
443 carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is
438 here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial: the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

313 [1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

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The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505] junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443 heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438 walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764 side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods, walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324 can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443 Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438 stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505 many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443 and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438 summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats, protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

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505 house, while on others merchants recline upon the heaped
443 up packages and boxes which hold their goods.
438 In spite of the crowds and animation of the fair ground, merchants, as usual, complain that in recent years their
443 business has not been good. The farmers, they say cannot
438 afford to buy since opium cultivation was stopped, and now since the war with Japan began, the price of imported goods is still higher. In 1938 the merchants said that whereas the people would buy old stock, i.e. that purchased before the war and still sold at pre-war prices, there was practically no sale for new stock, purchased since the value of the Chinese dollar in relation to outside currencies dropped. It is indeed fairly obvious that most of the people came to see and be seen rather than to make more than one or two small purchases. The fair must always have been for the villagers as much a social as a commercial occasion. It offers to the women, and particularly to the girls, one of the few opportunities of seeing scenes of busy life, crowds of people, and of wearing their best clothes in public. This is clearly an important aspect of the matter to them, for at no other time or place is it possible to see so many Min Chia girls wearing their full costume, moving freely unattended through the crowds, making their own purchases, watching their friends or rivals do the same, modestly aware that their looks and costumes are being appraised by masculine eyes as well.

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CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

IN A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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175 several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no
167 eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li
563 had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

634 There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min
563 Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

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ethnographic boundary of the Min Chia people, for although the *Hsien* of Ta Li, Erh Yuan, and Chien Ch'uan, are wholly Min Chia, they overlap also into districts north, east and west of these three, which include communities of Chinese, Na Khi, Li Su and Tu Li. Nevertheless although the governmental system is identical with that in force in other parts of Yunnan and in China as a whole, it merits description for the very reason that, as the cadre in which Chinese civilisation operates, it is itself the principal cause of contact between the two cultures. It is well known that the Chinese Empire has for many centuries been ruled by a civil service of officials recruited by public examinations, and this civil service ranked higher and had greater authority than the military officers commanding the rather scanty garrisons stationed in the walled cities. After the Chinese revolution the old system fell into confusion, from which it has recently emerged, modernised, but in many respects unchanged. The civil officials of to-day are no longer recruited by annual examinations held in Peking or at some other great city, but they are required to be University graduates, and in recent years they are also required to pass a civil service examination, held in the provincial capital. Their military colleagues, who acquired inordinate power during the years of confusion following the revolution, are now slowly being brought under the control of the provincial government, from which they had largely escaped, and though endowed with more power than they possessed under the Manchu Empire, they can no longer override the civil power whenever they choose.

The *Hsien*, an area rather smaller than an English county, yet of considerable extent, is under the civil rule of the *Hsien Chang*, or Magistrate, who is responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice within certain limitations. He is also in charge of the public works, administers

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634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
682 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

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courts does not always conform to the enlightened ideas of 671
the legislators. It may well be that an older spirit of com- 682
promise on the one hand, and of severity towards socially condemned crimes on the other, still pervades the law as it is applied from day to day. This is illustrated by the kind of sentence imposed for murders of different types. The murder of a near relative, father, mother, brother or sister, a crime abhorred by the Chinese, is punished with death. But the murder of one who is not related to the criminal, even though the crime may have very little palliating or extenuating circumstances, is often only punished by a sentence of five or six years' imprisonment. The prisons of Yunnan are 697
for the most part well below the standard which the government desires to see enforced, and a sentence of some years in prison is therefore not so light as it may seem.

Civil disputes and lawsuits not involving criminal offences 692
come under the jurisdiction of the Branch High Court situ- 685
ated at Ta Li. This type of jurisdiction is of course part of the reforms instituted by the Republic, and the law applied is the new reformed civil code. The Branch High Court has jurisdiction over a much wider area than the *Hsien* of Ta Li itself, for it covers all civil cases of importance brought in the *Hsien* between Pao Shan in the west, Li Chiang in the north, Meng Hua southwards, and Ch'u Hsiung to the east. These places, the nearest to have Branch High Courts themselves, are each about a hundred miles from Ta Li. A civil dispute arising in Erh Yuan or Chien Ch'uan has thus to be brought before the Ta Li Branch High Court, if the parties cannot compose their differences with the aid of arbitrators. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are not at all a litigious 691
people, always preferring to settle their disputes by arbitration if possible, and only resorting to the courts in the last instance. The cost of litigation in the civil courts, though not high by European standards, is a further deterrent. The ad-

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691 vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

671 In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil juris-
626 prudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of govern-
829 ment still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The
642 duties of the government in former times were three; to
626 collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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to the village elders and the arbitrators they agree to appoint. The government is not informed, nor does it wish to know what is decided. 829 642 626

This indifference to and independence of the government is carried over to matters of criminal nature, where the law might be expected to take an automatic course. In practice the people rarely invoke the law except in cases of armed robbery. A bandit is not a person towards whom one needs to use any consideration; if he has a family they will probably have disowned him to avoid being held as accomplices in his crimes. Therefore with a bandit one can safely call in the forces of law and order, since no unpleasant social relations with other members of his family are likely to result from such action. But with other kinds of criminals this factor is always present. The villagers themselves prefer to deal with a thief in their own way, sometimes a very drastic way, for if a man is found to be an incorrigible petty thief, the village assembles, sometimes asks and obtains the consent of the man's family, and either drives him out or even puts him to death by drowning. Consequently between the penalties enacted for various crimes and what actually happens to a detected criminal who has committed such a crime, there is often a wide difference. This is nowhere more evident than in crimes of a sexual nature. 626

Unlike their neighbours to the north, the Na Khi, who still retain a tolerance of pre-nuptial intercourse shocking to the Chinese, the Min Chia have wholly adopted the strict and uncompromising morality of the dominant culture. As has been mentioned, the seduction of a virgin, or even of an unmarried girl previously seduced by another (if such a case occurred), is not merely sin, it is a crime, which is punishable by a sentence of two or three years' imprisonment for the man concerned. The girl is not held guiltless of course, but the law takes no account of her fate, which is left to her 834 626

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626 father's discretion. In former times a father might slay an
834 unchaste daughter, just as a husband could put an adulterous wife to death; this is now expressly forbidden by law, and does not in fact seem to have been the usual fate of erring women, even when it was permitted.

The law is thus, even now, severe, but in practice such cases hardly ever come before the courts. The idea of invoking the law in a public court in matters of this intimate nature is extremely distasteful to the Min Chia, as to the Chinese. These things are family matters to be settled by and in the family itself, or with the assistance of relatives as arbitrators. For this reason it is usually impossible to hear of cases of the graver sexual offences such as incest, for such
583 things are never made public. On the other hand the abduction of girls—with their own consent—is a common event, and admitted to be so. This, of course, comes strictly within the criminal category of seducing an unmarried girl, but it is rare that the case is brought to court.

To understand why this is so needs a word of explanation. Marriage among the Min Chia is arranged by the parents, the parties themselves not being permitted as much as to see one another before the wedding ceremony, and the betrothal often takes place when both children are still almost infants. There is thus no legitimate free sexual selection, no means of legalising the love which a chance meeting may have kindled in an unbetrothed pair. The Min Chia, however, are no more rigidly bound by their own conventions than other peoples, and thus when a young man and a girl meeting and loving by chance, refuse to renounce their passion, there is only one way out. The man abducts the girl and endeavours to get her to his own home. If he succeeds, after a more or less prolonged wrangle between the parents of both parties, and the parents of those to whom the erring couple were betrothed, the marriage is at last recognised, the customary

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gifts are exchanged, and the quarrel is appeased. But when 583
the abduction takes place the girl's father is bound in honour to call out his male relations and retainers and start a pursuit. This has all the appearance of a serious chase, the pursuers are armed with swords or firearms, and travel fast, enquiring after the runaways as they go, while the latter try to avoid main tracks and frequented ways. One is constantly told that if the pursuers overtook them a fight would follow and the seducer would be in danger of his life, and the girl in danger of being dragged home to face the wrath, and possible violence of her father. All the same one may doubt this romantic assertion.

It does not appear, in fact, that the Min Chia Lochinvars are ever brought to bay. In spite of the difficulty of escaping in a country where roads are few and mountain barriers make detours almost impossible, the erring couples always seem to get away. This is the more odd as a Min Chia girl, though she has not got bound feet, can hardly be expected to travel much faster than her male relatives, lightly loaded and hurrying in pursuit. But how embarrassing it would be for all parties if the pursuit was successful! The relatives would be forced, from "face", to fight, perhaps even to kill, the seducer of one of their womenfolk. That would mean not only an unpleasant feud with his family, but also the death of the only person who could now be expected, indeed, required, to marry the girl. No Min Chia father wants a girl returned to him, her honour lost, her marriage cancelled, and the only man who could take her off his hands, dead. On the other hand, provided the seducer escapes, and a decent show of pursuit is made, all can be settled, if not for the best, at least on tolerable conditions.

The parents of the boy to whom the girl was betrothed 582
have to be soothed and perhaps compensated for the loss of face their son has undergone in being so manifestly scorned

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582 by his intended. But they can usually be consoled by some diplomatic relative who can point out that really they are well out of it, for such a girl would clearly not have made a good daughter-in-law. The youth himself has of course to settle matters with his own family. They will probably be more concerned to placate the family of the girl to whom he is betrothed, justifiably indignant at the neglect of their own daughter and anxious about her future. Sometimes the boy will have to marry both to settle matters amicably, his betrothed as first wife, his love as concubine. This may seem ideal to the parents, but is hardly a promising arrangement
582 for future domestic peace. On the other hand the family of
626 the abducted girl can insist that marriage does in fact take place. Cases where the girl is seduced and abandoned are so rare that I was not able to hear of one. Here, at length, the law could be invoked if necessary, and the seducer, in danger of going to gaol for two or three years, would certainly prefer marriage even if his passion was cold.

In practice it is never necessary to bring things to this point. The law is never invoked, and not being called upon to act, the officials take no steps, even when the facts are well known, the subject of gossip on all sides, and the offender and his would-be bride living at hand within easy
626 reach. No one wants the law and its officers poking their
824 noses into private business. Even the well known fact that armed men were afoot, and a breach of the peace likely, does not rouse the police to action. If manslaughter were done, a reluctant government would be forced to take action, but it is fairly plain that no one expects this to happen. Thus in civil disputes, and even in criminal cases where the motive is not robbery or banditry, the government remains passive and the law is allowed to slumber. The Chinese government, whatever the theory of the reformers, is in practice still actuated by the Taoist principle of "non-

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action", preferring to leave the people to govern themselves which they do very well, and which is all they ask. 626 829

Even in cases where the crime is in no sense a family matter the action of the law is reluctant and the possibilities of compromise infinite. During my residence in Ta Li a case of robbery with some violence occurred, which illuminates the attitude to crime on the part of people and officials alike. A young man of good family and education, impelled by some romantic or neurotic impulse, committed a series of burglaries, not because he was poor and needed money, for the objects he stole were of little worth. On the last occasion he was surprised in the room of the house he was robbing, and discovered. In the struggle that followed he stabbed the householder in the leg with a small penknife, inflicting a painful but not fatal or dangerous wound. He was overpowered by others in the house and the police summoned. The case being clear, he was carried off to the magistrate's gaol and held there while preliminary enquiries were made—enquiries which dragged on from month to month. There seemed no reason why the trial should be so delayed, since the facts were hardly in dispute. 696 627

Meanwhile his relatives, related as they were to every one of influence in the town, began negotiations for a compromise. By circuitous channels, through a relative who knew a friend, who had a friend who knew the victim of the robbery and assault, a proposition was at length put forward. If the victim would agree to forgo prosecution, various men of substance would be found to guarantee the criminal's future behaviour. The officials were perfectly aware of all this and eager to promote the compromise. At last it was agreed that if the criminal could find six men to guarantee his behaviour, who would also undertake to provide him with some means of livelihood, since his reputation and his occupation were equally lost, the victim would write to the

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Min Chia village of Er Gai Yu (lower chicken village).

The main street, Ta Li.

[Face p. 80]

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696 627 magistrate a formal disclaimer of any desire to prosecute. When this had been arranged the case was reviewed by the magistrate and the prisoner released. His friends then obtained a commission in the army for him and he left the town to take part in the war with Japan.

In this case the initial step had been to have the case listed as an ordinary criminal one, not robbery under arms. Had the use of a penknife been held to be robbery under arms the case would have gone before the Military Court, and the penalty might well have been summary execution. Fortunately for the offender it was held that he had not intended to commit violence and that his weapon was not sufficiently dangerous to be considered "arms" in this sense. The attitude of the authorities in this case well illustrates the reluctance which they feel in allowing the law to take its normal course, and the general willingness of all parties to find a way out, to save face, and avoid extreme measures. Here too the factors of family influence, the ramifications of relationship in a small town, and the solidarity of the educated class towards one of its members threatened with a degrading punishment, all played a large part in effecting the compromise.

696 722 627 In sharp contrast to the hesitations of the civil authorities in applying the machinery of the law, the military are ruthless in the suppression of banditry, and this severity is also socially sanctioned, just as the leniency of the civil power is generally approved. In the Min Chia language the name of thief or bandit is classified grammatically with the lower animals, a fact not without significance. In past years the military were far from active in their duty of bandit suppression. This situation which had made travel in Yunnan almost a military operation in the 'twenties, has in recent years been remedied. Under the energetic inspiration of the present Governor, General Lung Yun, banditry has been

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696 stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the
722 north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads.
627 The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

701 The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus
[702] often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with
[712] one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city,
701 or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a
579 Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with wide stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

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701 579 laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

701 177 The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

177 The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

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On the 871
other hand the third channel of contact, education, is in- 177
spired by the ancient Chinese belief that alien peoples can be brought into the Chinese culture by teaching them to use the Chinese script and adopt the moral and ethical principles which Chinese literature expounds. At the present time this well tried method of spreading Chinese civilisation has been revived by including patriotic and political teaching in the curriculum of the schools, with the deliberate intention of welding the varied provinces of China into one nation concious of its unity. The Min Chia lend themselves readily to this process, for, long before the Republic was established, the Imperial Civil Service Examination system had opened a road to wealth and power for all who acquired Chinese learning. The characteristic Chinese respect for education is thus fully shared by the Min Chia.

The schools can be divided broadly into two classes, the 871
city schools maintained by the provincial and local government, and the village schools maintained by the villagers themselves. The first class are subdivided into Elementary 872
and Middle schools, both of which charge fees. Elementary schools in the city are numerous and well attended by both boys and girls, for although education is not actually compulsory every family which can possibly afford it will send their children, especially the boys, to the elementary schools, for which the fees are comparatively low (about 20 Silver dollars a year). The Middle schools of which there 873
are two, one maintained by the city and one by the provincial government, charge 50 Silver dollars a year and continue the education of students up to University age. Only the more wealthy families can afford to educate their children at these schools, which between them have an enrolment of nearly a thousand. Yunnan University, situated at K'un Ming, is open to those who have passed out of the

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873 Middle Schools, but is beyond the financial reach of most of the population.

872 For most Min Chia farmers the educational system begins and ends in the village school, which is held in the village Ancestral Temple, and maintained by the revenue of the village public lands. In those villages which are wealthy the education given in these schools is often free, or the fee charged practically nominal. The children attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen or fourteen, and the instruction is mainly in the arts of reading and writing Chinese. To these necessary subjects a little simple geography, elementary arithmetic, and Chinese history are added. In recent times even the village schools have been required to teach the outlines of anatomy and physiology as part of the government's effort to improve health and eliminate superstition. The political doctrines of the Nationalist Party, designed to arouse patriotism and national consciousness, are also a compulsory subject.

Approximately 70 per cent of the boys and 30 per cent of the girls in the villages of Ta Li Hsien attend these village schools, for a varying number of years, and most of them carry away enough knowledge of Chinese to read easy text books or simple inscriptions. The practical value of this education is perhaps not very great, but it enables the peasants to keep accounts and protects them from some of the more obvious forms of cheating such as the circulation of worthless coloured paper for bank notes.

876 191 It seems probable that the more modern methods of teaching now coming into use will produce a greater change in the educational standard of the peasantry than the old methods of memorising Chinese classics, which too often left the student with no real understanding of what he had laboriously committed to memory. It is perhaps to these old methods that the Min Chia language owes its survival. When

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Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

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618 for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

621 To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

582 551 The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since 582
the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chin- 551
ese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia 551
writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a com- 621
bination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a com- 596
mon *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this 596
sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

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596 tendency to divide the great family that in the Min Chia language no distinction is made between the word for family and that for house, both being *hao*. To the Min Chia therefore, one house, one family, is the natural thing, and it is not easy, when asking about the population of a village, to make the distinction, how many houses? and how many families?

582 It might be expected that the fact that the Min Chia do not recognise the Chinese rule of exogamy would prove a barrier preventing intermarriage between the two peoples, but it does not in practice do so. Among the wealthier class of Min Chia (those with city connections), few families could be found who are not related to their Chinese neighbours on the distaff side, but even these families who are always well educated by Ta Li standards, and in many ways have assimilated Chinese culture, still not only condone marriage with persons of the same surname of the same *tsu*, but actually contract such marriages. When asked whether this custom is not in fact contrary to Chinese ideas, they will reply that that may be so in other parts of the country, but that "here in Ta Li we have always done so in the past". This being considered an adequate reason for continuing a custom which Chinese from other provinces regard with shocked amazement. The educated Min Chia remain quite unaffected by this attitude on the part of strangers and it is not uncommon to see inscriptions on a tombstone bearing the names of husband and wife of the same surname, inscriptions which scandalise Chinese visitors. The resident Chinese families, who have themselves intermarried with the Min Chia, now accept this custom with an easy toleration, but do not practise it themselves. Thus a Chinese family will accept the daughter of a Min Chia family, although they know that the girl's parents were of the same *tsu*, but they themselves would never give a daughter in marriage to a family of their own surname. This state of affairs is perhaps

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the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582
of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621
sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631
group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang An-shih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

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621 divided into groups of five families who are mutually re-
631 sponsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 This system gives the government information and places
631 responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the
[651] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.
653 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the
622 public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

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this work also) for a specified length of time, usually a 653
month at a time in the seasons which are slackest on the land. 622
The magistrate then instructs the village headmen that so many men are required from each village in proportion to the number of families living in it. The headmen have the duty of deciding who shall go. As the headman has no force at his disposal other than the levy of the villagers themselves, he is obliged to fulfil his duties with tact and justice, for decisions which outraged the opinions of the villagers could not be enforced. In this sense the government of rural China is truly democratic in practice.

The picture of course can easily be idealised, if the darker 622
side is ignored. Headmen, though forced to conform to the 661
opinion of the villagers as a whole on important matters, are often men of wealth and large landowners, and as such they tend to become the moneylenders of the village also. This means that an unscrupulous man can practise many petty tyrannies on those who owe him money or have offended him in some way, without the distant and indifferent government exercising any control. In former times a man who went too far might find his granary or his house fired at night, but the emphasis on bandit suppression has tended to make such acts of revenge too dangerous to-day. The system works well when the demands made upon it are traditional and regular, but if too great a strain is placed upon the resources of the villages, and the headman becomes in fact the agent of a grasping and extortionate régime, it speedily breaks down. Honest and just men refuse the invidious task of the headman, and less scrupulous elements intent on their own profit, take over these duties to curry favour with the government. Fortunately this has not happened in recent years in the Ta Li region, for though the heavy demands for forced labour on the great motor road were met with difficulty and grumbling, the government wisely realised

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622 that the limit was approaching, and the further work on the
661 Yunnan-Burma railway, now in hand, has been carried out with paid labour. The reform of the land tax system, mentioned in an earlier chapter is also an indication that the government had become aware of systematic undervaluation of the land of the rich, certainly due to the connivance of village elders who were themselves wealthy landowners.

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CHAPTER 5

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(1) *Ancestor Worship*

THE Chinese, it has been said, practise three religions; 771
Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. The Min Chia, who have absorbed so much of the Chinese culture, also worship deities and practise rites which can be classified as Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian (or Ancestor Worship). But if one concludes from this that it is true to say that the Min Chia, or the Chinese, have three "religions", in the sense in which the word is understood in the West it would be a profound misapprehension of the real character of their beliefs. The educated classes, who are aware of the separate origin of the three systems, do not believe in any of them; the less educated, who practise the rites of all three, are not conscious of any such distinctions. In the Min Chia language, Buddhist Boddhisatvas, Taoist deities, local gods not in the Taoist pantheon, and ancestral spirits, are all described by one word, *ser*. The distinction between supernatural beings [776] called *ser* and the ghosts of deceased persons, called *gur*, is the only one which is present in the mind of the ordinary Min Chia.

It would indeed be better, if it were possible, to forget the nomenclature and classification of religious beliefs derived from European studies of Chinese culture, since these introduce a false systematisation where no system exists, and create distinctions where none are known to the people themselves. The terms themselves are ill-defined and of such vague import as to be almost meaningless. Buddhism, when used to describe the Indian religion in its earlier phases, is a

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Kuan Yin island in Erh Hai lake.

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Musician at the Gwer Sa La festival.

[Face p. 94]

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more or less precise term, but as a classification of rites practised, and beliefs held by the Min Chia to-day it is of limited application. Taoism can mean so many quite different things that it may be as well to list the principal meanings and then indicate which is intended when this word is used. Taoism is firstly the name of the ancient system of quietist philosophy developed in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Secondly it came to be the name of the slightly later system of astrology and alchemy which crystallised around the tradition that the early Taoist philosophers had become "Immortals". In the eleventh century the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, for reasons of policy, elaborated an official polytheistic cult with a hierarchy of divinities comparable to the earthly hierarchy of imperial officials. This he labelled Taoism also. At the present time, in most parts of China, any cult, religious rite, practice or belief, which cannot be classified as Buddhist or connected with Ancestral worship, is described as "Taoist". In this chapter the word will be confined to the sphere of the old official cult, instituted first by Sung Chen Tsung and maintained by all subsequent emperors up to the Republic.

Confucianism, another loose term, in fact covers three quite separate things; the ethical and political teaching of Confucius and his disciples, which explicitly excluded all religious questions; the cult of Heaven of which the Chinese Emperors were the sole priests; and Ancestor Worship. The only link between the three is that none could be classified as Buddhism or Taoism. Here Ancestor Worship, or the Cult of the Dead, is all that need be discussed and therefore the term Confucianism will not be used. The practice of the Min Chia as regards these systems of belief can be outlined briefly before entering into detail. The Min Chia worship a large number of Gods, some of whom are Buddhist Boddhisatvas, some Official Taoist divinities,

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771 some local deities. They also practise Ancestor Worship, there being a real distinction between the manner and the places in which the gods are worshipped, and those in which the rites of Ancestor Worship are performed.

771 One further source of confusion, not unrelated to the
356 notion of "three religions" must be discussed. It is the common experience of all travellers in China, both Yunnan and other provinces, to find temples in poor repair, or ill-kept, and the attitude of the people to this neglect is one of casual unconcern. More than this, the people themselves seem to the European to have no reverence for their gods or their shrines. Men will eat meat and drink rice wine in a Buddhist temple, although wine and meat are forbidden to the Buddhist; they will allow anyone to occupy the shrine itself for a night's lodging, and they laugh, spit on the floor, and behave in an irreverent manner anywhere in the temple precincts. The traveller, or the missionary, who thinks of his own behaviour in a church, is shocked at this conduct and comes to believe that these peoples lack all true spiritual understanding, and practise three religions because they are incapable of devotion to any creed. Chinese of the educated classes, who are in fact agnostics, and hostile to the old religion as a survival of pre-revolutionary China, tend to confirm this opinion. But it is none the less mistaken.

771 If temples are neglected, they are also repaired, even rebuilt, and by public subscription. Hard earned money is spent by farmers who can ill afford any luxury. Women and girls will make long journeys to a temple on the day of festival, and spend relatively considerable sums of money on incense to burn at the shrines. Immense numbers of people collect at the temple festivals, and if many come for pleasure or recreation, great numbers also come to worship. It is not compulsion which brings the crowds and draws their money, for the government is at best indifferent, at worst

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771 openly hostile to the old religious system. If people will take trouble and spend money on a religion disestablished and scorned by their rulers, it can only be because they believe in it.

The explanation of this paradox lies in a misunderstanding of the Chinese (and Min Chia) approach to a religious rite, and the nature of the idea of what is sacred to the European, and to the Chinese. To the West, whether Christian, Moslem or Hebrew, and one may add Hindu, the Church or other place of worship is itself sacred, the house of God, where men meet only to worship the deity in a communal rite. This idea is wholly absent from the Far East. To these peoples religion is essentially not a communal, but a personal, or at most a family affair. The most important rites take place, not in any public temple but in the privacy of the home. The temples of the gods are monuments of piety,
793 built to please, not to house, the deities. Thus the Buddhist
771 "priest" is wrongly described, for he is is not the father of a flock, nor a sacred person knowing more about the gods and how to serve them than a layman. He is at best a monk self-vowed to a life of abstention in order that he may be reborn nearer to Nirvana, and he is also a technician who can be called upon to perform wearisome rites for which the layman has neither time nor inclination. At a funeral, or in sickness, the Buddhist monks are called in to chant sutras, for a fee, just as the doctor is called in to prescribe.

771 There is no communal worship at a temple by the laity.
782 Men and women go to the festivals to burn incense and offer a cash at the shrines of the gods, individually, to acquire merit, avoid ill fortune, or in fulfilment of a vow given in time of sickness. At other times, if they visit a temple, they do not feel called upon to behave in any but the ordinary way.

771 As a practical working system the religion of the Min Chia

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therefore falls naturally into two divisions, the public worship of the gods, whether Buddhist or not, which is carried on at temples and shrines, and the private rites of Ancestor Worship, which are performed in the home or at the family tombs. A broad division between the part played by the two sexes follows the same line of cleavage. The majority of the worshippers at temple festivals are women and girls; men though present, either do not perform acts of worship, or are in a small minority in doing so. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship are carried on by the male members of the family. Women are not excluded from these ceremonies, and play a part in them, but the important rôle is assigned to the men, and without their participation the rites could not be carried on.

It is not easy to determine whether, or to what extent this division represents a difference in belief rather than a mere traditional division of functions. Confucian teaching, the old style Chinese education, was undoubtedly hostile to, or rather, contemptuous of, the other cults, which it regarded as superstitious. This attitude is maintained by the modern education, and in consequence the educated and partly educated men tend to ignore the gods, or leave their worship to women. On the other hand all families make use of Buddhist monks and more or less Buddhist ceremonies for funerals, and on some other occasions. Old men of wealth are the best patrons of the temples and the most generous donors for restoration funds. Among the poorer classes the worship of the gods on occasions of specific need is in no way confined to women. It might be supposed that the overwhelming majority of women worshippers at the festival of Kuan Yin is due to the fact that this Boddhisatva is regarded as a feminine deity, patron of mothers, Kuan Yin the giver of sons. It is natural that here the women should outnumber the men. But the same majority of women worship-

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771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769 353 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table, which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being 769 thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morn-788 ing and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

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tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the 769
morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes 788
the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten.

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead 769
with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well- 796
being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement.

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

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out the inscriptions one by one in a chanting voice, handing them as he finishes to one of the children, who then lays them on the wood fire, while another member of the family, a wife or daughter, throws on to the fire strings of "spirit money"—coloured paper representing ingots of gold and silver.

Fresh piles of "books", which have been lying on the ancestral altar, are brought out and the process of reading out the inscriptions and burning the "books" continues until every deceased ancestor has been so honoured. As, in a wealthy family, the records so kept may go back several generations, and the number of individuals so remembered be over a hundred, the ceremony lasts a long time. When all have been read out and burned, the head of the family rises, and bows three times to the altar, while all the other members of the family, men and women in order of age pass behind the altar, and *k'e t'ou* three times—that is prostrate themselves and knock the forehead on the floor. Even the youngest baby is brought by its mother to make this sign of reverence. The head of the family then pours the cups of rice wine on to the ground before the altar, scattering a few drops from each cup into the fire, and takes pinches of food from the dishes and drops them into the fire. All proceed to the street gate where incense sticks are lighted and fire crackers are discharged, to speed the spirits on their way. This ends the rite. The fire is doused, the altar cleared away. The spirits have departed for another year.

The behaviour of all who take part in this rite is in marked contrast to the careless conduct observed at temples. There is here no laughing and conversation. Nothing but the voice of the head of the family chanting out the names and ages of the deceased breaks the silence, and the scene, lit only by the candles and the firelight, is impressive and solemn.

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(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

It is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to religious practices that, although the Shu Pao ceremony is a rite of Ancestor Worship, it has become associated with other deities as well. On the day following the ceremony many people, particularly women, go to the temple of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and there offer prayers and burn incense for the repose of the spirits of the dead, with the same ritual as is used in the spring festival of this deity. The difficulty of reconciling the belief that the ancestral spirits have just been dwelling in the home, and the belief that they, or some of them, have been confined in the Taoist underworld until released by these sacrifices, does not appear to trouble the Min Chia mind. This is by no means the only instance in which conflicting theology is ignored in favour of the performance of differing rites serving the same general purpose.

Also connected with the Shu Pao ceremony is the custom of releasing K'un Ming "lamps", in reality fire balloons ingeniously made of paper and bamboo lathes, which rise burning to great heights on still windless evenings, such as are common at this season of the year. These fire balloons take their name from the famous Chinese general of the third century A.D., Ch'u-k'o Liang, or Ch'u-k'o K'un-Ming, who first temporarily conquered Yunnan for the Western Han Dynasty. Legend relates that he used this device to send signals to detached bodies of his troops in his wars with the native princes of Yunnan. Although this is the explanation commonly given for the name of the fire balloons, it is admitted that they are never used till the night of the 14th of the 7th Month, the night of the Shu Pao ceremony, and subsequent nights for about a month. In spite of this rather faint connection with religion, no one is able to explain what function, other than that of entertainment, the release of these fire balloons is meant to fulfil. Releasing

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor
527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure
788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are
[764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

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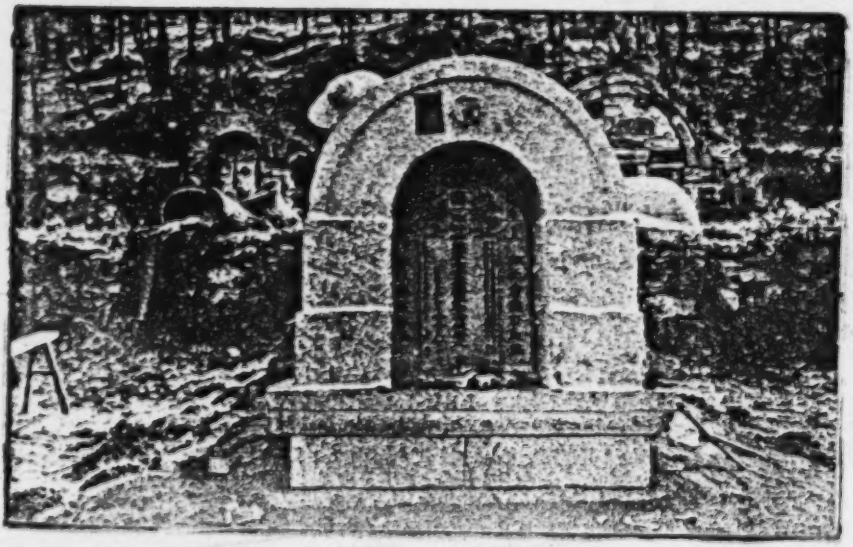
769
764

Paper horses prepared for a funeral.

Min Chia tomb with sacrificial offerings.



[Face p. 104]

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769 and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there.
527 Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of
788 reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

969 The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn,
527 for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

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769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a momument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

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764 was given by the Generalissimo, General Chiang Kai-shek, and written by General Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan, the deceased having been a military officer of rank.[1]

Not every deceased member, even of a wealthy family has so elaborate a resting place. Those who do not survive to marry and leave children are not buried in the principal family graveyard, but on the lowest slopes, where their monuments are more simple and less enduring. Young children or babies are buried with little ceremony on pieces of vacant land near the city wall, and their graves are soon obliterated by weather and decay. Even the poor, however, try to raise money for a tomb which will remain, though they cannot afford dressed stone and must be content to have a monument of piled blocks of undressed granite. The cattle which graze on these slopes break down such tombs before long, and even the elaborate monuments of the wealthy of an earlier age are found in every state of ruin. Yet well built tombs of the fifteenth century, the Ming Dynasty, are still intact, their inscriptions legible and, when they have descendants living, repaired and maintained.

The earliest dated private tomb which I was able to locate had an inscription of the year A.D. 1426, and this was still in good repair. Such a tomb to-day would cost not less than 200 Silver dollars, and the least expense if dressed stone is used would be 50 Silver dollars, a heavy cost for the poorer classes.

766 Suicides, and criminals executed by the authorities, are not buried with the family. The former are interred at the base of the mountain on common land, and the latter are simply and crudely buried on the public fair ground outside the West Gate, where the low mounds which cover them are soon trodden down and obliterated. In accordance with

[1] This distinction is equivalent to a decoration; no doubt the Generalissimo has secretaries who compose these couplets for such purposes, as he can hardly have the leisure to do so himself.

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the belief that drowned persons have been claimed by the 766
Dragon of the Lake, the recovered corpses of those who lose their life in this way are buried on the foreshore, among the willows which line the water. They are given elaborate tombs if they were fathers of a family, just as if death had not been due to drowning, but they are never buried with the family on the mountain slopes. Graves are always orientated 787
in accordance with the instructions of a geomancer, but 766
they invariably face the lake at some angle, and are never faced towards the mountain. The orientation of graves is believed to be intimately connected with the repose of the dead, and if misfortune falls upon a family, or the ghost of the deceased is believed to walk, it is attributed to wrong orientation of the grave, and the monument is reconstructed accordingly.

In all parts of China the Lunar New Year, which falls early 527
in February, is the principal holiday in the calendar, and is celebrated by feasting and festivity. It is usual for shops to close, formerly for as long as two weeks, and even now very little business is done in the first half of the First Month. The 15th of the 1st Month, the last day of the Feast of Lanterns, was the old official end of the holiday season, a period which very much resembles the Christmas holidays of western Europe. In just the same way the New Year holiday is a time for family reunions, a festival in which the religious background is not so prominent as the secular feasting and holiday making. In Ta Li the Min Chia celebrate the New Year with rites, which though they may be affected by Chinese practice in the past, are now strange to Chinese visitors from the eastern provinces. These rites are performed privately in the home and are therefore akin to the Shu Pao ceremonies of Ancestor Worship described above. It is characteristic of Min Chia practice, however, to find Buddhist elements incorporated in the ceremony.

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527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

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of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* 527
(prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ances- 769
tral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops 788
of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family.

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their good-will and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

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527 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the
769 district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in
788 every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in
779 fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

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valid, would equally dispose of the claims of the ancestral 769
spirits, seems to escape the notice of those who use it. 779

In view of the general ignorance of Buddhist theolog and the manner in which Buddhist beliefs have becom incorporated into systems originally distinct, it is not possible to discuss Buddhism among the Min Chia on a theoretical basis. The practice can be observed, but if any attempt is made to fit it into the theory of Buddhism as expounded by scholarly writers, a false systematisation would be the only result. The Boddhisatvas are recognised as deities, with certain powers, and are served with traditional rites on festivals. These ideas may be bad Buddhism, but they are the working practice of the Min Chia, and as such the subject of the next chapter. Nor will it be profitable, in the absence of records, to discuss whether Buddhism was formerly practised in a purer form by the inhabitants of Ta Li. The Kings of Nan Chao certainly erected the magnificent pagodas which still adorn the city, but no evidence exists to show whether the peasants of that distant age understood the religion of their rulers any better than they do to-day.

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CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 FOR the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship
779 of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of
796 as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 This temple is a large building, or rather series of build-
779 ings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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788 before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of
779 incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

796 The only shrine which has what might be called a set ser-
779 vice is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

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(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight variations. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs derisively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

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735 Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious
842 custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival.
796 Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the
779 whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

796 Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly
779 Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

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burned there also, although it is dedicated to Yu Huang, the Jade Emperor, supreme deity of official Taoism, and not to the Mountain God. A well-kept shrine to the Mountain God is maintained just outside the limits of this temple, possibly as an inducement to the worshippers who might not otherwise make the effort to climb so high. This is one more instance of the characteristic Min Chia indifference to theology and the essential unity of the so-called "three religions."

The dates chosen for these festivals, almost all either in the spring or autumn, the two seasons when the weather is best, indicate the practical ends in view. In summer when the rains are heavy, few people could be induced to risk a long climb up the mist-wrapped mountain. Equally the winter, a season of high winds, which make boating unpleasant and dangerous, would be unpopular for the festival of the Lake Dragon, when boating expeditions are one of the attractions. This festival is therefore held on the 8th of the 8th month, about the twelfth of September, when the rains are almost over and the winter winds not yet begun. The local Chinese call this the Dragon Boat Festival, after the famous Chinese holiday which falls on the 5th of the 5th month, but in fact it has nothing to do with the Chinese celebration in honour of the poet and statesman, Chü Yuan-Ming who was drowned in the Mi Lo river in Hunan in the second century B.C. A certain similarity in the ritual has been either copied from the Chinese, or more probably arisen from the nature of any water holiday. The real Dragon Boat Holiday, in the 5th Month, is not celebrated at all by the Min Chia, although many of the Chinese shops shut for the day and the schools close. In Ta Li it is only a secular holiday observed by Chinese institutions, without religious significance.

The temple of Lur Wa, the Dragon King, is on the shore

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796 of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by
779 the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great
346 earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The
779 great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an
796 artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed
779 rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin
796 temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

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one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of 779
releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously 796
as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of 527
the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the 796
temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th 796

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796 173 Month commemorates the tragic death of an ancient poet, the Min Chia of Ta Li have a festival which is equally primarily the commemoration of an historical event, although it has now acquired a certain religious significance. In A.D. 731, Pi Lo-ko, one of the most celebrated Kings of Nan Chao, and the actual founder of the present city of Ta Li, planned to entrap and murder the five chief subordinate princes of the kingdom, who appear to have had at that time a more than feudal independence. According to one account these five were the Princes of Mêng Hua, Pao Shan, Chien Ch'uan, Mi Tu and Têng Ch'uan, all cities of west Yunnan. The Princes were invited to a banquet which was held in a tower, or two storied pagoda-like structure, the traditional site of which is marked by a small temple just beyond the north-west corner of Ta Li city wall.

The Prince of Têng Ch'uan suspected treachery, but consented to go, his wife having induced him to wear an iron bracelet, though the story does not relate whether this was a charm or not. When the five Princes had dined and were partly intoxicated, their host the King excused himself and left, whereupon the building was immediately fired, combustibles having been placed in the lower story. All the Princes perished in the blaze, and even their bodies were consumed, so that when their wives came to seek them for burial, only the wife of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan succeeded in identifying her lord by the iron bracelet which he had worn. In raking among the ashes her fingers were burned and blistered.

796 On the night of the 24th of the 6th Month, about the 30th of July by the Solar Calendar, this event is recalled by curious rites. The women, in memory of the Princess of Têng Ch'uan's burnt fingers, dye their finger tips with a red juice, and at nightfall every family sets up large torches outside the street gate. In the country the farmers take

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torches and run round the boundaries of their fields waving them, while in some villages a stack of hay decorated with a flag, no doubt symbolizing the fatal tower, is fired at nightfall. The young married men then make a rush through the flames to secure the flag, it being believed that he who gets the flag will have a son before the year is out. The burning of torches in the streets and round the fields is believed to drive away sickness, and it is considered courteous to wave your torch in a friend's face, as it will bring him good health for the year. 796

During the day the usual festival rites of incense burning enlivened by a stage play, take place at the little temple which marks the traditional site of the massacre, the play being a version of the historical story of the Five Princes, and not as is usual, a standard Chinese play unconnected with the festival. This play is acted in the Chinese manner, and in Chinese, but it does not appear to be known elsewhere, the whole festival being quite local to Ta Li and the villages round about. A month later, on the 23rd of the 7th Month, the date on which the widow of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan is said to have died of grief, many families hold a feast to honour her memory.

It is curious that this massacre should be so long remembered, for King Pi Lo-ko reigned for many years after the fatal year A.D. 731, and was succeeded by his son. It does not seem likely that either would have approved the commemoration of an event which, however necessary for reasons of state, must have seemed to the King better forgotten.

Another festival local to the Ta Li region, and in no way connected with any rite known to Chinese religious custom, is held in the spring. This festival is called in Min Chia "Gwer Sa La", a name which cannot be translated as its meaning has been lost, the Min Chia themselves being un-

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able to give any explanation of the words. By the Chinese it is called "Jao Shan Lin" or "Winding (among) mountains and woods", but this name is not admitted by the Min Chia and is not in fact descriptive, for the festival has no connection with either the mountain or the forests. Although the occasion is not recognised by the Chinese as a holiday, and is indeed frowned upon by the government, it is for the Min Chia one of the most important festivals of the year, a kind of country carnival, in which the city plays no part. The participants are Min Chia peasants from the villages, no Chinese taking any part in it, although many of the city people come out to witness the ceremony.

In recent years the government has attempted to suppress this festival on the ground that it had unseemly features, but although proclamations forbidding it were posted in 1936 and 1937, no attempt was made to suppress it by force, and no attention to the prohibition was paid by the people. In 1938 the government ceased even this nominal interference and the rites were held as before. The festival is held on the 25th of the 4th month of the lunar calendar, a date corresponding to a day at the end of May or in the first week in June according to the year. In 1938 this date was the 24th of May, in 1937 the 3rd of June. It may here be observed that this date falls in the margin of two weeks between the wheat harvest gathered at the end of May, and the breaking of the monsoon, which makes possible the transplanting of rice, in the second week of June.

Thus the festival is held after the wheat harvest has been gathered, but before the rice has been planted. This is not an absolute rule. Wheat may still be un-harvested, rice already being planted when the festival is held. It does not, therefore, act as a signal to begin work on the rice transplanting. On the other hand the season is a busy one unsuitable to a festival held merely for pleasure or as a holiday.

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(2) THE GODS

On the day before the Festival, i.e. the 24th of the lunar month, young men from the villages south of Ta Li start to travel north along the old track which connects the villages lying at the base of the mountains. They wear ordinary clothes and their only departure from the routine of a normal journey is that they halt to burn incense and *k'e t'ou* at shrines along the road, the shrines of the local deities of the road, and the Mountain God. No Buddhist temple is visited. Those who pass through Ta Li itself used to worship in this way at the temple of the City God, the official Genius Loci, but since the cult of this deity is not maintained under the republic, and the temple was destroyed in an earthquake in 1925, this is no longer done.

Fifteen miles north of the city the travellers stay for the night at the large village of Hur Chieh, called by the Chinese Hsi Chou, where they lodge in the inns or at the homes of relatives and friends. Next morning, the day of the festival, they form parties and begin to travel southwards, this time by the path along the lake shore, which connects the riparian villages. These parties are composed of from four to eight dancers and four or five musicians. The dancers are young men, but not necessarily unmarried, the musicians may be of any age, and are often elderly. The dancers wear fantastic clothes, not a set costume, but a medley of ordinary clothing worn loosely or awry, with coloured streamers pinned on to their shoulders and arms. They wear a piece of coloured cloth, usually red, round the head, and this is sometimes further decorated with the red woollen pompoms worn by some Min Chia girls in their silver headdresses. It is a question whether these dancers are not, or once were, meant to be dressed as women. For the most part their costume, silk trousers and unbuttoned coats with the sleeves hanging loose, decorated with coloured streamers, is not sufficiently precise to say

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Dancers at the Gwer Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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796 whether it is really meant in some cases to be a feminine costume, as Min Chia women and girls also all wear trousers, and coats of similar loose cut. Some of the dancers, however, do wear straw sandals with coloured thread and red woollen pompoms on the toes, which resemble the sandals worn by girls on market days. All the dancers wear spectacles or dark glasses, and carry fly whisks or cleft willow wands in their hands. The wands have a coin jammed into the cleft. Usually they also have ears of wheat stuck into the nostrils, held in the lips, or behind the ears.

They approach a village preceded by the musicians, who for their part wear ordinary clothes except for wreaths of willow branches bound round the head. At the entrance to the village, where there is a cross roads or a space by a large tree, the party halts and dances, surrounded by a dense throng of spectators. These, the villagers and people from the city and round about, wear their best clothes and, especially the children, wear small paper charms either crescent shaped or in the form of a Pa Kua design, on the side of the face. Many children and some men and women also have little amulets of coloured wool in human form hung round their necks. The dancers face each other in pairs, rarely more than two pairs at once, as the space is insufficient. They dance with a reeling gait swinging their bodies from the hips, lolling their heads, rolling their eyes and assuming grotesque expressions, while they tap each other and themselves on the shoulders, breast, and back with their fly whisks or willow wands, and wave a piece of coloured cloth in their left hands. As they dance they half chant, half declaim, in a high pitched voice similar to that used on the Chinese stage, their remarks, which are hard to catch, being definitely lewd or obscene, as is shown by the laughter of the men and the blushes of the girl spectators.

This performance lasts a few minutes, and then the party

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796 passes on to another part of the village, giving about three dances in each village. At intervals of from a quarter of an hour to half an hour other parties arrive and give exactly similar performances, though the funny remarks are not the same, and some make a bigger hit with the crowds than others. The final dance is always given by each party in the open square of Mer Ger Yu village, about four miles from Ta Li, on the shore of the lake. Here the performance ends, and the dancers and musicians are entertained, as they finish, to a feast served under a canopy in the village square. When they have finished this meal they depart to their homes without waiting for the conclusion of the festival.

The concluding rite is somewhat different. At about four in the afternoon the tablet of the Village Ancestor (*Ber Dser*) of Mer Ger Yu is brought out of its temple and placed on a litter similar to a bride's sedan chair, decorated with red cloth and paper streamers, rosettes and artificial flowers. It is then carried in procession attended by a crowd of villagers and other spectators to a point about one mile north of Mer Ger Yu, the point where the lands of Mer Ger Yu adjoin those of the next village to the north. Here the tablet and its attendants await the coming of the last party of dancers, and when they arrive the whole procession returns to Mer Ger Yu, the dancers preceding the litter of the tablet, and dancing more or less continuously all the way. The crowd follows behind waiving willow branches. In the village the final dance is given before the temple of the Village Ancestor, and the tablet is thereafter taken out of the litter and replaced in its temple. The dancers and musicians have their feast and everyone disperses as dusk begins to fall.

The Min Chia give three explanations of this ceremony. To some it is done to honour the Village Ancestor of Mer

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796 Ger Yu, but they cannot explain why, if this is the case, the dancers should be men from other villages rather than inhabitants of Mer Ger Yu itself, nor can they explain why the dances take place in half a dozen other villages to the north as well as at Mer Ger Yu. Yet the connection with the Village Ancestor of Mer Ger Yu certainly exists, since the tablet plays a conspicuous rôle in the final rite, and the whole ceremony ends there. Others say that the main purpose is to rejoice at the success of the wheat harvest and bring benefit to the rice crop which is then being planted. One may observe that the wheat crop is not very important to the Min Chia, and that the festival takes place on a fixed day whether the harvest has been good or bad, or is still ungathered due to early rains (this was the case in 1938). On the other hand, ears of wheat are certainly carried in the mouths and nostrils of the dancers and musicians, and willow boughs, an emblem of spring, are also worn round the head or waved in the hand. If the rites are concerned with the rice crop it is curious that wheat should be used, and no attention paid to the rice fields.

No explanation of the limited route of the processions is forthcoming. Only part of the Ta Li plain is covered, and only about half of the villages on the lake shore, the limit being reached before the northern extremity of the plain, and before the villages nearest to the city are reached. Der Ser Mo, the temple of the Dragon of the Lake, is for example not included in the itinerary. Yet the dancers do not belong to these villages, but to those which are not visited. A festival designed to benefit the crops of the district covering so restricted an area seems inadequate. The use of willow branches in rain-imploring processions in other parts of China is common, but the Gwer Sa La takes place whether the rains have started or not, and in the climate of Ta Li drought is unknown, though the rains are sometimes

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a few weeks late. No Min Chia regards the rite as designed 796
to seek rain.

The use of lewd or suggestive remarks by the dancers, the fact that their dancing imitates drunkenness or perhaps ecstasy, the disarray of their clothing and the similarity of some of the costumes to those of women, suggest another origin for the festival. It is said that in former times, apparently within the lifetime of living men, the girls of the villages where the dances are held surrounded the dancers and sang songs, and it must be remembered that the dancers came from another group of villages. The general use of charms in the shape of human beings, especially by women and girls must also be noticed. These charms are of two kinds, those made of coloured wool in human shape which are hung round the neck, and small stick-on round labels, the size of a shilling, which are pasted on to the side of the forehead. Some of these are decorated with the Eight Diagrams (Pa Kua) well known throughout China, others with a crescent moon.

No Min Chia was able to explain just who the dancers 791
were, how they were chosen, or what qualifications they must possess, but it is perhaps possible to throw some light on this point by considering the character and behaviour of a class of exorcists among the Min Chia, called Sai Dser, about whom much secrecy is observed. The name "Sai Dser" in Min Chia might well mean "Western people" or "Temple folk" or "Fairy people" for as the Min Chia language is not written, a certain ambiguity always exists about proper names formed of words with two or more uses. Actually no Min Chia with whom I spoke was able, or willing, to say definitely which of the above meanings was correct. It would seem that the last was the most probable, but if that is correct it involves a grammatical irregularity, since the word for a fairy is "*sai*" and

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791 the classificatory particle is "*ni*" thus a "fairy" is "*Sai a ni*"—whereas the Min Chia for "an exorcist" would be "*Sai dser a ni*"; the term *Sai Dser*, possibly meaning Fairy Man, would be one compound word.

The Sai Dser are in ordinary life peasants like their neighbours, owning land and cultivating it. They only perform their exorcist functions on occasion, when called upon, but they hand their arts down from father to son, and it is said that they do not ever recruit outsiders. In this way they differ from the Shamans of the Northern Steppes who are in part recruited from children of suitable temperament or neurotic individuals unrelated to the existing Shamans. The Sai Dser are called upon in cases of sickness, when the patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit or a demon of disease. In some cases they merely advise the family to sacrifice a fowl at the shrine of the Mountain God, or at that of some other local deity whom the family have neglected. In all cases this is the first advice given, the Sai Dser only performing their special rites when sacrifice has failed to alleviate the patient's distress.

788 The rite performed by the Sai Dser is called "*Tiao Gur*",
791 meaning to "dance (out) the ghost". "*Gur*" is a word commonly used for malevolent ghosts of deceased persons, but also used for demons, which are in fact scarcely distinguished from them. The Min Chia do not attribute all sickness to the action of malevolent spirits, but have no hard and fast line between the kind of disease which is regarded as caught by infection or contagion such as leprosy, and those less easily diagnosed which are believed to be caused by possession. The name used by the Sai Dser for their rite clearly expressed the belief that its purpose is to dance out the ghost which has possessed the patient.

This dance is performed by two Sai Dser at a time, and closely resembles the dancing at the Gwer Sa La, except for

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the fact that one Sai Dser, though a man, is dressed unmistakably as a woman. The Sai Dser dance round the patient, reeling and swaying, chanting in a high pitched blurred voice so that the words they use cannot be distinguished by those present, for these chants, though I believe partly impromptu, are secret formulas which give control over the ghosts. Min Chia witnesses of the rite at which I was also present, afterwards told me that some of the words used were obscene, but that they could not catch the sense of the context. As at the Gwer Sa La the costumes of the Sai Dser were fantastic, and worn in a disordered fashion. The whole rite thus bore a striking similarity to the dances performed by a pair of participants in the Gwer Sa La.

When it was suggested that the dancers in that festival were Sai Dser, Min Chia informants evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no one knew who the Sai Dser were, or that they were unacquainted with the identity of the dancers at the Gwer Sa La. Informants were embarrassed at these questions and appeared to be somewhat ashamed of the Sai Dser and their activities. In fact the Sai Dser are surrounded with a good deal of mystification. It was a long time before I could hear of them, and still longer before it was possible to witness their rite. This is very rarely performed in the city, and I believe this is because the authorities are hostile to such rites. The same hostility towards the Gwer Sa La ceremony is explained by the Chinese as due to its lewd character, which is certainly not very conspicuous, but the Chinese declare that formerly it was accompanied by indecent behaviour and sexual licence. This is not the case at present, and Min Chia informants, while not directly denying that this may have been so, say they never heard of it. The identity of the dancers in the Gwer Sa La with the Sai Dser cannot be established, but one may observe that if any young man can perform in the Gwer Sa

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La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

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appearance of this feature is no doubt due to official pressure. 796

To some extent the Gwer Sa La is felt by Min Chia peasants to be especially their own rite, one in which the city folk, and therefore the Chinese and half Chinese, have no part. They do not mind the spectators from the city coming out to look, but they do feel that the rites are in some way bound up with the country and its farmers, and are not a matter for regulation by city people and government officials.

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CHAPTER 7

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(3) *Magic and Myth*

776 If the importance of their festivals and the size and flourishing condition of their temples be taken as criteria, the four most important gods of the Min Chia are Kuan Yin, the Boddhisatva, Lur Wa, the Dragon King of the Lake, Sai Sur the God of the Mountain, and Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld. But there are also a number of lesser deities some of whom have small temples, while others are only honoured with improvised shrines. As well as these there are the Ber Dser, the founder ancestors of each village, who of course have their temple in the village. Their cult is perhaps more in the nature of Ancestor Worship; although, as has been shown earlier, they are not necessarily the actual ancestors of the villagers.

The cult of K'uei Hsing, a stellar deity, is of Chinese origin. The Chinese constellation K'uei corresponds in part to the Great Bear of the West, and the deity who resides in this starry abode is in China a patron of literature. In the Ta Li district this cult has spread from other parts of Yunnan where it is well developed. K'uei Hsing is supposed to be also a slayer of demons and a protector against disease, and therefore his temple, always a two-storied detached tower, is built on the south west edge of the village, the side most exposed, according to Chinese belief, to evil influences. No festival is associated with K'uei Hsing, though his shrine is often found in the temples of the principal deities, and gets its share of incense at the festivals held there.

Ao Yu, represented on the eaves of temples as a fish with

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chicken feet, is to the local Chinese and Min Chia the god 776 of the earth and therefore of the dreaded earthquakes. So vast is this monster of the deep earth that the mere twitching of one of the antennæ which grow above his eyes is sufficient to cause a major earthquake. No actual shrines to Ao Yu exist, but he is always represented prominently on the eaves and roof ridges of temples and gates (and even on the Moslem Mosque!) The cult appears to be the confusion of two things, one the chicken footed monster of Buddhist mythology, and secondly the Chinese Atlas, also called Ao, but who to the Chinese is a turtle and carries the world on his back.

Two minor deities connected with the lake seem to have functions which impinge on those of Lur Wa the Dragon King. Tai Po, a Chinese name meaning the Great Mother, or Venerable Lady, has a small tumbledown shrine on the shore of the lake at the village of Shier Yu. No image of the deity exists, but a tablet with the name "Tai Po" stands upon the fire-blackened altar, and is flanked by tablets bearing the names of two minor dragon spirits, the water dragon and the fire dragon, who do not otherwise appear in other temples. The cult of Tai Po is confined to women, and men informants were even unable to say exactly what the functions of this deity were, but it would seem that Tai Po is a wind goddess, and her shrine by the lake shore is appropriate in this case. Women, apart from the usual acts of worship, the *k'e t'ou* and incense burning, also sacrifice a fowl at this shrine from time to time.

The cult of Gu Lao—a Min Chia name of unknown meaning—is confined to the boat people and the villages of the eastern shore from which these folk mostly come. It would appear to be a variant of the Lake Dragon cult, perhaps a less official version. Gu Lao is a spirit, according to some the spirit of a long dead mortal, who from time to

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776 time manifests himself in the shape of a short snake. It is stated that Gu Lao thus appears when stormy weather is expected, and is found on one of the boats, never on land. The boatmen then immediately sacrifice a chicken or even a pig, but only the head of the victim is offered to Gu Lao, who thereupon dives overboard, and the weather improves. The boatmen will not sail unless this rite has been performed if Gu Lao has been seen on a ship. Unfortunately his appearances are rare and I was never able to witness the rite, or to catch a glimpse of Gu Lao in his snake shape. It is, however, a fact that the people of the eastern shore never call a snake by the usual word, but always call it "Gu Lao". One may observe that in other parts of China also the snake is regarded as a dragon in disguise, or what one might call in "undress uniform". Eels are common in the lake and there are also water snakes, the chance discovery of these in the bilge of a boat or close by in the shallows is probably the foundation of the Gu Lao legend.

776 Apart from these named and personified deities there
778 exist a large number of "*ser*" that is, spirits, who are associated with various places or ancient monuments. Thus the god of the roads is worshipped at numerous cross roads by simply burning a stick of incense at the foot of a tree or a stone. Wells and springs, especially the very hot spring of sulphurous water near Erh Yuan city north of Ta Li, are often regarded as under the care of a *ser*, who is worshipped in the usual way, by burning incense. The hottest spring near Erh Yuan is in fact regarded as sacred and no evaporation of sulphur is carried on there, instead it is surrounded with incense sticks and paper flags, a form of worship which may perhaps owe something to imitation of Tibetan prayer flags. Certain large rocks scattered over the lower slopes of T'sang Shan, some of which have in past times had Buddhas engraved on them, are now regarded as sacred,

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usually acting as shrines to the Mountain God, whose name is sometimes chiselled on a smooth face. The enormous evergreen trees called by the Chinese *tung ching shu*, "Winter Green Tree", a kind of ilex (*ilex pedunculosa*), which are planted near temples and in villages, also come in for a share of incense burning, though no one can positively say whether the tree is itself sacred, or merely the home of another spirit such as the Road God.

Another sacred spot, associated with sacrifices for recovery from illness, is the tomb of the Mongol soldiers of Kublai Khan outside the West Gate, near one of the Nan Chao pagodas. The tomb, the common grave of all who fell at the capture of Ta Li by Kublai, is a large mound surmounted by a more modern stone tablet which records its history. At this place persons who are sick, or who are acting on behalf of a sick relative, burn incense, and sacrifice a fowl, which is then cooked and eaten on the spot. Part of the rite is to break a pottery bowl on the stone base of the tablet erected by the Ming Emperor Hung Wu, which records his conquest of Yunnan from the Mongol Yüan dynasty a century later. This tablet stands close to the Mongol tomb, and is now surrounded by a large mound of broken potsherds, testimony to the antiquity of this rite. No one can give any reason for the association of these two monuments with the healing of sickness, nor do any precise ideas of the agency invoked exist. No god is connected with the two places, and there seems to be no reason why the spirits of Mongol soldiers and their Ming successors should be supposed to have healing powers.

Not very far from the Mongol Tomb and Ming Tablet there is another monument of Kublai Khan, the great stone tablet on a stone tortoise which records at length his conquest and pacification of Yunnan. This monument is well known and its character is familiar to every educated per-

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

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one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief 782
is universal, and great precautions are taken when travel- 753
ling to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are un- [789]
aware of its existence. A description of rites such as the 787
making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

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787 other hand they have various rites of a magical character designed to exorcise spirits and drive out ghosts from a haunted room or house. The Sai Dser who exorcise the spirits of disease by dancing the Tiao Gur rite have already been described, but there are as well geomancers who can be consulted on the placing of graves, a function often fulfilled by the rare Taoist monks of the district or by wandering Taoists from Ssu Ch'uan. They charge a fee of from two to three dollars nickel for such advice. They are also consulted to fix lucky days for weddings and funerals, which they do by considering the horoscope of the persons concerned and the conjunctions of the stars on the appropriate day. Books of astrology, known all over China, serve as a guide for these predictions.

Fortune tellers, whose Min Chia name, "*Sua Mier Ni*," is clearly a corruption of the Chinese "*Suan ming ti*", and are, therefore, probably a product of contact with Chinese culture, are consulted for advice on sickness, and to interpret dreams. They are often blind men who earn a meagre living by this means, for the fees charged are as low as those earned by the geomancers. The interpretation of dreams is done by traditional rules, one of which is that to dream of evil is a good sign, and to dream of the death of some person is a sign of indigestion! It would seem that the interpretation follows the converse of the plain meaning of the dream. The belief that dreams are caused by ghosts or the spirits of other persons is not known among the Min Chia. Neither the geomancers nor the fortune tellers can be properly described as magicians, for apart from the Sai Dser, the Min Chia do not depend on specialised aid in exorcising ghosts. If a ghost is thought to have been seen in a room, or in some part of the house, incense is burned at the door of the room for a day or longer. The fact that a ghost has walked is taken as a sign that the spirit of the dead

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person is not at peace about some matter, and if the manifestations continued the geomancers would be called upon to re-orientate the grave. 787

In common with many other peoples the Min Chia believe that dogs can see ghosts at all times, and the howling of a dog is taken as a sure indication that ghosts are about. It is also believed that cross-eyed people can see ghosts, though whether those afflicted in this way substantiate this opinion I cannot say, as I never had an opportunity to talk to a cross-eyed Min Chia. If a ghost is seen in a public place, such as a street, the residents subscribe to maintain a street shrine with chanting of sutras and music for a day or two, as it is considered unlucky and ill-omened. In 1938 the ghost of a certain old woman, who had been the gate keeper of the Protestant Mission and who had died suddenly, was seen in broad daylight not far from the Mission, or so at least it was alleged. The residents of that part of the main street of Ta Li where the ghost was seen then set up a street shrine, to the considerable inconvenience of wayfarers and muleteers passing through the town. 775

The Min Chia also believe in possession by evil spirits, or more strictly, by malign ghosts. There is a standard rite for exorcising such ghosts, and though I was never able to witness this, it was described to me by a Min Chia who had seen it performed. A miniature suit of clothes, coat and trousers, is made from coloured paper, and brought into the room where the possessed person is confined. The doors are then shut, and fresh peaches thrown about the room in all directions, whereupon the paper suit is thrown out of the window, and promptly burned by persons waiting outside for this purpose. The rite is performed by a member of the family, no outside person, priest or Sai Dser being called in. It was explained that the act of throwing peaches about drove the ghost to take refuge in the paper suit, and thus

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[175] enabled it to be cast out bodily and rendered harmless. The peach in China and the Far East generally is a fairy fruit, and charms are made of peach wood or peach stones. It is also an ancient belief in China that peach wood is a defence against evil spirits. The modern "gate gods" are simply pictures pasted on the gate to keep out demons, but they were originally painted on peach wood boards hung upon the gate.

The Min Chia also believe in poltergeists, a belief shared by their Yunnanese neighbours of all tribes. During the time I was in Ta Li I was not able to hear of a local poltergeist, although I was told that some years before one had been active in a certain village not far from the city. But in 1937 the city of Li Chiang, just beyond the Min Chia country to the north, was the scene of poltergeist manifestations which attained a considerable local celebrity. The home of a rich family of merchants of that city was almost entirely ruined by these long continued destructive attacks. The family, forced to abandon the house in which mysterious fires would break out in unlikely places, or stones coming flying through the air, left a few faithful members to guard against robbers and attempt to detect the "ghost" in the act, if it should [183] prove to be after all a human enemy. The priests of all local religions, Lama Buddhists, Taoists and others, were invited in to exorcise the ghost, and altars with their incense and offerings were placed in every room. The manifestations continued for more than eight months, and when I visited the house late in 1937 it was virtually ruinous. Much of the woodwork was burned or charred, even under the eaves and high up on the walls, where the fire can only have been applied by a torch. The doors and window lattices were smashed and scarred by stones, and these lay in heaps in the courtyard. It was said that one fire had broken out the previous night, and we were shown the spot, under the roof ridge, which was indeed charred and still smoking slightly.

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No stones were thrown during my visit to the house, but other European visitors have told me that stones were thrown when they were there. When a Chinese colonel, second-in-command of the Li Chiang garrison, visited the house, and with drawn pistol boastfully defied the ghost, he was struck on the back of the head by a stone and rendered unconscious. I was told that he was surrounded by his body-guards at the time that this occurred. 775

Not long after I visited the house the haunting ceased. It appears that the family who owned it are responsible for the upkeep of a chain suspension bridge across one of the rivers on the caravan route to Mu Li and Ta Chien Lu in Chinese administered Tibet (Si Kang province). The bridge had fallen into a dangerous condition of disrepair, and mules had been lost in trying to cross it. Yet the family made no attempt to undertake repairs. Early in 1938, at whose suggestion I could not discover, they repaired the bridge, and thereupon the haunting stopped at once.

Min Chia and Chinese were much divided in their opinions about this outcome of the Li Chiang hauntings. Some laughingly suggested that it had all been a clever plan on the part of those who wanted the bridge repaired. Others argued that such a secret could never be kept in the middle of a city, and that the effects produced in a house guarded day and night were far beyond the reach of human skill. Anyone as clever as that they said, could have made a fortune as a thief, and would not need to engage in practical jokes of a dangerous kind for no reward. It was however, agreed that no one hitherto had heard of a poltergeist who worked in such a disinterested way for the public good. The third possibility, that the effects were produced by one of those members of the family who were left on guard, was generally discounted by all for the characteristically Chinese reason that no member of a family would be

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775 party to actions bringing ruin and loss to his kinsmen. No Min Chia or Chinese attributed the manifestations to the magical operations of an enemy, or to the effects of a curse. Opinion was divided between those who credited a human being with remarkable skill, daring and dexterity, and those who believed in the independent action of a malign spirit. The Min Chia are not, of course, acquainted with psychological theories of dissociation of the personality, and so the possibility that one of the members of the guard could have done these things in such a condition did not enter their calculations.

774 Curiously enough the Min Chia do not share the common Chinese belief in were-foxes, a belief which has deeply coloured Chinese and Japanese legend and fiction. Shape-shifting stories are common in Chinese literature, but do not seem to be known to those Min Chia who could not read Chinese fiction. On the other hand a case of shapeshifting was actually reported on March 18th, 1937. The case created much interest among the Min Chia and all those to whom I spoke declared they had never heard of such a thing before. March 18th was a bright windy day such as are common at that season. Boatmen from the eastern shore who came into the city in the afternoon had a strange tale to tell.

They said that when the boats from Wa Shih, a large village on the eastern shore, were about to start in the morning for the Ta Li side of the lake, a tall handsome man took passage on one boat which had a crew of three men. Half way across the lake the boatmen were horrified to see their passenger turn bright red and transform himself before their eyes into a tiger, which thereupon struck down two of the crew, while the third, diving overboard, escaped by swimming to another boat. When asked what had become of the abandoned boat and the tiger, no one professed to know. In

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Chinese folklore the shape shifter is always a fox, not a 774
tiger, and it is a fox who can assume human shape, not a human who assumes the shape of a fox. This Min Chia story, however, was positive that the shapeshifter became a tiger, and everyone denied ever hearing of a case of shape-shifting before.

Other stories connected with the lake might perhaps be 774
explained if it could be proved that in certain lights mirage 822
effects were possible, but I never observed any such effects nor heard of others who had done so. It is said that "several" years ago a phantom ship was observed from the western shore, apparently leaving Wa Shih, across the lake, about four miles distant. This ship was much larger than any seen on the lake, and—a modern touch—had a deck house with glass windows. No such ship exists on the Erh Hai lake. Halfway across it suddenly vanished. Another phantom apparition on the lake was seen eight years ago (1931). A large and well-attended market was seen from the western shore, apparently taking place on the still waters of the lake, far out from the shore. Hundreds of people going and coming could be seen, with horses and mules. After being clearly visible for some minutes it suddenly vanished. This did not happen on a day when market was being held in Ta Li. As there are several market villages scattered round the shore of the lake the possibility of a vivid mirage cannot be ruled out. The Min Chia know nothing of mirages and considered these phantoms to be supernatural manifestations of unknown import.

Other happenings confirm the fact that the myth making 774
faculty still functions actively among the Min Chia peasantry. A short while after the war with Japan had begun a miracle was reported from a temple near Hsia Kuan, at the lower end of the lake. This temple, on the mountain slope above Hsia Kuan, is dedicated to the Chinese general Li Ming who with

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Stone horse, mutilated for superstitious reasons.

Erh Yuan Min Chia girl.

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all his army was totally defeated and slain near Hsia Kuan by the Nan Chao King, Ko Lo Feng in the T'ang period. A statue or image of the general stands on the altar in the main hall, the temple having been erected to placate the ghost of this powerful personage who had died a violent death. In the month of February, 1938, following the news that Nanking had fallen, news which did not become generally known till then, the statue of General Li Ming was observed to be bleeding in the right arm. This event aroused great interest, thousands flocked to the temple, where however the statue had ceased to bleed; but the monks of the Kuan Yin temple near Ta Li held a special festival, which was largely attended, to implore Kuan Yin to avert the disaster predicted by such an ill-omened event.

This is not the only instance of the popular belief that graven images may be on occasion animated either by the spirit of the deceased person in whose honour they were made, or by malign ghosts. Not far beyond the north gate of Ta Li city there is a small village called Lu Da, lying on the last rocky slopes of the mountain side, and a mile or so from this village there is the elaborate tomb of a Ming official, approached by a ceremonial avenue of stone figures. These figures are arranged in pairs in the conventional Chinese manner, two horses, two griffins, two lions and finally, nearest to the tomb, two human figures. But the legs of all the animal figures have been cut off, and the heads of the human figures are also missing. The people of Lu Da say that they were advised to mutilate the statues in this way because ghosts were animating them at night. The animals would come down and eat up the growing crops, while the human figures left their pedestals and roamed over the countryside terrifying all they met. Since their heads had been cut off, and the animals deprived of their legs, these hauntings had ceased. A similar belief may well

774 account for the destruction of statuary not only in this region but in other places also.

825 774 Lu Da was also the scene of an alleged encounter with wolves, during the spring of 1937. A farmer working on the mountain side found a young wolf cub, and putting it in his sack brought it home as a pet. That night he was awakened by a pounding on the street gate, and when he rose to see who it was, found two wolves, a male and a female, leaping up at the gate. He realised that they had come to seek their cub, and fearing that they would jump the wall, he climbed to the top of the gate and spoke to them, saying, "Wolves, I know why you have come here, and I confess that I did wrong to steal your child. Now, if you will go off a little way so that I may safely open the gate, I will let your cub go, and you may depart in peace." When the wolves heard this, they drew off some way down the street, but remained in sight, watching. The farmer then let out the wolf cub through a crack of the gate, and the reunited wolf family at once made off to the mountain. This story was generally believed as true in all particulars, and created a great deal of interest in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps because they are not a hunting people animals play rather a small part in Min Chia superstition. It has already been remarked that they do not share the Chinese belief in were-foxes, although they agree with the Chinese in considering it to be unlucky to kill wild geese. Swallows, as with most peoples, are also protected by a similar belief. [147] The Min Chia say that anyone who kills a swallow will go bald. This is curious, as the Min Chia hardly ever suffer from this disfigurement, and in fact have no word for baldness in 777 the language. They have like other peoples a number of superstitions not connected with any definite system of beliefs. For example it is considered unlucky to point at a rainbow. If one wishes to draw the attention of others to a

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777 rainbow you must not indicate where it is with a gesture, but merely say "there is a fine rainbow in the east", or the in the south, as the case may be.

771 In spite, or perhaps, because of, the complexity of their religious system and the number of overlapping deities whom they worship, the Min Chia cannot be called a really religious people. In their culture religion plays a secondary part. Lacking any unified and defined system of beliefs their religion has never been the dominating and co-ordinating force which Islam has been to the Moslems, or as Christianity was to the Christian nations of the west. Very rarely, except in a ceremony, will one hear the names of the gods on the lips of a Min Chia. Religion has never given common expletives to the language, and is seldom a subject for conversation. It is characteristic of their attitude that difference in religion is not felt to be so significant as difference in descent. To the Min Chia a Moslem is not primarily a fellow-countryman with a peculiar religion, he is a member of another race. A man asked to distinguish between two muleteers, one of which was a Moslem and the other a Yunnanese, said, "this one is the Chinese, that is the Hui Tze". "*Han jen*," the word used for Chinese, means Chinese by race and speech, "*Hui Tze*" a Yunnanese slang term for a Moslem, is derived from the name Hui Hui, an old Chinese name for the Uigur tribe of Tartars, who were among the first Moslems to be known to the Chinese. Yet these Moslems, although of alien origin, have been settled in Yunnan for six centuries and are entirely Chinese in appearance, dress, and speech.

771 The same attitude exists towards the Christians. Even
797 well educated Min Chia and Yunnanese are unable to understand or believe that the Christian missionaries have come to the country merely to convert people to a new religion. Such an aim seems to them meaningless. The idea

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of an exclusive creed, the one true way distinct from all 771
others which are false, is so unfamiliar to their mental 797
habits as to be barely comprehensible. They are therefore convinced, against all denial, that the Protestant missionaries are the paid agents of the British Government, and that the Catholic missionaries play the same rôle on behalf of the French Government. These two powers are the only European nations familiar by name to most of the Yunnanese peasants, since their possessions in Burma and Indo-China march with the Yunnan frontier. The feeling that converts to the Christian faiths are in some way the servants of foreign powers and perhaps not really loyal to their own country accounts for a good part of the ill-will with which they are often regarded.

Both missions find the Min Chia refractory material. Nearly seventy years have elapsed since the Catholic and Protestant missions were established in Ta Li, but their respective converts cannot yet be counted in three figures. This may in part be due to the fact that both missions have hitherto concentrated on the city folk who can be reached by missionaries familiar with Chinese, and only in recent years endeavoured to find Min Chia speaking converts who can preach to the villagers in their native tongue.

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CHAPTER 8

THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

596 IN the Min Chia language the word "*hao*" means both a "family" and a "house"; every house is the home of some family, and a family dispersed without a home is something unheard of and unknown. This well expresses the central importance of the home in the social organisation. The Min Chia have few institutions which transcend the family or gather individuals into an organisation not founded on a kin group. The village it is true has its headmen, and as has been pointed out the worship of the Ber Dser, the Founder, is not confined to his descendents in the male line or to those of the same surname. But the village is after all only a group of families most of which, if not indeed all, are interrelated on the female side. There are no age classes, no societies in which boys or young men can find a centre of social organisation distinct from that of the family. For most Min Chia therefore the family is the social unit in which he passes his whole life. If he is a peasant farmer, he cultivates fields held jointly with his brothers, if he turns to business he becomes a partner or assistant in a family shop or small business in which none but kinsmen are employed, except for the most menial duties.

573 One exception exists, for the better off classes at least, in the schools. The peasant boy who only attends the village school for a few years meets there none but his fellow villagers, many of whom are related to him in some degree, and all already well known. But the son of a more wealthy family who is sent to the Middle School in the city makes contacts beyond the narrow circle of relatives and villagers. He meets boys from other villagers, or from other families

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living in the city who are in no way related to his own kin. Among the Min Chia, as with the Chinese, the friendships thus made are long lasting and profound. This solidarity between old schoolmates is the only social force which can compare with the bonds of kinship, and the influence of the educational system is thus much more far reaching than might be supposed if only scholastic standards were taken into account.

England is supposed to be the country where the influence of the "old school tie" is most pervasive and persistent beneath the forms of political democracy, but though the emblem is unknown in China the solidarity is even more conspicuous, for it is founded on a longer tradition. Far back in Chinese history, in the Feudal Age of Confucius, centuries before the Christian Era, this cohesion of the pupils and disciples of a renowned teacher began to play a part opposed to, or at least independent of, the feudal hierarchy. In later periods the educated class which was also the governing class, was always divided between cliques composed of the followers of some philosopher or man of letters, and very often the basis of these divisions was the fact that these followers had once been pupils also. At the present time the alumni of one University, or the returned students from one foreign country, are found as organised groups competing for political power and scholastic preferment with similar rival affiliations.

The influence exercised by such associations of old schoolmates adds to the respect with which education is universally regarded, and in turn is increased by the fact of this respect. In China to-day two organisations distinct from the family wield great power: the army and the university, and the greater of these is the university. A general receives the respect due to one who can employ force, the professor, the modern successor of the scholar of

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573 old China, is treated with a greater deference, based not on fear, but on that admiration for learning which is so deeply rooted in Chinese cultural tradition.

There can be no doubt that this attitude has been taken over by the Min Chia from their Chinese neighbours and rulers. It is perhaps reinforced among them by the fact that learning, which means Chinese learning, involves the study of a foreign language and thus sharpens the distinction between the literate and the unlettered. Min Chia who have passed through the Middle School have in the process become a distinct group, to whom Chinese is as familiar as their own language, sharing interests and experiences which their less educated relatives do not understand and cannot appreciate. The school has become for them a new kind of greater family, for just as Chinese tradition accords to the teacher the respect due to a father, not merely in school, but in society generally, so schoolmates feel towards each other the intimacy, if not always the affection, otherwise reserved for kinsmen. Friendship between young men largely compensates for the absence of free social intercourse between the sexes, and such friendships are almost always based either on kinship or on fellowship at school.

596 It is still customary in Min Chia families for the married sons to remain in the paternal home, at least during the lifetime of the parents, and consequently a Min Chia home is usually fully occupied with numerous children, unmarried daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and [581] other relatives. In a culture where Ancestor Worship plays a major rôle it is natural that the bearing of children, especially sons, should be considered the first duty of women, 584 and the principal object of marriage. No Min Chia mar- 596 riage is arranged by the free choice of the bride and groom, except in the irregular elopements discussed earlier, and consequently affection and companionship, though these

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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

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553 As a consequence of Min Chia and Chinese ideas about
787 Ancestor Worship, the name of a deceased forbear or other relative is never employed a second time. A name is something absolutely personal to the individual, and in former times at least, it was believed that the character of the name influenced the character of the child. The moment of birth is still carefully recorded for the purpose of drawing the horoscope, which in turn decides such questions as the suitability of the character of the name, and the eligibility of the boy's bride in future years. For if the horoscopes of two children are not in agreement no marriage between them would be regarded as possible. While the avoidance of the name of an ancestor or relative is probably based on ancient beliefs about the influence of the name on the individual, it is now attributed to the necessity of avoiding confusion in the pedigree and in the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship such as the Shu Pao where the names of the dead are read out. European practice sufficiently proves that this is not a really valid objection.

553 The name is usually chosen by the grandparents, sometimes after consulting an astrologer, and consists either of one word or two in combination. If one word is employed all the children of that generation will be given names which are written with characters having a similar component, so that in future it will be possible to recognise at a glance the generation of these relatives. Names of two characters are more usual, though some families employ the device of alternating one character and two character names in succeeding generations, so that the father has a single character name, the son two, and the grandson one again. When two characters are used the first word is a constant, repeated in the name of every child of that generation, the second is different and serves as the distinguishing sign. Any two words which can be written with Chinese characters

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are used, sometimes irrespective of their sense, being two 553
words from a classical book chosen at haphazard, or sometimes having an allusion to some family circumstance. Thus a boy born when his grandfather was seventy years old was named "Chi Te", meaning "seven (score) obtained" (a grandson). In this case any other children of the same generation would have to be called "Ch'i" as the first part of their names, even though the two characters might make no sense.

Little distinction is observed between the names of men and women, since the constant search for new names has usually eliminated all the more obvious and appropriate characters. If possible girls are given names relating to flowers, while boys' names signify, virtue, learning, loyalty, or objects traditionally typifying these characteristics, such as pine trees for endurance. When boys first go to school, at seven years or so, they are given in addition a "book name", usually two words from a Chinese classic, if possible with a learned significance. In the family children are often called by nicknames such as "*hsiao san*". "little third" meaning that it is the third child, or, a common nickname, "*chiao hua*" "able to talk". It is curious that these names, though Chinese, are in common use among the Min Chia, who rarely if ever employ Min Chia words which cannot be written as names. This is invariably the case with the educated class, the peasants sometimes merely giving their children a simple numerical name which records their place in the family. The Min Chia have a number of surnames which are pronounced in a way quite unlike the Chinese sound of the character used when writing them, and it is probable that this is due to the desire to find some means of writing names which must be recorded. The same necessity has led to the use of first names which are of Chinese origin, though pronounced by the Min Chia in their own way.

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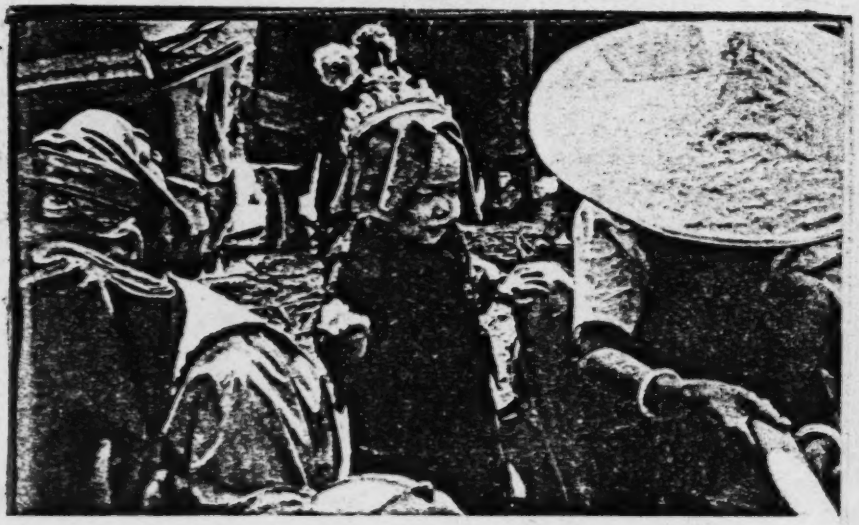

Baby boy wearing girl's head-dress as protection against evil spirits.

Min Chia girl wearing silver-studded head-dress.

[Face p. 154]

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854 During the early years of life children are left to the care
853 of the women of the household and, in poorer families, are carried about on their mothers' backs to the fields or the market place, until they are old enough to walk by themselves. As is also the case in other parts of China, where the use of cow's milk is unknown, weaning does not take place till a child is three years old or more, and the change to a rice diet often brings digestive troubles and ill-health. The Min Chia, who do use cow's milk, do not seem to know how to make use of it for feeding young children. As soon as the child is weaned it is given the same food as adults—rice, vegetables and fish or meat in small quantities—while the milk which would be more suitable in plain dishes is made into cheese. Infant mortality, already very high on account of the unchecked epidemics of measles, scarlet fever and typhoid, is largely increased by digestive disorders due to the change to unsuitable diet.

858 Once a child, especially a boy, has got over this difficult period it has a happy life, for the Min Chia are extremely affectionate to children, who, within reason, are allowed to do much as they like. As might be expected under these circumstances the children end by doing something which is very annoying or mischievous, and their enraged parents then chastise them On such occasions the outcry made by boy or girl might suggest that they were being beaten to death, but this is largely a conventional manifestation of grief rather than of pain, for it would be considered most unfilial and almost indecent for a child to bear punishment with fortitude; this would seem to the Min Chia not a proof of pluck, but a display of obstinacy and sulkiness. Consequently the child howls its loudest and the parent, satisfied by this evidence of contrition, is rarely very severe.

000 Min Chia children have quite a large variety of toys, all

 Min Chia

857 children have quite a large variety of toys, all
524 made locally, for the cheap Japanese toy, or its Shanghai-made competitor, have not yet reached the rural parts of Yunnan. Hobby horses, spinning tops, wooden swords and spears, marbles, dolls, and small wooden toy water mills, are the most elaborate and enduring, for many toys are made of paper for some special occasion, such as the Kwan Yin festival and the New Year. Kites are not regarded strictly as toys, for they are also flown by men as well as by boys. The kite flying season is conventionally limited to the spring, and any one who tried to fly a kite at other seasons would be considered eccentric. This curious idea prevails all over China, but I have never been able to hear a satisfactory explanation. The kite is a Chinese invention, and of great antiquity, often made in the shape of a dragon. It seems possible that it was originally a representation of the Rain Dragon, flown in spring in connection with some rain making rite, and that some faint memory of this inspires the convention which limits kite flying to that season. The fire balloons called K'un Ming lamps, mentioned earlier, which are now regarded as toys, are also only flown at one season for a limited period, and some connection with the Shu Pao ceremony is admitted.

Children also play a number of round games such as hide and seek, touch-last, hop scotch, and one, of Chinese origin, called "breaking the city wall", in which a line of boys hold hands and one other has to charge them and
304] break through, but without using his hands or fists. Except for the last, which is a boys' game, all the others are played by girls and boys together, in the courtyard of their home, for as the Min Chia have never bound the feet of their girls, and the custom is now rapidly disappearing among the Chinese and half Chinese, little girls are quite as active as their brothers. In recent years the introduction of basketball as a school game has led to this becoming the national

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857 ball game of China. It has several advantages for the
524 Chinese, for it can be played on a small piece of ground, which is often all that is available, and it does not require the special boots needed for football, which few Chinese schoolboys could afford. In most parts of China the ground is hard and dry for a large part of the year, and any game such as Rugby Football, or Association, in which the players are likely to fall, or be barged down, is dangerous unless played on a specially softened and prepared ground, and that of course is rarely available. Basket ball, introduced by the schools and also played by soldiers in barracks, is thus the only foreign game known to the Min Chia.

857 When a boy or girl is seven years old schooling begins.
872 Before that, in well-to-do families, the child will have already been taught the elements of writing and have begun to learn to read. During the school years most children live at home, only those who attend the Middle Schools and come from distant villages, boarding at the school. Although elementary education is widespread, only a small proportion of boys, and still fewer girls go on to the
883 Middle School. At thirteen or fourteen school ends for
874 most boys, and they either begin to do full time work on the land, or are apprenticed to a tradesman. The apprentice system is only followed in the city, for in the villages there is no trade but agriculture or lake fishing. The apprentice may be engaged at any age over fourteen years, and is bound to serve his master for four years. In return he must be taught the craft, fed, lodged in the shop, and given a new suit of coat and trousers every New Year's day. He receives no pay during these years, but he shares in the family festivities, and on the occasion of the festival of the God of Wealth, locally known as the Golden Armoured God (Chin Chia Ts'ai Shen), when the merchants picnic near the God's temple outside the west gate, the appren-

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tices are given a real feast with as much pork, chicken, delicacies and wine as they can stuff away. 883 874

The peasant boy begins to work as a herd before he is strong enough to do field work. Oxen, water buffalo, and sheep are usually left in charge of small boys of eight or nine years, who spend the day with their charges on the slopes of the mountain, or by the shore of the lake among the willow groves, playing the flute, or astride the broad back of the good-tempered water buffalo, wallowing in the shallows of the lake. The animals are allowed to graze on the narrow dykes between the rice fields, but under the watchful eyes of their young herdsmen the well-trained beasts never dare to wander into the tempting unfenced crops on either side. The complete control which a small boy exercises over a huge water buffalo in these circumstances, though it does not seem strange to the Min Chia, astonishes visitors who know the ways of domestic animals in other lands. The lazy, sunny days on the back of a water buffalo must seem in retrospect a golden age to the young Min Chia when he has grown old enough to do the hard unceasing work on the land, wading through thick mud when ploughing, or hoeing the roots out of the heavy black soil of the drained fields. 883 462

The peasant girl begins to work at the same age, or earlier than her brother. Apart from helping the older women at the domestic tasks, the young girls carry loads of produce to the market, and at an early age, thirteen or fourteen, they are left in charge to sell this and bring the proceeds home at night. This free and independent life spent all day in the busy scenes of a town street, or a village market place away from the supervision of parents gives the Min Chia girl a self confidence and assurance rarely found in the women of eastern countries, and is at once a proof of, and a tribute to, the good sense of the Min Chia mothers and the good

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888 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
[533 of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually
461] done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged
583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

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finds sufficient reward in being allowed, or invited, to 583
arrange the lives of others.

One of his most important duties is to get the two families to agree on the value of the presents which the father of the bridegroom must make to the father of the bride. The bridegroom must not only buy silver jewellery for the bride, but also make a cash payment which is never less than fifty silver dollars, and may exceed one hundred. This payment is in many ways similar to the "bride price" payment in vogue in other countries, for it is regarded as a compensation to the bride's father for the loss of his daughter, and for the money he has spent in educating her. This factor indeed largely determines the value of the sum paid. A girl who has had no schooling cannot expect to receive a large sum, while one who has passed through the elementary school, and still more the Middle School, commands, as it were, a high figure. Although a girl once married is looked upon as a member of her husband's family, it would not be correct to say that the Min Chia sell their daughters like slaves. A woman has rights as well as duties, and it would be no truer to say that the Min Chia sold their daughters than to say that a European father gives a dowry to induce some man to take his daughter off his hands.

The custom of receiving a cash payment when a girl is married acts as a salutary check to the over-importance attached to male children, due to the influence of Ancestor Worship. Even if a father were devoid of natural affection, and only valued his sons as continuers of the Ancestral Worship, he would still have to value his daughters as worth so much to him on marriage. But in practice, the Min Chia, who are very fond of children, are loth to part with their daughters, and they look upon the marriage payment as a compensation for this necessary separation rather than as a

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583 commercial transaction. For the same reason they are never very willing to arrange a marriage with a family living in some distant place, and since they do not follow the Chinese rule of exogamy, they are not often forced to look for a daughter-in-law or son-in-law outside the circle of their acquaintances or relations. It must also be remembered that in a country where large families are common, the father has to pay out as much for the marriage of his sons as he is likely to receive for the marriage of his daughters.

585 When the arrangements have been made to the satisfaction of both parties, and the payments made, a lucky day is chosen from the calendar, in which the days appropriate to weddings are marked. This means that quite often there will be several weddings in the same village or neighbourhood on the same day, and this occasionally leads to ludicrous, but rather tragic, complications. If poor, the bride has to go to her husband's home on foot, and alone, followed at a short distance by some relatives, usually not the parents. But in practice only the poorest of the poor are unable to afford a sedan chair for this rare occasion. The almost universal custom is for the bride to be sent to her future home alone in a sedan chair gaily decorated with red paper rosettes and streamers. The chair is closed, for it would not do for the chair bearers to see the face of another man's bride, and it is not accompanied by any of her relatives. This, at least, used to be the case, but since mistakes sometimes happened, it is now quite common for one or two of her male relatives to ride along with the bridal chair till it reaches the husband's home.

This precaution is taken, not to guard the girl against some intrusion or rudeness, but to prevent the occurrence of the ludicrous mistakes referred to above. It used to happen that when several weddings took place on the same day, and the brides were carried unaccompanied to their future

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homes, the chair bearers would halt for refreshment at some wayside teahouse between the two villages. Another bridal chair, similarly decorated and closed would arrive, and the bearers would also stop for tea. So, it sometimes happened that when they got up to go, the bearers, unable to distinguish between one chair and the other, took up the wrong ones, and the unconscious brides were carried to the wrong husbands. Even on arrival the mistake would not at once be known, for neither bride, nor groom, nor parents-in-law had ever seen each other, and the descriptions given by the marriage brokers are notoriously inaccurate. So the marriage would be consummated and the mistake pass undiscovered until the customary visit to the bride's parents three days after the marriage. Then indeed, the amazed parents would find not their daughter, but some other girl, and difficult and disturbing complications would ensue. 585

It might well be found that whereas one family had paid a large marriage payment, the other had only made a small one, or that two of the families thus inadvertently allied were at odds with each other. Sometimes these reasons were so strong that the two marriages had to be cancelled and the brides exchanged, but as it is customary to consummate the marriage on the first night, this solution presented infinite difficulties.

The risk of these fantastic and embarrassing complications has induced many families to send relatives with the bridal chair till it reaches the right destination.

On arrival the bride is helped out of her chair and led at once to the guest room on the ground floor, where her hsuband and his parents await her. The pair then immediately *k'e t'ou* to "Heaven and Earth"—those vague celestial powers which are the only "gods" of Ancestor Worship. This reverence is performed facing outwards towards the courtyard, and that done they turn about and repeat the

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585 prostration before the altar of the ancestors, on which the tablets are displayed. By this act the bride becomes a member of the family, and she is then introduced in turn to all her new relations. Bride and groom then sit down, at a table apart, to a light ceremonial meal of a bowl of *mien* (a kind of sphaghetti) and the act of eating this from the same bowl is the clinching rite of the marriage ceremony, corresponding to the Chinese rite of drinking wine from the same cup. The Min Chia do not use wine at all in the marriage ceremony[1]. When the *mien* is eaten all the family join the now married couple at the table and a feast is served. Thereafter the bride and groom are at once escorted to their bedroom, for it would be considered both unlucky and ill-mannered if the marriage were not consummated at once.

While the marriage ceremonies are taking place inside the house, the friends and relatives of the bridegroom's family are being entertained to a feast in the outer courtyard, or if that is too small, often in a mat shed erected in the street adjoining the house door. This festivity is maintained by richer families for three days, beginning one day before the marriage and continuing to the close of the day following the reception of the bride. It is over this feast that the marriage-broker presides as a reward for his often long and wearisome negotiations. Three days later the bride's family give a return feast, which is attended by the newly married pair, and it was then that in case of a mistake, the dismayed parents found that the wife of the young husband was not their daughter at all.

[1] The use of *mien* for such a solemn occasion as marriage suggests that this food must have been known to the Min Chia for many centuries, for it is hardly probable that some new food would be used in such a traditional ceremony as marriage. *Mien* is made from wheat flour, not rice, and closely resembles Italian Spaghetti, although it is not possible that the Min Chia, who have had so little contact with Europeans (and least with Italians) should have acquired the use of it from this source.

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It would seem inevitable that not all such marriages can be a success. Husband and wife are complete strangers up to the moment of marriage, and the early, indeed immediate, consummation of the sexual union precludes any possibility of the growth of mutual attraction and of the courtship which western psychology considers an indispensable preliminary to sexual intercourse. It may be, indeed it often happens, that Chinese or Min Chia marriages become a real union of affection as time passes, but this can only be after the marriage has been consummated and depends on chance rather than choice. It is not surprising therefore to find that both young men and girls really dread their marriage as a plunge into the unknown, and that among the younger, more educated generation, there is an increasing opposition to the old custom, inspired by the spreading knowledge that the modern generation of university educated young people in the great cities have largely broken away from these restraints. 581

In the case, not by any means rare, where a mutual antipathy rather than attraction follows marriage, there is little remedy for either party in the traditional system. A wife can in theory leave a cruel or depraved husband and return to her father's home. Such action would cause the greatest possible scandal, and lead to bitter hostility between the two families, and it only natural to find that few fathers have sufficient appreciation of their daughter's unhappiness as to encourage them to abandon their husbands, especially as there is then little prospect of them being married a second time. A husband may divorce his wife for adultery, by simply sending her home, but this also rarely happens, as it is not often easy to prove the fact to the satisfaction of the wife's father, and it is held to reflect scandal on the family of a husband where such things happen, and are admitted to happen. If the husband finds his wife incompatible, but 586

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586 virtuous, he may divorce her, but in that case he must pay 200 to 300 silver dollars to her father, and very few families can afford such an expensive method of divorce. In such a case the husband would find it less expensive and easier to take a concubine in addition to his wife, who would remain the recognised, but neglected mistress of her husband's home.

595 Concubinage is still perfectly legal, though no longer approved by the younger generation of Chinese of the educated class. Among the Min Chia it has always been the luxury of the rich rather than a general custom. Only a few wealthy men can afford more than one wife, and it is almost unknown for any man to have two concubines. The most common reason for taking a concubine is the failure of the first wife to bear children, or the death of such children as she had borne when there is no longer any hope of her having any others. In such a case it is considered a natural thing for the husband to take a concubine, and indeed the older Min Chia would consider it his duty to do so. Concubines are usually the daughters of poorer families, who having more daughters than they can easily marry to families of their own status, are ready to send one daughter to a richer home in this capacity. There are cases where the concubine is of the same social standing as the first wife, but this is not so common, and is often due to a compromise solution when the husband has eloped with one girl and had to consent to marry the other, to whom he was already betrothed.

Although the concubine is thus usually of lower social status than the first wife, and her position in the home is inferior, her children count as equally legitimate with those of the first wife, and no discrimination is made between them. In peasant households concubinage is unknown, for economic reasons, and if the wife proves barren, it is

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customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own.

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife.

In western Yunnan modern medical science is still almost entirely unknown, and the ravages of epidemic diseases proceed virtually unchecked. The doctors who practise old-fashioned Chinese medicine are indeed capable

[1] [i.e. the marriage system. -- Analyst]

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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a 761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which [292 such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on 765] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

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not be more than four or five days later at most. The Min 764
Chia do not follow the custom which prevails in some parts of China of waiting a very long time, perhaps years, for an exceptionally auspicious day before interring the coffin. During these days before the funeral the makers of paper images have been hard at work preparing a number of paper horses, which are placed outside the main gate, and other figures both animal and human, as well as models of houses and sometimes boats, which are to be burned at the funeral for the use of the spirit in the afterworld.

Paper images, in all parts of modern China, have replaced for this purpose the clay figures found in ancient tombs, which are now well known as objects of art in Europe. Their use is to-day traditional for it is no longer customary to make everything that the spirit may be expected to require hereafter in paper, merely a selection of rather traditional objects, two horses, two human attendants (one male and one female), a house, and sometimes a boat. It is also customary to erect a high pole in the courtyard, or in the street outside the house, on top of which a paper heron is affixed. This custom is peculiar to Yunnan, but not to the Min Chia, for it is found in communities of Yunnanese Chinese such as at K'un Ming the provincial capital, and elsewhere. The heron or crane is a Chinese lucky bird, frequently represented as the messenger of the god of happiness, with a bundle of books, emblem of learning and official success, in the beak. But no Min Chia seemed to know why it should be associated with a funeral, and it would seem as if this custom had been merely imitated from the Chinese without its significance being understood. The whole funeral rite is indeed similar to that of the Chinese, and no traces of a different rite or other customs, which may once have prevailed, now exists.

On the morning of the day chosen for the funeral every-

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764 one related to the deceased arrives at the house, wearing that degree of mourning which their degree of kinship entails. All wear the white headcloth, even if they are guests not related to the family. The large and bulky catafalque, a litter with the poles wrapped in red cloth but decorated with white streamers and rosettes, for white is the colour of mourning, waits at the street door with the bearers hired for the day. The coffin is brought out and placed on it, followed by the nearest relatives, the chief mourner being the eldest son, who follows immediately behind the catafalque, walking with bowed back and dragging steps, supported on each side by two other relatives. The chief mourner must in this way display extreme grief, as if he could no longer walk alone. A large portrait of the deceased, to-day often an enlarged photograph, is carried before the catafalque, and the procession is headed by musicians, and followed by men carrying the paper images, other guests and mourners following behind.

In this way the procession winds about the streets of the city, not taking the most direct road to the west gate, which leads to the slopes of the mountain and the tombs. If the funeral starts from a village it usually proceeds straight to the mountain slopes, for the distance is two or three miles at least. The mourners and relatives not closely related usually turn back at the foot of the slopes in a city funeral, or at the end of the village in a country one, only the closer male relatives following to the grave itself, for the older women could in any case hardly make so long a walk, and the younger ones must not do more than their elders are able to do. At the grave, or sometimes at some point before it is reached, the procession halts, and the paper images are ceremonially burned, paper spirit money and incense sticks being burned at the same time. Then the interment takes place in the grave which has already been dug, and this is

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temporarily filled in and covered with stones until the 764
permanent monument can be built over it. It is sometimes customary to sacrifice a cock at the grave, the bird having been brought there tied on to the coffin lid. This custom is widespread among the Yunnanese Chinese, but not universal with the Min Chia. It is another example of a Chinese custom not yet wholly adopted.

Those mourners who have not accompanied the funeral to the grave may return to the house where a meal is served to all, either in the courtyard of the house, or if it is too small, in a mat shed erected outside the street door. The cost of this entertainment for a large number of people, and that of the funeral ceremonies as a whole is a real burden on poorer families, and it is often said that the two great causes of debt are the costs of marrying many sons, and burying many relatives. The Min Chia funerals are, of course, much less elaborate than the great funerals seen in the large cities of China, where several hundred hired attendants line miles of street, but even so a succession of deaths in a short time can greatly impoverish a family, since a display on these occasions equal to, or beyond their means, is considered essential to their social standing.

It is sometimes said that the affectation of excessive grief 765
which custom requires conceals a real indifference, but it would be truer to recognise that the function of these elaborate displays is to occupy the mind and time of relatives who would otherwise be left unoccupied with their sad reflections. No doubt Min Chia relations are sometimes not very distressed at the decease of a domestic tyrant or objectionable sister-in-law, but between most members of the family there is usually the same affection as is found elsewhere, and since the circle of a woman's acquaintance is largely confined to relatives, the death of one of these is more likely to be a real loss than would be the case in com-

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munities where families soon scatter. A deceased person, by the very fact of death, has become one of the ancestral spirits, and as such an object of reverence in an ancestor worshipping society. The funeral has thus a double significance, it is not only a farewell to the deceased, but also the first act of worship paid to his spirit which has now joined the ancestral pantheon.

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CHAPTER 9

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

WHAT are called modern comforts are unknown as yet to the Min Chia, rich or poor. There is no water supply except wells, no lighting except oil lamps or candles, no sanitation at all. Glass windows are a rare luxury never installed throughout a house, and the panes are small and of inferior quality. Most windows are of paper pasted over wooden lattices, which are very artistic but quite opaque, admitting only a dim light. The only system of heating houses in the cold winter evenings or wet days is the use of charcoal burners, for no Min Chia house has fireplaces or chimneys. In a Min Chia house with paper windows one may have either light or heat, but not both at once. For if the windows are shut the light is dim, and if they are kept open the charcoal brazier is not sufficient to keep the room warm.

These discomforts are inevitable in a country so far removed from the centres where modern luxuries are produced, but the Min Chia do not make the most of the materials they have to hand, even when they are well able to afford them. A bamboo lattice screen hung over the doorway or window will keep out flies from a room in summer, and such screens are occasionally used. Most rooms, however, do not have them, and in the spring months before the rains, the ordinary Min Chia house is black with flies, about which everyone complains. Yet it never seems to occur to them to make use of lattice screens at every doorway. This attitude is indeed usual. Rich men live in discomfort, of which they are well aware, but seem to lack the knowledge of how to improve conditions.

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352 The furniture of a Min Chia home is simple. Tables of two kinds, square for eating meals, and smaller oblong occasional tables for tea cups, which, with hard straight back chairs, are ranged around the sides of the guest room. There are also the long carved tables, something like a narrow European sideboard, which are used as altars and stand against the far wall facing the entrance of the guest room. Benches supplement the hard chairs, but except in a few rare rich households, there is no such thing as an easy chair even of the crudest type. The cane armchairs now made in K'un Ming are occasionally brought to Ta Li by members of the wealthier families, but it is exceptional to find more than two or three of these chairs in the best 53 houses. The Min Chia bed is simply a plank platform on four 352 wooden legs, unsprung and unyielding. This is covered with mats and then with quilts until the hardness of the planks is somewhat modified—but for the European body most inadequately modified—and reclining on such a bed is the 352 Min Chia idea of comfort. For cupboards the Min Chia use large chests, and locally made cabinets, of inferior workmanship.

Most of this furniture is very roughly made of soft woods, painted black, or black with red tops, in the case of tables and benches. But a better quality of hard wood furniture, tables, chairs, altars and benches is made at Têng Ch'uan north of Ta Li, and sold at the Yu Tan Hui fair. These pieces are made of red Ch'un wood, a hard wood of the ilex type found only at high altitudes on the Yunnan mountain ranges. The Têng Ch'uan Ch'un wood furniture is beautifully carved and very well made, the table tops cut from a single piece of wood measuring as much as 3ft. by 2ft. 6in. But though handsome, it is only made in the traditional pieces, and does not meet the demands of comfort. If a Min Chia wishes to make a guest comfortable he offers him

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a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the 352
bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, 342
usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the 362
crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a 511
Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, 342
and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

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517 As has been said, the Min Chia have the Chinese respect for learning, but this does not mean that they are very given to intellectual pursuits. Few men read for pleasure, perhaps because the conditions in which they live make it really difficult to do so, or because the constant study of their youth has sickened them. The literature of China is not all solemn philosophy or learned historical commentary. It contains many famous novels and collections of short stories, as well as the works in this vein of modern writers. All these books can be bought quite cheaply in Ta Li city, and are in fact read, but by students, rarely by grown men. It may well be that the younger generation, taught by more modern methods using the current rather than the classical literature, reads with more facility than their elders, and also finds reading more congenial, since they have not wearisome memories of learning classical works by heart before they could understand one word of the text. Whether inspired by duty or pleasure, the only people seen constantly reading, and frequenting the bookshops, are the young.

Almost the only place where a man can get sufficient light to read, or a woman to sew, in a Min Chia home, is the verandah which surrounds the inside of the courtyard, and from which the rooms open off. It might be thought that in a climate like that of Ta Li, when on most days of the year it is pleasant to sit out either in the shade or in the warm winter sun, the Min Chia would make some comfortable way of using the courtyard verandah. But in practice, though they sit there most of the day, they use no chair or couch, but squat down on tiny stools leaning precariously against the columns which support the gallery overhead. Here the older ladies sew and gossip while the children play in the courtyard, the younger women chop wood, wash clothes, thresh grain and do their other

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domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the 517
family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the
ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even [445]
the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women 357
of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried 567
girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and
wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited.
Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there
is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one
servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is
always a "*ya t'ou*," that is to say a slave girl. This system,
which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is
hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the
Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un
Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave
girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed 732
individuals, who, coming from the poor families where 357
goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too 567
deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it
must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride,
and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls
are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families
as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some
small remuneration, and if possible, to find them a husband
when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li
plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than
in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the
richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min
Chia women are more independent in character than the
other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the
whole much better treated than, for example, they are in
K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants
are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

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732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

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more than one table is served. The number of guests may 574
therefore be from four to six, depending on the number of members of the family who will be present. All the guests are, of course, men, and it is not usual for young boys to be invited to these parties. When the guests arrive they are shown into the guest room, or if that is too small to be convenient, the room adjoining, normally some one's bedroom, will be re-arranged for the occasion. Tea 521
is then served with cigarettes, and conversation is carried 574
on until everyone has arrived, perhaps for nearly an hour. The guests arrive early or late in accordance with their willingness, or otherwise, to converse during this wait. After the meal it is customary to leave at once, so that the preliminary period of conversation and tea drinking corresponds to the conversation after dinner in the West.

When everyone has arrived, and the dinner is ready, the 574
host invites them to enter the dining room and be seated. 576
But this is not a simple or rapid operation. The table is round, and the place of honour is that which faces the entrance on the far side of the table, and which usually has the host's best bed and quilts as seat. Every one at once endeavours to sit down as far as possible from this place. The host, protesting, grabs the more honoured or elderly guest by the arm and endeavours to push him towards the seat of honour, but he, levered out of the chair he first sat in, promptly sits down in the next furthest from the place which he knows quite well he must ultimately occupy. All the other guests perform a similar pantomime, the hosts pulling them up and pushing them, protesting politely, to their destined seats. At last this contest of politeness is over and all are seated. The table has as yet nothing on it but chopsticks, small saucers of soy sauce, and four plates of cold food, ham, pickled vegetables, sliced sausage and some other cold vegetable dish.

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574 264 Wine cups are then placed on the table and the host fills them up to the brim, or even till they slightly overflow, this being a necessary act of politeness, showing that no wine will be stinted. The guests meanwhile proceed to wipe their chopsticks with pieces of brown coarse paper provided for the purpose, for it is not impolite thus to imply that your host's table ware is not quite clean. Everyone then takes salt and red pepper and mixes them into their [263] saucer of soy sauce. The Min Chia do not like their food as hot as the Ssu Ch'uanese, but they use more pepper than suits most European taste. Fortunately this custom of adding it individually makes it possible to take as little as you wish. Nearly five minutes passes in this way before anything is eaten at all, for the guests must not help themselves, and the host must not press them too soon, for that would seem to imply that they were hungry and had only come for the food.

At last the host says "Please let us drink," and everyone takes one small sip of the rather strong rice wine. Another short pause for conversation, and the host takes up his chopsticks, indicates the dishes of cold food, and says simply, "Please." Thereupon everyone takes one piece of cold food from the dishes, dips it in the soy sauce and eats it, at once putting down their chopsticks. This formal manner of eating with gradually shortening pauses, punctuated by rounds of wine sipping, continues for some time, perhaps a quarter of an hour, when, long before the cold food is finished, the young sons of the house bring in two hot dishes. No one, however, takes any notice of these steaming tasty dishes of chopped chicken and green peas, or meat balls stewed with chestnuts, until another round of wine has been drunk. Then, once more the host invites them to proceed.

These dishes have also to be consumed one by one in

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slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, 574
and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his 264
guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause, and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a friendly wave of the chopsticks, "Please help yourselves". The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff manners of the first part of the meal give way to an increasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly 574
fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two 524
neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which 273
enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, introduced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions ; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes "stone" and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another ; paper

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574 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The
524 loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this
273 being called "*Kan Pei*" "dry cup."

By the time this game has been played three or four times
574 most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are
264 eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the "Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

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scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain 574
of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put 264
more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating.

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the 574
adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke 276
opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take 273
their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment [529]
available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is 545
an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

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the annual or bi-annual festival of some patron deity. In such cases the play is given on a raised stage at the end of the courtyard, and the guests usually feast first, or during the plays, several being given in succession from about two in the afternoon until nearly midnight. Guests who are not members of the Guild can be invited, and these occasions are often used for gambling, Poker and Ma Chang being the favourite games. Poker has been introduced from Europe, as its Chinese name "*Pa sze*" from the English word "Pass" reveals.

The Min Chia are also fond of gambling, card games being the favorite with adults, and dice with children. Boys throw dice for minute sums of money, the "cash" which is still in use in the countryside, usually gathering in some convenient large gateway with smooth stone steps for this sport. The parents do not seem to consider that this game is unsuitable for children. Adults usually invite guests for cards or Ma Chang early in the afternoon; the play then continues until evening, when the feast is served which ends the entertainment. Stakes are rather high, from one dollar silver to five dollars silver a point, and it is admitted that sometimes men are ruined through gambling losses. Card games or Ma Chang are never played "for love". To the Min Chia the latter game is especially a gambler's game, and indeed in China generally this game has the reputation associated with Baccarat or Chemin de Fer in Europe. Gambling as a form of entertainment is popular not so much for itself, as because there is nothing else to take its place. For the wealthy man who has leisure life in a small town such as Ta Li is dull. The comforts of home life are not sufficient to encourage reading as a pleasure, and there is little to do if he goes out in search of distraction. Card games are always popular in such communities, in all parts of the world, but it is unfortunate, in view of the narrow

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margins of their economy, that the Min Chia take no 525
pleasure in them unless they are played for high stakes.

Outdoor sports and games are almost unknown. As has 526
been seen basket ball is slowly becoming a popular school game, but it is never played by grown men, except soldiers. Tennis is still virtually unheard of. The Garrison Commander and his staff officers, men who had spent a large part of their lives in other parts of China, or at K'un Ming, had a court in the grounds of the Garrison Headquarters, but after they departed for the war front it was no longer used. Nor do the Min Chia hunt or shoot. Very occasionally young men will go out with a gun on the mountain side, but it is in no sense an organised sport. On the other hand, fishing parties are frequently given by those who live near the lake. Small boats are hired, and the guests are invited for the day, most of which is spent fishing with the line from the boats in the lagoons, or in the shallows of the lake, until in the late afternoon a feast is served. The fish caught are usually small both in size and number, but the guests seem to be more attracted by the boating than by the fishing for which it is an excuse.

Boating on the lake, except at the festival of the Dragon 527
King, is not practised as a pleasure, partly no doubt because the lakeside people have to do it for their livelihood, and those from the city or inland villages can rarely spare the time to walk a considerable distance to the lake, find and hire a boat, and then amuse themselves by aimless cruising. This would seem a fantastic waste of money to the Min Chia. But if some reason can be given for the expedition, they are delighted to find an excuse for sailing on the lake. One such excuse, or reason, is provided by the pear harvest in the orchards on the eastern shore. It has become a custom, annually renewed by some of the lakeside families who are fairly well-to-do, to invite friends for a day's

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The Three Pagodas at the foot of Ts'ang Shan. (Seventh century.)

The Hsi Ma T'ang tarn under the crest of Ts'ang Shan. (14,000 ft.)

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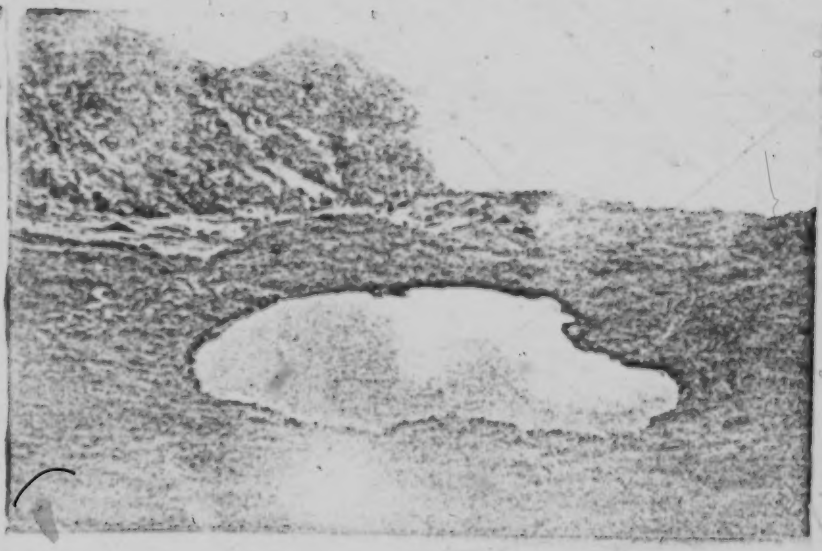

[Face p. 184]

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527 excursion to the pear orchards. A boat is hired, a large number of cooking utensils, rice bowls, and baskets of light refreshments, put on board, and the party, perhaps fifteen or so strong, and including the women of the household, embarks. The crossing of the lake takes from three-quarters of an hour to three hours, depending on the wind, so an elastic time-table is essential. The time is whiled away, if the crossing is slow and tedious, by smoking, eating melon seeds and pine nuts, or, for the older men, smoking opium.

Arrived at Dao Chi, the small village on the nearest point of the eastern shore, everyone disembarks and makes for the pear orchards on the mountain sides above the village. A tour of these is made, and the fruit sampled, and carried away in baskets, a small payment being made to the owners of each orchard. Meanwhile, the women, having found a suitable spot, are cooking and preparing the afternoon meal, while some of the young men and boys go down to bathe from the rocky shore, or to fish. About four in the afternoon the meal is served, with the usual Fire Pot, and a light consumption of wine, and the return journey is started before the evening breeze fails. The purchase of several large baskets of fruit, a little cheaper than they could be bought in Ta Li market, is made the excuse for this picnic, for the Min Chia must have a reason for undertaking such an expedition.

This applies equally to all excursions. The "*dso mu*" visits to the graves, described earlier, are in reality nothing but picnics justified by reverence to the ancestral graves, and the same sort of reason is required for visiting any other spot. Consequently, the Min Chia only know a restricted number of the innumerable beauty spots lying close to hand on the mountain. One may visit Wu Wei Ssu, a Buddhist temple with a beautiful garden and some very fine old cedar trees, lying four miles north of the

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527 city on the lower mountain slopes. The feast cooked in the temple kitchens (in spite of the fact that no meat or wine should be used in a temple) is served after the guests have spent the afternoon playing cards in the garden. A similar sort of excursion is made to Chung Ho Ssu, the Taoist temple (with an important shrine to the Mountain God) which lies immediately behind and above the city at about 9,000ft. The attraction here is, of course, the magnificent view over the plain and lake, with the city spread out below. These two excursions, which are perhaps still partly pilgrimages for some people, are often made by women also, but very few Min Chia of either sex go to any other places on the mountain.

Young men, it is true, sometimes visit two other beauty spots, which are more difficult of access. Ch'ing P'i Ch'i the Jade Green Spring, which wells up, a perfect azure blue colour, in a cave at the head of a rocky gorge some six miles south of the city, is visited for its beauty and also for the rock inscriptions cut in ancient times to celebrate the visits of distinguished persons. But there are many other gorges, cascades and waterfalls, which are never visited by any one but grass cutters. Unless a place is famous, and has some definite "sight," the Min Chia do not consider it worth a visit, and many men have never troubled to go a mile or two from the city to see scenery which in any other country would be world famous.

A few young men, in recent years an increasing number, for the interest taken by visiting Chinese has stimulated their curiosity, make the ascent of the mountain to the tarn called the Hsi Ma T'ang—the Horse Washing Pool—a name derived from the legend that a deity brings his celestial steeds to this place. This point is only reached by a long and hard climb of five to six hours through the bamboo and rain forests. It lies a hundred feet or so under

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527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

137 Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of
824 flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their
[247] courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea, which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

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INVITATION TO THE FEAST

It is, perhaps, natural that in a country where the only means of communication are walking or riding at a foot's pace, and where in consequence everyone in the ordinary course of their business has to walk long distances, walking for exercise is not considered to be rational behaviour. For this reason excursions which have no definite aim in view are never made. Travel is looked upon, quite naturally in view of the conditions, as a hardship which should be avoided if possible, and only undertaken for urgent reasons of business. The Min Chia peasant who has his farm to work probably never goes more than a few miles from his native village in a lifetime. He would never go up the mountain unless it was to cut wood or fodder, and his visits to the city or places further off are only to attend the fortnightly fair or the country markets. Women travel even less. A few annual pilgrimages to the big festivals at temples, or short journeys to town for market days are all they are ever likely to do, and even the women of the wealthy class rarely if ever go to distant places. Their recreations are thus even more limited than those of the men, for they do not enjoy the same opportunities of feasting in a neighbour's house, except on great occasions such as a wedding. Yet wealthy though they may be they are not idle, for if a woman has few recreations she has many occupations. The care of numerous children, housework and cooking, take up most of the day, and in her spare time she has needlework and embroidery to pass the time. Few women read, for though they are taught sufficient characters in school to write letters or keep accounts, they have no time for reading as a pleasure. The peasant women, of course, for the most part still remain illiterate.

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CHAPTER 10

ON THE ROAD

491 "GOOD for ten years, bad for ten thousand"—the old
489 Chinese proverb aptly characterises the stone-paved caravan paths which are the only roads of Yunnan. To modern ideas there are no real roads in Yunnan at all, except the motor road to Burma built in the past two years. That, indeed, is the only road on which wheeled vehicles can pass. But, as the English word "road" implies, a road was once a track primarily for riding, not for vehicles. Goods passed on pack animals not in carts, and this ancient manner of travel is still the daily practice of Yunnan. Once it is recognised that travel means walking or riding at a foot's pace, and that roads are any track along which a pack pony can pick its way, then all journeys are long and slow, but no place is really inaccessible.

438 Consequently, the people of Yunnan, the Min Chia and
484 their neighbours, do intercommunicate, although to the stranger the country appears to be almost impassable. It is really the indomitable Chinese trader who has opened up these difficult and precarious communications, for the indigenous population left to themselves would probably have remained isolated. The Chinese merchant and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese government, built the bridges without which the rivers, too deep to ford, and too swift to ferry, would have been impassable. They built them with the labour of the native population to serve the needs of the ruling race, as is commonly the case in all colonial development. Trade is still in the hands of the immigrant Chinese merchants, and though the personnel of the official class is drawn from all the civilised races of Yunnan its spirit and

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policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery.

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility

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492 between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent
482 different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers
492 who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus
439 the longest caravan route in constant use is the road con-
487 necting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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since the fall of the exchange made goods bought in Burma too dear for the Yunnan market. Another long regular route is the tea road from Pu Erh in south Yunnan, about twenty days' journey south of Ta Li, to A Tun Tze on the border of Tibet in north Yunnan, which is eighteen stages from Ta Li. At this point the tea is handed over to Tibetan caravans which take it on to Lhasa and other points in Tibet. This road passes through Hsia Kuan and Ta Li, and the section from Hsia Kuan to Wei Hsi, half-way to A Tun Tze, is usually worked by men from the Ta Li plain.

These routes are called roads, because that is the usual translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and wher possible they have trodden out track on one sid This practice is resented by ers of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant s edges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse n such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

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491 morning and descending to another valley in the afternoon. This is because the roads going from east to west have to
491 cross an endless series of steep ranges which run from north
133 to south. It might be hoped that if one travelled northwards or southwards one would therefore be able to follow the valleys, but this is rarely the case. The river valleys of Yunnan are for the most part gorges so narrow as to be impracticable, only opening out into a lake plateau at wide intervals. Consequently, if one travels from north to south it is not possible to follow the valley down stream, because it soon becomes a gorge. The road therefore climbs up to the crest of the range, follows along it until the next lake plateau is reached, and then descends again.

491 Consequently the average stage of about twenty miles
137 falls into four well-marked divisions. Firstly, two or three miles across the flat lake plateau between the rose hedges and rice fields until the second stage, the ascent, is reached. This is usually long and steep, a twisting track, once stone steps, now broken into a slide of rubble, rocks, and—after rain—slippery stretches of red mud. On both sides of the track the uncultivated slopes of the mountains are covered with scrub of azaleas, winter green, wild tea, and other flowering shrubs, shaded by a sparse forest of pine trees. As the road winds higher this forest gets taller and denser until, about the 10,000 ft. level, which on most roads is the crest, the pines give place to chestnuts and very tall well-grown non-deciduous trees of the ilex type, called Ch'un, beneath which there is a dense growth of rhododendron and bamboo. The tops of the mountains are often flat, with open grassy glades and running cold streams among the forest, and such a place is chosen for the midday halt, where the horses can graze.

491 The descent in the afternoon is made through similar forest, although sometimes the east side of a mountain will

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be much dryer and less wooded than the western face, 491
where the monsoon rains strike. The path, which is difficult enough for the animals on the climb, becomes much worse on the descent. Only a Yunnan-bred mule or pony would face a descent of broken stone steps, steep, set at all angles, often slippery with wet mud from some oozing stream, and the animal fully laden with loads weighing up to two hundred pounds. Yet they very rarely fall, picking their way from stone to stone, jumping a mud hole, or wading gingerly through the discoloured waters of a stream. This descent may take from two to three hours, about seven or eight miles, and leads to the last section of the stage, the final two or three miles across the cultivated valley to the small town or village which is the stage point.

Sometimes, even on the main routes, as for instance on 491
the road to Bhamo four days west of Hsia Kuan, there is 485
a long stretch of uninhabited mountain country with no cultivated valleys or villages. Here, after toiling all day up and down wooded ranges the caravans must rest for the night at some tiny collection of huts on the mountain side. Even on the most frequented roads it is rare to see any habitations after the valley is left behind, except perhaps at the midday halting place where there are a few teahouses and food stalls. Distances are long, roads execrable, the country deserted (and formerly full of robbers), the inns, when the day is done, dirty and dilapidated. The scenery and the climate are superb, but the inhabitants, accustomed to them from childhood, see no pleasure in travelling.

Distances in China are measured by the *li*, which is 804
approximately one-third of the English mile. As is often the 491
case with peasants in mountain lands, the measure is a variable unit depending on the nature of the road. Thus, in flat country, a *li* is really about one-third of a mile. Ta Li

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to Hsia Kuan is always said to be thirty *li*, along the plain, and is ten miles in fact. When a muleteer says that the day's stage is seventy *li*, which includes crossing a range, the real distance is not twenty-three miles or so, but more nearly nineteen or twenty. This is the average length of a stage, but often it is called eighty *li*, which means a full twenty miles or more, and the longest stage on the K'un Ming-Bhamo road, from Sha Ch'iao to P'u P'eng, midway between Ta Li and K'un Ming, is said to be one hundred *li*, and is in fact a full thirty miles. Muleteers always know the length of the stage, but they usually have no idea of the distance between intermediate points. If, after travelling for about half the day, one asks a muleteer how far it is to the stage point, he may reply forty *li*, or ten *li*, or fifteen, apparently unable to calculate broken distances.

Stage points are either small cities or villages, which in wild country may be only a few houses. The administrative walled cities, *hsien*, are often not situated on the main roads, or do not form stage points if they are, but only midday halts. This may be because the muleteers prefer to avoid the seats of authority. The administrative cities are generally up to three days' journey apart, and the intermediate stage points are villages, some of which are only collections of inns living entirely on the transit trade. Inns are of two kinds, "horse inns" and "guest inns". The "horse inn" is what in western Asia is called a caravanserai, a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by stables, and a big room on the fourth side for the muleteers, with a loft for hay and fodder overhead. These inns are frequented only by the regular transport caravans, and can stable about a hundred horses a night. Guest inns are also built round courtyards, and often have two, the one at the back surrounded by stables for the riding and baggage horses of

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travellers, while the front courtyard gives access to the rooms where the guests sleep. These are small and simply furnished with trestle and plank beds covered with a straw mat, for the traveller carries his own bedding. Sometimes they may have a table and a chair or two for meals, but usually there is only one table, on the courtyard verandah, where the guests dine. Most inns are dirty, unswept and tumbledown places, "battered caravanserais," which in summer are verminous, and in winter cold and draughty. On the other hand they are cheap. If there is a restaurant attached, as is often the case, the traveller will pay under one local dollar for food and lodging, and the meals are good and plentiful. If the value of the Yunnan new dollar is taken as eightpence, before the war with Japan, the traveller need not pay more than sixpence for two good meals and his room.

Almost all inns provide rice cooked in the inn kitchen, but in small places the traveller must buy and cook his own meat and vegetables. Inns also provide rice wine, and there is generally a teahouse nearby. In towns like Hsia Kuan, where the long-distance caravans change horses, there are immense inns with a series of courtyards running back from the street, able to stable two hundred horses if necessary, and these inns let out their rooms to business houses as offices. On the same roads in small places in the mountains there may be only one inn, almost a farmhouse, with two or three rooms at most, and there the horses have to be picketed in the courtyard while the late arrivals have to doss down wherever they can find room. Accommodation is thus always poor and often very bad, but food is always good and frequently excellent. In small towns a restaurant, simply a long dark room with a cooking stove and four or five tables, provides the most tasty and delicious meals for very low prices, and the small wayside places at the midday halting

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491 points serve excellent well-cooked food. The Yunnanese
485 have no idea of comfort, yet are born cooks.

Regular transport muleteers are necessarily hard tough
492 men inured to all weathers, and independent in character. They live a life on the roads, doing a thirteen-days' stage and then back again month after month, with usually only one day's rest at the terminal points. It is sometimes customary for travellers to rest one day in seven or eight, but the regular transport caravans always make their full thirteen or fourteen days' stage without halts. Caravans number up to forty or fifty mules with one man to every three animals, the leading mules being particularly fine strong animals carrying a bell and a plumed headdress of woollen pompoms by which they can be heard and seen at a distance. These animals know every inch of the road and find their own way, the muleteers often walking well behind the caravan, for as long as the mules can hear the leader's bell they will follow without being urged. Some of the muleteers carry arms, either a pistol, an old rifle, or swords, and even in those parts of the country where "small bandits", that is to say individual footpads, still exist, such caravans are never molested, since the muleteers are both more courageous and better armed than the robbers.

492 The routine of travel followed by the caravan men is
484 curious, and to the ordinary traveller not very convenient. The men get up in the middle of the night, about two in the morning, and cook themselves a large meal of rice and vegetables, and then, when that is eaten, go to sleep again for another three hours. At six they rise, saddle the mules and start out at once without taking anything to eat. After about four hours on the road, round ten o'clock, they halt at some place where there is plenty of grass, a stream of water, and some shade trees—and in Yunnan such places are

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easy to find. The mules are then unsaddled and turned loose 492
to graze, a fire is lit and rice and vegetables cooked for the 484
midday meal. Some of the men sleep in the shade, and even after they have finished their meal they are in no hurry to depart, often spending fully two hours or more at these halting places. At last, about one o'clock, they call the mules in, each muleteer having a peculiar cry which the animals in his charge know and obey. They are saddled, and the loads lifted on, and the caravan goes on for another four hours or so until the stage point is reached about five in the evening.

The "horse inn" where they lodge is always one at the 492
far end of the town from the gate by which they enter, or at 485
the furthest extremity of the village street, to make the departure in the morning easier, as in this way two caravans bound in opposite directions do not have to cross in the narrow street when they set out almost before the sun has risen. Often the streets of a town are so narrow that two mules with their bulky packages fixed on either flank would hardly be able to pass without bumping, and the consequent confusion. As soon as the caravan enters the inn yard the leader and each mule in turn, as it comes in, is unloaded. The loads are neatly arranged in this order so that they can be placed on the right mules in the morning with the minimum delay or confusion. Each load is bound on to a a wooden frame which slips into slots on the pack saddle, and the loads can be taken off or put on independently of the saddle itself. Thus, the loads are never untied from one end of the journey to the other, and only have to be lifted on or off the pack saddles.

Once unloaded in the right order, the horses are unsaddled, each saddle being placed on the right load, and the animals are then given their feed in the stables. Not until all their wants have been attended to, do the men begin to

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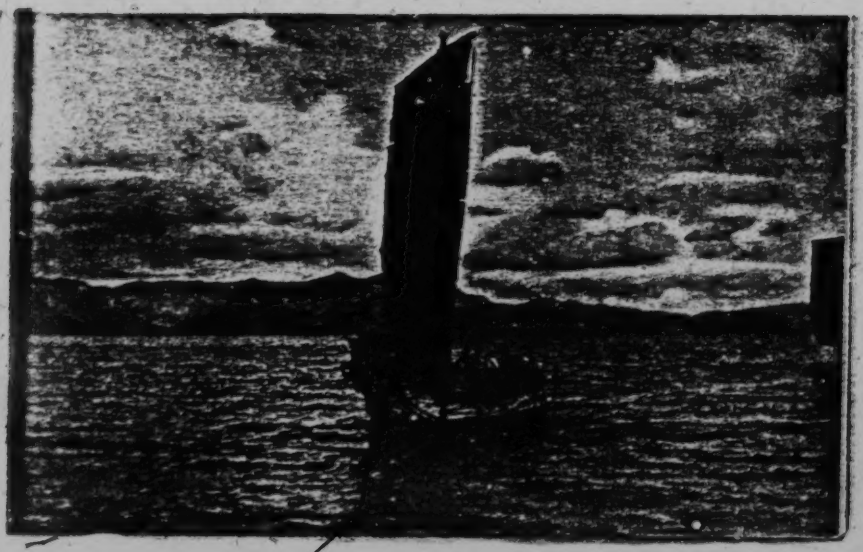
133

On the Burma Road. Yang Lao Kuan pass.

Min Chia junks on Erh Hai lake.

501



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492 cook their own supper. Hay and fresh-cut grass can be
485 bought in these towns on the street, or from girls who come round to the inns to sell it for about one nickel a load, or about one and one-third farthings for all a girl can carry on her back. When the men have cooked and eaten their supper, about seven o'clock or a little later, they go to sleep until they awake for their midnight meal, for there is nothing to do in a Chinese village after dark, and darkness falls about seven or eight at latest in these southern latitudes. The object of this curious routine, which seems to waste the best hours of the day in a prolonged halt, is to feed the animals free on the mountain grass, instead of having to buy more hay and fodder for them. Therefore, the early start obviates the need of buying fodder from the inn in the morning as well as the evening. No muleteer could ever give a really satisfactory explanation for the habit of rising in the early hours, eating a meal, and then going to sleep again. It is a habit which perhaps explains why other travellers do not like to sleep, or rather try to sleep, in horse inns.

Travellers not attached to a caravan do not have to follow this routine, though if they are riding mules, the men insist on a long midday halt to feed the animals free on mountain grass. The usual starting hour for travellers is eight in the morning, after taking an early meal. As this has to be cooked it means that all travellers rise at dawn, but those who travel with porters can start a little later.
482 Porters and litter carriers go faster than pack animals on
492 the flat, but have to make frequent short halts, and their pace on the steep ascents is, if anything, slower than the mules. Consequently, they do not do a longer stage than the caravans, and by the end of the day have not done the whole stage any faster. For this reason, and because it is more expensive to hire porters than to take mules,

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482 most travellers ride. The hire of a mule per day is on
492 the average one dollar fifty cents silver, but the price depends on the nature of the journey. If going towards K'un Ming or some other important centre, the price is lower, for there is more competition and the muleteers can be certain of taking a load of goods back on the return journey. If the journey is outward to the north of Yunnan or to some small place, the price is higher, as the muleteer may have to bring his beasts back unladen.

482 Women and those who are sick, or who do not care to
493 ride, can travel by litter, or *h'ua kan*, meaning literally a "flowery pole," the West China substitute for the sedan chair. In this mountainous country a sedan chair is too heavy and awkward for ordinary use, and only the highest officials use them, more as mark of "face" than for convenience. The *h'ua kan* is a light simple construction of two bamboo poles joined at the ends by two cross pieces, which rest on the shoulders of the porters. The seat is contrived of a mesh of cords covered with the traveller's bedding, with a loop as a foot rest. A light hood of oil cloth is sometimes fixed over the traveller's head on curved bamboo lathes. The average Yunnanese, especially women, are light enough to be carried in this way by two men, but heavier individuals have to have three porters, the third man relieving the others in turn. Porters are paid a dollar silver a day, and as other men have to be hired to carry the baggage, this method of travelling is more expensive.

482 *H'ua Kan* carriers travel at a rapid pace, rather faster than a quick walk, and keep this up on the flat for about three miles. They then rest for perhaps a quarter of an hour, if possible, at a wayside teahouse, or if there is none, at some place where there is a shady tree. On the ascents they slow down to a steady deliberate pace which they can keep up for long distances, with short halts every hour or

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482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says "Slippery place", and the one behind replies "Mend your pace" (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

Porters and litter bearers are always Ssu Ch'uănese, and usually ragged wretches drawn from the poorest class who have taken to the roads to earn a hard living. Most of them are opium smokers, but though this probably shortens their lives, they do not seem to be any the worse for it when on the road. They spend their entire lives travelling to and fro over these mountain roads, and though unable to read and quite unfamiliar with maps, many porters know every road in south-west China, and can repeat the names of the stage points from Bhamo to Ch'ung King, more than a thousand [133 miles. They never seem to save enough money to retire, 461] for their wages go on opium to ease the pain in their aching shoulders after twenty miles of rough road. The muleteers, who are men of substance, owning their animals and often some land as well, despise these human beasts of burden, who are also strangers from another province.

484 Neither muleteers, porters, nor travellers have any real 491 protection against bad weather. In the winter months, when most travelling is done, rain is rare and light, but on the high ground it turns to sleet or snow, and conditions can be very bad in such weather. The mud road becomes a slippery slide on which neither man nor beast can keep a sure footing, and the broken stone paving is, if anything, worse

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going. The men wear straw sandals which grip well on 484
dry ground or rock, and can be replaced in any village 491
when worn out, but in wet weather they soon disintegrate, and the men finish the day barefoot splashing through the deep red mud. The wide straw hats with an oil cloth cover, which porters and muleteers wear, keep off most of the rain, but a felt blanket thrown over the shoulders is the only protection against the cold. They arrive soaked through at the inn, where they can perhaps dry their clothes and warm themselves at the cooking fire. Travellers, if in a *hua kan*, can get some protection from the hood, but this is inadequate in heavy rain, and the unprotected legs and feet are in any case soaked and frozen.

In summer, the rainy season, the roads are nearly im- 491
passable. The stone paving is usually lost to sight beneath muddy puddles of unknown depth, and the unpaved tracks on the mountain are deep in sticky mud. Streams overflow making wide stretches of water across the roads, or flow strongly down the road itself, the mountains are buried in thick mists making the way difficult to find, and the tracks, when passing above a gorge or ravine, are often carried away by a landslide. In such cases no one ever repairs the damage unless the route is the only possible one, the usual practice being to make a detour through the scrub above the washed out section. In this way the roads gradually depart further and further from the old line, until long stretches of paved path are abandoned, and slowly disappear under the brushwood.

It is indeed difficult to see why anyone ever took the trouble to make these paved paths, since they very soon fall into disrepair, and even when in good condition are most unsuitable for pack animals. The mules always avoid a stone path if they can find a strip of earth alongside, or can make a detour through the scrub. In north China, where cart and

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491 horse traffic is the ordinary way of travel, there are no paved roads, and in south China where horses are unknown, all traffic on these paved paths is by porter. It is only in Yunnan that pack horse and porter traffic are found in competition. As the paved roads are in fact a hindrance to horses rather than a help, one may surmise that at the time they were first built, in the Ming dynasty, the country was governed by officials from south China, who knew nothing about horse traffic and built the roads primarily for moving troops. The so-called Yunnan pony, a smaller animal even than the Mongolian pony used in north China, is really bred in Tibet and the border country where paved roads have never existed.

The character of the ancient bridges built by the Chinese authorities across the rivers of Yunnan also suggests that formerly horse traffic was less important. Many of these are humped stone bridges which pack animals have great difficulty in crossing without slipping on the steep smooth stones. In fact, if the stream is shallow, the muleteers always make the animals ford the river, and the animals themselves will often try to ford a deep stream to avoid crossing the bridge. The great rivers such as the Mekong and Salween are crossed by iron chain suspension bridges, some of which date from Ming times. These bridges are made of planks laid across heavy iron chains which are anchored in the rocks at either end. Since these chains are far too heavy to have been carried any distance they must have been forged on the spot with iron brought by mule pack.

At the present time these mediaeval methods of travelling are still unchallenged except by the new motor road from K'un Ming to Burma, which was opened for traffic in the late autumn of 1938. This immense undertaking was built by forced labour as a war measure, in two sections. The first section of 277 miles from K'un Ming to Hsia Kuan,

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near Ta Li, was finished in the spring of 1938, some parts of it having been in partial use for two years before that date. It crosses five major passes and winds for long distances on the crests of the mountains, in a region absolutely uninhabited. The second section, from Hsia Kuan to the Burmese frontier at Nam Kan is slightly longer, about 290 miles, and passes through much more difficult country. The mountains on this section are both higher and steeper, and the two great rivers, the Mekong and Salween, had to be bridged anew, as the old mule bridges were not strong enough for wheeled traffic. Work was started in December, 1937, and the first through traffic passed over the road from Burma in December, 1938, an achievement which is barely credible to anyone familiar with the country. This section was also built by forced labour, the inhabitants of districts up to one hundred miles from the road being brought to work on it, where they camped in shelters made of boughs and turf. It is probable that not far short of one hundred thousand men and women were employed in this year building the road.

It does not seem likely that the existence of the motor road will, at least for many years, destroy the old caravan trade. The silk road finds an outlet at Bhamo, which is the most convenient port on the Irrawaddy, and therefore does not follow the line of the motor road for the last one hundred and fifty miles. The tea road from south Yunnan to Tibet is also unaffected by the motor road which crosses it at right angles at Hsia Kuan. Moreover, it is likely to be much cheaper to send goods by mule than by motor car; the opening of the Hsia Kuan—K'un Ming section of the Burma road did not affect the transit of goods from K'un Ming by mule at all. Individual travellers, on the other hand, naturally preferred to travel by bus when possible, and do thirteen stages in three days. The passenger service, how-

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491 ever, remains irregular and slow. Days pass when there are
494 no buses running, and when they do run they are often delayed by breakdowns or by subsidence of the new-made road.

491 The construction of motor roads does not therefore have at first any profound effect on the lives of the Yunnanese country folk. Indeed, their only direct concern with these roads is in the building of them, which they have to do by forced labour. This duty is the more unwelcome as they themselves cannot use the road when it is finished. Mules are not allowed on the motor roads, because the passage of large caravans of mules not only destroys the surface of the road when it is newly laid, but also interferes with motor traffic. The Yunnanese mule or pack pony has naturally never seen a motor car, or even a wheeled cart, and in consequence they stampede in wild alarm as soon as one appears. The proportion of muleteers to animals is small, for the caravans on the old pack roads need very little control, and therefore when a caravan of fifty or more mules stampedes at the sound of an approaching car, the ten or twelve men in charge cannot quiet them, loads are thrown off, and the frightened animals career wildly down the road communicating their panic to any other beasts they meet.

The muleteers therefore would not use the motor roads, even if they were allowed to do so, and the existing transport system derives no benefit from the construction of these roads. Nor do the other wayfarers, *hua kan* bearers and porters make much use of the new route. A motor road in mountainous country has to wind about by long detours to climb the ranges, and it is in practice quicker for those on foot to cut across the hills by the old paths which are so much shorter, if also steeper. Porters and litter bearers, as has been mentioned above, like to stop for a rest and a drink

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of tea every few miles, and these teahouse resting places 491
are all on the old tracks, since the motor road winding about the hillsides passes through uninhabited forest country for many miles on end. The same difficulty occurs in regard to sleeping accommodation, for the foot passenger can at most do twenty-five miles in a day, and in some parts the motor road, making a long detour, does not touch any village for more than forty miles. For these reasons the foot passenger traffic can make no use of the new road either.

Where a public bus service exists it is only a small 494
number of wealthy people who can afford to use it. The fare to Hsia Kuan from K'un Ming was at first seventeen New Yunnan dollars, and then was raised to twenty-one. No poor man could afford this fare for a single journey, low though it is by European standards. A poor man, even a young student going up to K'un Ming to the Middle School, would find it much cheaper to walk the distance in thirteen days than to ride in the bus for three. By walking he would only have the small charges for food and lodging to pay, for he would take his scanty luggage on his back. The large numbers of men who go down to Burma for work in the winter months also always travel on foot, carrying their baggage on baskets and poles. For the poor man in Yunnan, Shanks' pony is and will long remain the only conveyance.

Unlike any other province in China, except neighbouring 505
Kwei Chou, Yunnan has no water communications of any importance. There are no navigable rivers in the province. Although it is crossed by four of the greatest rivers, the Yang Tze, West River, Mekong and Salween, not one of them can be navigated in Yunnan. Yet in spite of the isolation and distance from other navigable water, there is an active boat traffic on the great Yunnan Lakes, and on the most isolated of all, the Erh Hai at Ta Li, the boats are the biggest and best made of any in Yunnan. The Erh Hai

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505 is thirty miles in length, with a width varying from seven miles at the widest point, to about three miles at the narrowest. It is thus an excellent means of communication between the towns and villages on its shores, and there is regular traffic in goods and passengers between these places.

Ta Li itself is not on the shores of the lake, being about two miles from the nearest point where boats touch, the village of Shier Yu. There is a local belief that once the water of the lake came much further up on the plain than is now the case, and this seems to be confirmed by the existence of humped-back bridges across what are now small ditches, but which it is said were once waterways on which boats navigated. On the other hand, Hsia Kuan and Shang Kuan, the two fortress towns at either end of the lake, are built on the edge of the water, and Têng Ch'uan beyond the northern end of the lake, can be reached by smaller boats going up the Erh river estuary. There are also three or four large market villages on the eastern shore, of which the most important is Wa Shih. Heavy and bulky freight is frequently shipped at Hsia Kuan and carried up to Shang Kuan by boat, where it is taken on by mule to districts further north, as this saves mule hire for two stages. At the Yu Tan Hui fair, held near Shang Kuan, almost all the goods and many of the passengers arrive by boat, but this, of course, is an exceptional occasion. The greater part of the lake traffic is in perishable foodstuffs, which are consumed locally. Thus, all the fruit for the Ta Li and Hsia Kuan markets comes across the lake from Wa Shih and other villages on the eastern shore, which are only a day's journey from the orange groves in the Pin Ch'uan plain. On their return journey these boats take firewood, which is scarce on the dry eastern shore, and also cargoes of dressed granite building stone and marbles for tomb stones. Tiles for roofing, which are made near Hsia Kuan,

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are usually shipped to all the villages and towns around the lake. 505

This traffic is entirely in the hands of Min Chia boat people, for none of the boat owners are Yunnanese Chinese or Moslems. The fact is interesting, for it raises the problem of whence the Min Chia obtained a knowledge of boat building and navigation. The nearest places where large sailing boats are in use are the Irrawaddy at Bhamo, about three hundred miles from Ta Li, and the K'un Yang lake, near which stands K'un Ming, the provincial capital. This lake is two hundred and seventy miles from Ta Li, and the junks used there are in every way unlike those that ply on the Erh Hai at Ta Li. The Erh Hai boats, which have the 501 distinction of sailing on what is probably the highest 502 sheet of navigated water in the world (6,700ft.), are much larger than those on the K'un Yang lake, and many details of their construction suggest that they are the product of a long and independent development. The largest ships are fifty feet long, with a beam of six to eight feet, and are built of heavy walnut planks, pegged together without the use of nails, the joints being closed with lime and cement, not caulked. This method seems clumsy, but in fact they do not leak if well looked after. The boat is almost flat-bottomed, but is fitted with a very large rudder which, when in use, projects deeper than the bottom of the boat and serves as a keel to correct leeway. This rudder has to be taken up and shipped when the boat approaches shallow water.

The Min Chia count on the wind for propulsion, and such oars as exist are rudimentary and clumsy paddles only used for manoeuvring the large boats in calms where the water is too deep to use poles. Boats are fitted with a mast which is made of pine, and is often thirty feet long. The sail is made of rice straw mats, strengthened with bamboo lathes so that when lowered it folds on itself in concertina fashion. It is raised by hauling on a cowhide rope, which passes over

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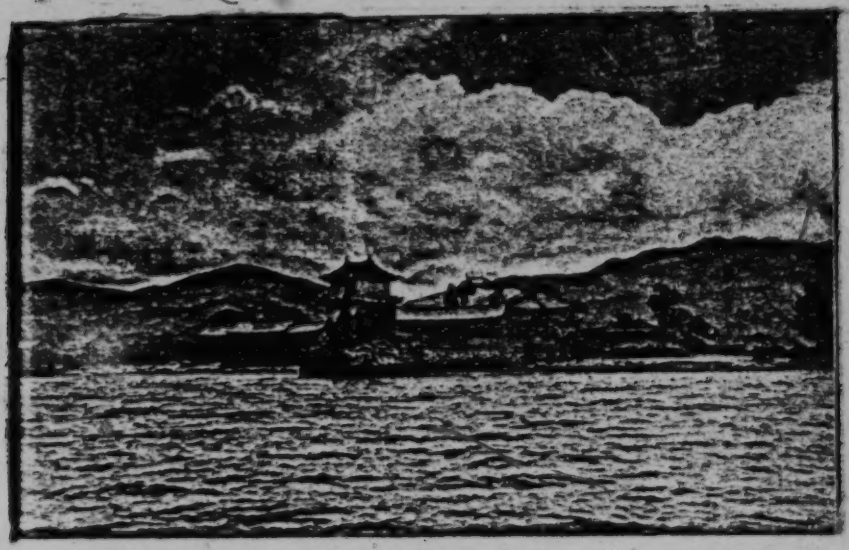
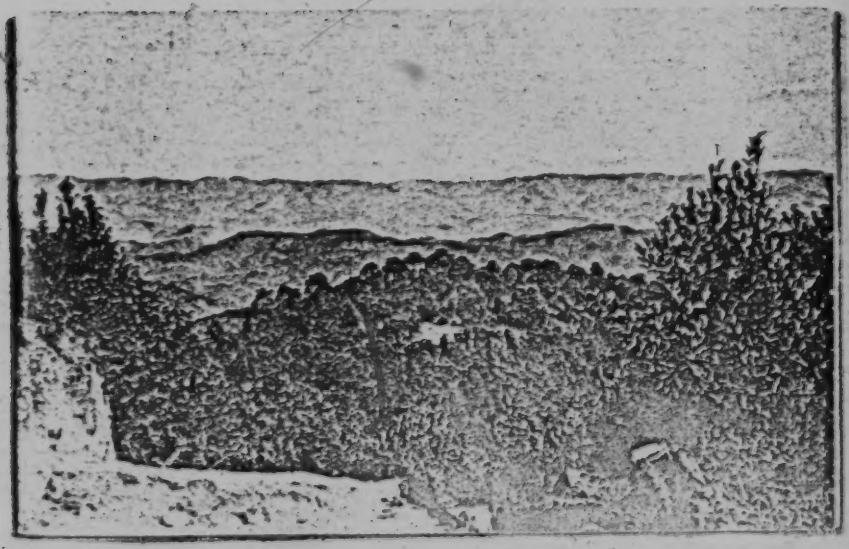


Wa Se village on eastern shore of Erh Hai lake.

On the Burma Road. The Mekong Salween divide.



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501 the forked top of the mast, the slightly greasy cowhide
502 acting as a lubricant in the absence of pulleys. All ropes and sheets used on these boats are made of this material which is, of course, very strong and enduring. The larger boats have a cabin at the prow, which is raised well above the water line, and thus seems at a distance to be the poop, as in Chinese junks. On Erh Hai boats the necessity of shipping the heavy cumbersome rudder in shallow water makes it impossible to have the cabin at the poop. The whole boat can also be covered in rainy weather with curved mat roofs fitted on a bamboo frame, and is thus weatherproof, which makes boating by far the most comfortable way of travelling in the rainy season.

502 In a stiff breeze the Erh Hai boats can make very fast
132 passages, and sail fairly close to the wind, while when there is nothing but the slightest of airs it is still possible to sail them owing to the very large spread of the towering mat sail. On the other hand, they are admitted to be dangerous in the violent squally winds which sweep across the lake in winter. These winds off the Ts'ang Shan range are a peculiar feature of the winter climate of Ta Li, due to the conjunction of a very high mountain and the lake. They come at irregular intervals, without warning, and the direction of the wind is unpredictable. At one moment the air is still under a cloudless sky, at the next, with a roar like an express train, the squall sweeps down across the plain raising clouds of dust, and then is gone. A few minutes later another squall approaches, from the opposite direction. In such weather sailing is very dangerous, and the boatmen either hoist only a small part of the sail, or prefer to punt along the shallows.

502 The larger Erh Hai boats are usually handled by a crew of three or four, who are the owner and his family. Apart from hoisting the sail, which is heavy work requiring all hands,

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502 their only labour is to steer, or in calms, to punt. They often prefer to travel at night because in summer there is more wind after sundown, and if the wind fails it is tiring to have to do the hard work of punting or rowing in the hot sun. As they work, or sit idly steering the slow-moving boat, they beguile the time by singing improvised words to the one tune which Min Chia peasants always sing to. Time is no object. A trip from Shier Yu, the port of Ta Li, to Wa Shih or Shang Kuan may take four hours or less with a favourable wind, or seventeen hours if there is no wind at all. As they carry a cooking stove and provision of rice they are not dependent on the villages for food, while fish can often be bought from the fishermen on the lake itself.

579 489 The length and slowness of all travel in Yunnan is in fact the explanation of that indifference to time and punctuality which disturbs the foreign visitor. When a journey must in any case take several days, one more or less cannot matter, and as long as the stage point is reached in time for supper, it does not matter when the traveller starts. No Yunnanese would think of starting on a journey unless he allowed for a possible week's delay, through bad weather or—formerly a paramount consideration—delay due to unsafe roads and banditry. When the roads were still infested with robbers it was not uncommon for all travellers to wait in the last town below some dangerous pass until the authorities agreed to provide an escort, or until there were sufficient wealthy travellers assembled to pay for one. My arrival in one such town, some ten years ago, was hailed with delight, since I already had the escort which the local authorities were unwilling to provide for nearly fifty or sixty other travellers and four caravans of forty mules. All these, the next day, got safe and free escort over the pass which was known to be the haunt of a large gang of deserters from the provincial army.

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CHAPTER 11

FOREIGN CONTACTS AND CHANGES

177 No picture of Min Chia society would be complete if all reference to alien influence other than Chinese were omitted. In earlier chapters the character and scope of the Chinese influence on society in its various aspects has been discussed, here it is intended to review the nature of Min Chia contacts with European and other foreigners and the changes which such contacts have caused.

Although it is in no sense unexplored, there is perhaps no country, except Tibet, which is as little known to Europeans as Western Yunnan. Until very recently the only means of access was a tedious journey of many days over rough roads infested with robbers. Since the war with Japan, and the realisation of the importance of the route to Burma, a growing number of Europeans have made the journey across Yunnan from K'un Ming to Burma, either on foot or as pioneer motorists. Apart from the resident missionaries these travellers are the only Europeans with whom the Min Chia have even a fleeting first-hand acquaintance. As many travellers either do not speak Chinese, or have only an imperfect understanding of the Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, the influence of the chance and brief contacts they may make with the people can be discounted.

179 The Min Chia, therefore, gets his ideas of the European and his culture from the resident missionary, and it is therefore important to describe the character and extent of missionary work in the Min Chia districts. There are Protestant missionaries at five centres in the Min Chia country, Ta Li, Erh Yuan, Shih Ku, Lan P'ing and Chien Ch'uan, places which are on the average fifty miles apart.

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The Catholics have a mission station at Ta Li with an outpost in one of the villages on the lake shore, and they also have a station at Niu Kai, two days' journey to the north of Ta Li, in Erh Yuan *hsien*. The total number of European missionaries of both religions in the Min Chia area is thus about twenty at the outside, including the wives of the Protestant missionaries, who are, of course, all missionaries themselves. Apart from these there are Protestant missions at Li Chiang and Hsiang Yun, just beyond the Min Chia country, but as these missionaries work among other peoples, their direct influence on the Min Chia is slight.

Quite recently one Protestant missionary and one of the Catholic Fathers have begun to study the Min Chia language, but until the most recent past no missionary of either religion spoke Min Chia, since in the cities where they are established most of the population is bilingual and can understand Chinese. In the country districts, where Chinese is imperfectly understood, or not at all, missionaries are accompanied by Min Chia convert evangelists who preach to the congregation in their native language. On the other hand the missionaries of the China Inland Mission (Protestant) who are established in Ta Li and Erh Yuan, are proficient and fluent Chinese scholars, speaking the dialect of Mandarin used in Yunnan, and easily understood in that language.

The Protestant missionary societies have a zoning agreement by which the territory of the missions is defined, and it is considered a breach of this agreement for one mission to intrude upon the field of another. It seems perhaps unfortunate that at the time this agreement was made, either by inadvertence or for other reasons, the Min Chia districts were divided between two societies, doctrinally distinct. The China Inland Mission, a federation which includes

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797 Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, but has a strong Evangelical outlook, is the largest missionary society in China, and was the first Protestant body to enter the Yunnan field. The station at Ta Li, one of the first to be opened in the province, dates from the early eighties, and it was only much later that the other societies entered Yunnan, and were given the northern districts as their field. These districts include a large part of the Min Chia territory, and thus the stations at Shih Ku, Chien Ch'uan and Lan P'ing are assigned to the Pentecostal Mission, whose doctrines are in important respects unlike those taught by the China Inland Mission.

The agreement in any case does not apply to the Catholics, who conduct missions where they think fit without regard to whether the Protestants have already entered the region or not. The Seventh Day Adventists, who have large missions in China, also disregard the agreement, but they have no permanent mission station in Min Chia districts.

The Catholic Fathers, of the Société des Missions Etrangères, are French and Spanish, while the Protestant missionaries are Americans, English, Australians and Canadians.

This fact, the division of nationality between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, has led the Min Chia into a very common and not unnatural error. It is the firm belief of all people in Ta Li, even the educated, that Catholicism is an entirely different religion from Protestantism, and that whereas the former is the religion of the French, the latter is the religion of the English and Americans. The fact is that the Chinese word for Christianity, "Chi Tu Chiao," is hardly ever used and is barely known to most Min Chia, who, in common with the Yunnanese of other races, always talk about "Ye Su

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Chiao," "The Doctrine of Jesus," which means Protestantism, and "Tien Chu Chiao," the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, which is Catholicism. Very few Min Chia know that these two are variant forms of the general Christian religion. 797

The Min Chia are also under another mistaken impression, perhaps more hampering to missionary work than the first, namely that all Catholic missionaries are the paid agents of the French government, and that all Protestant missionaries are equally the servants of the English government. The fact that many Protestant missionaries are Americans does not shake this universal belief. This idea is not as foolish as it sounds, for the special position of Europeans in China, the system of Extraterritoriality by which no European subject or citizen of the Treaty Powers is subject to Chinese jurisdiction, not unnaturally seems to suggest that these people are the agents of the governments which take such an interest in them. To the rural Chinese or Min Chia it is inconceivable that a government should protect and privilege anyone who was not an official. It is too, equally strange to them that people should give up their lives to change the religion of distant strangers. They find it very hard to understand the motives for this conduct, and the easiest explanation is that the missionary is paid to do it.

The missionaries of both religions lead, in fact, very simple and austere lives, but it would be impossible for them to abandon all the standards of European comfort and hygiene to which they are accustomed, and in consequence, simply by taking some trouble to be reasonably comfortable and healthy, they have to live in a way which seems to most Min Chia very luxurious. Few of the wealthiest Min Chia have glass windows, or oil lamps of any power, or an easy chair, or fly-screened windows. The mission station 797 177

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797 equipped with these simple necessities, seems therefore a
177 wealthy and even prodigal establishment. Many missionary ladies do much of the housework themselves, but they usually have one servant to help in the cooking. Very few Min Chia, if any, have any servant except a more or less imbecile slave girl, and this standard of modest comfort thus seems extravagant to them. In this way, and quite unconsciously, the missions are setting a new standard of comfort and living conditions, which is having a slight but increasing influence on the habits of the wealthier Min Chia class, who are often better supplied with money than the missionaries themselves. This indirect influence on living conditions, of course, only affects the cities where mission stations are established, and only a small class of the richest residents in these cities. Nevertheless, as living exponents of the western manner of life and its modern comforts of which the educated class reads in current Chinese literature, the influence of the missionaries is considerable, if involuntary.

797 The direct influence of Christian teaching is less easy to assess, for the approach of the Catholic and Protestant is quite different. It is true that neither body expects rapid and flamboyant success ; both confess that the Min Chia are an unresponsive people, rooted in their own way of life and traditional, if vague, beliefs. The Catholic hopes to effect Christianisation by a slow and continued process of instruction, and sets less store on individual conversions. The Protestant, founding his practice on the Doctrine of the Elect, only expects a few conversions but expects that these, unrecognised members of the Elect, will at once respond to the Word of God when they are given the opportunity of hearing it. Consequently the Catholic missionaries are concerned with the continuous and close instruction of the group of people among whom they live,

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and particularly of the children, for whom they provide a large and well-attended school. As one of the Fathers said, "We think it takes three generations to make a Christian". 797

These methods are recognised to be slow, for Baptism is only accorded after a very long and thorough instruction, and in consequence the number of Catholics is much smaller than the number of those who attend Church, or Catholic School. There are, perhaps, one hundred baptised Catholics resident in Ta Li and the adjacent villages, but there are also a large number of Catholic children at the school, whose parents live in other places, and send the children to board at the Mission School. This school, which comprises an elementary and Middle School division, follows the curriculum of the National Schools in all respects except the addition of Catholic doctrine. Many of the teachers are laymen and some are not even Catholics. The object of the Catholic missions is to convert the people to Christianity with the least possible change in their culture and way of life, and this outlook is in many ways opposed to that of their Protestant competitors. 797 871

The Protestant missionaries spend a great part of their time preaching in the villages and countryside, endeavouring to bring some knowledge of the Gospel to everyone, in the hope that some will be interested and come for further instruction. They no longer concentrate on the people of Ta Li city or the immediate environs, for these are held to have had every opportunity of hearing and believing the Christian doctrine for many years past. If they have not responded, it is because they have not got it in them to respond, and it would be time wasted to preach to them. Since they are mainly concerned to spread the Gospel the Protestant missionaries do not keep a school. Since, also, they believe that not all humanity can be saved, and that the world as we know it must perish in the catastrophe of 797

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797 Armageddon, they are not concerned with building a Christian community or nation, for they deny that any community is truly Christian. Thus the long-term methods of the Catholics make no appeal to them, for their approach is to the individual soul. On the other hand they require their converts to abstain from tobacco smoking, and alcohol, and discourage them from attending stage plays and similar entertainments. They thus require a Christian to change his manner of life entirely, and give up many of the characteristic customs of his native culture.

Like the Catholics, the Protestants also do not easily accord baptism, and as the convert has to shoulder some financial responsibility for the maintenance of the Church, and suffers some social disabilities for his new belief, there is little temptation to join the Church for unworthy motives. No doubt for this reason the number of professing Protestants does not exceed seventy in Ta Li and the adjacent country, and many of these are old women. It is, of course, possible that when the missionaries of both religions are proficient Min Chia speakers they will make more converts among the outlying villages where Chinese is only partly understood. The fact that the language is not written, and thus cannot be used for instruction in the schools or for translations of the Scriptures, has discouraged the missionaries from learning it.

797 Ignoring, for the moment, theological explanations, it is
771 of some interest for the ethnologist to consider why it is that the missions have produced so small an effect on the Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese, peoples who at first sight, from their attitude to their own religions, would seem to be ripe for conversion. The Min Chia, although traditionally attached to Ancestor Worship and the festivals of the gods, are very little interested in theology and abstract ideas. They are not disturbed by conflicting beliefs

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and do not seem to have that craving for certainty and authority in religion which marks the peoples of the West. Like the Chinese, who by their proverb "Three Ways to one Goal", deny the exclusive validity of any one creed, the Min Chia are quite prepared to add another god to the pantheon, but not willing to recognise any one god as supreme and unique. 797 771

The Chinese attitude to religion has always stressed the ethical rather than the theological side, it is always more important to them that men should act rightly rather than believe the Truth. Consequently their approach to the teaching of Christianity is not by faith but by ethical judgment. The Catholics would have people believe in the dogmas and doctrines of the Church, but to the Min Chia and Chinese this is less important than the code of behaviour which these doctrines authorise. Here they find little that is new to them. Christians are monogamous, but so, for economic reasons, are the vast majority of the Yunnanese of all races. The existing code of morality is high and strict, and they do not find in Christian ethical teaching any call to a radical change in morality which would necessitate the abandonment of Ancestor Worship.

The Protestants require them to give up smoking, wine drinking and seeing theatricals. These injunctions do not make a wide appeal to ordinary men. Opium smoking is indeed generally condemned by the Chinese moralists themselves, and the government is endeavouring to suppress it, but tobacco seems to most Chinese, as to many Europeans, a harmless indulgence. Nor is drunkenness a social evil among the Min Chia or Chinese. Wine is never drunk except at a party, and then very rarely to excess. The Chinese stage is probably the least licentious, not to say the most moral, of any in the world, and most plays are definitely based on an ethical idea such as lovalty, conjugal 797 183

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797 fidelity, or patriotism. The Min Chia therefore does not
183 easily recognise these activities as immoral or inconsistent with the good life, and is apt to regard these prohibitions as rather mysterious taboos similar to the Moslem avoidance of pork. Unaware of the European social background which has led many Christians to condemn the stage and the public house, the Min Chia does not see any connection between these things and ethics.

If, then, the Catholic appeal to some extent fails because people are not called upon to give up enough, or rather to make what would seem to them intelligible changes in their way of life, the Protestant message seems to the Min Chia to demand strange and, as it were, irrelevant sacrifices. Neither mission has yet found a simple and compelling appeal in tune with the real needs and aspirations of Min Chia society. Yet these needs and aspirations exist, and among the educated younger generation there is a profound dissatisfaction with many things in the present order of society. A growing number of young people resent and resist the compulsory marriage of a couple wholly unknown to each other personally, and very few men of under middle age can now be found to defend the institution of concubinage. Young men are becoming aware of the poverty about them, and of the lack of modern conveniences which elsewhere are accepted as a matter of course. The consciousness of a defective economy and of social injustices naturally leads to disbelief in the values underlying all existing institutions, in fact to revolutionary sentiment.

178 It must be remembered that in its attitude to revolution-
797 ary opinions the Chinese Government is in a peculiar position. It claims to be itself a revolutionary government, the destroyer of the Manchu Empire and of the military juntas which succeeded the fallen Emperors. It has itself condemned in outspoken decrees many of the institutions

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and customs of the past. At the same time the government is anxious to regard the revolution as definitely over, at least in matters of internal policy. It plans and hopes to execute reforms and a vast reconstruction of the economic life of the country, but it is silent upon questions of social change, and was, until the outbreak of the war with Japan, definitely fighting Communism, which in China meant in practice land reform without compensation to the landlords. Yet everyone really knows, and many privately admit, that land reform is essential if any change or economic progress is to be made, and everyone knows that even before the Japanese invasions impoverished the country, there was no possibility of landlords being compensated at anything approaching the market value of their land.

For the time being this unresolved problem can be shelved until the Japanese are driven out, and when that happens it will most likely be found that in the areas of guerilla warfare the problem has solved itself by the disappearance of the wealthy class and the actual occupation of the land by the guerilla peasants. In western Yunnan, which is never likely to be invaded, the problem will have to be solved by other means. Some realisation of this, a growing knowledge that they live in a world which must soon see vast changes, is permeating the literate Min Chia and spreading as a vague unrest through all classes of society. People begin to ask what will happen when the soldiers, or some of them, who have gone to the war, come back. More Yunnanese than at any previous time in history have now been taken out of the province and inured through war to scenes of violence and destruction.

Among those who become converted to Christianity there are many who feel this sense of impending changes and the need for them. Men who are of independent mind and observe what goes on, seek for some organisation which

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797 178 will direct the inevitable changes into beneficial reforms, and some find it in the Christian churches. Others, inspired by very similar feelings, but of a less religious turn of mind, go to the teaching of Communism or the more left wing interpretation of the doctrines of Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Nationalist Party of China. Neither missionary nor party organiser is willing to recognise the essential identity of the psychological motive which impels convert and recruit, but to the observer outside these organisations it is often apparent.

797 Among some of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan the missionaries have had much success. The Li Su, and in some places the Miao, have been converted in large numbers, but so far no similar movement has touched the Min Chia. As a general rule it may be observed that the peoples least touched by Chinese culture are more easily converted to Christianity, and those who have more thoroughly adopted Chinese ways are the least susceptible to missionary enterprise. Thus, the Li Su are a primitive mountain folk who had never adopted Buddhism or the Chinese form of Ancestor Worship. It is, however, an open question how far these mass movements towards Christianity are really religious rather than vaguely political. It must be remembered that the more primitive peoples still retain a considerable hostility to the Chinese government and settlers, and that the missionary is, mistakenly, but universally, looked upon as the representative of a foreign power. The idea that by becoming Christians they would cease to be under Chinese control has undoubtedly existed among the primitive tribes and contributed in some degree to the rapid conversion of many of the Li Su.

The Min Chia are untouched by this consideration because they do not feel themselves to be an oppressed people and have no desire to distinguish themselves from the Chinese

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among whom they live. Their aspirations are all towards 797
acquiring the advantages open to an educated Chinese, and which are not denied to a Min Chia who has the same standard of education. Consequently no political advantage is thought to accrue from becoming a Christian, and some social disabilities undoubtedly do exist. Missionaries fre- 797
quently refer to the persecution which converts have to 798
undergo, and the expression is strictly correct if it is understood as a covert enmity and family disapproval. There is no organised or systematic persecution by the authorities, who, indeed, are bound in law to toleration. Nor is there a ferocious anti-Christian sentiment among the people such as makes any conversion of a Moslem to Christianity almost a sentence of death in many parts of the world.

Persecution in Yunnan means cold looks and unfriendly remarks ; family pressure upon the convert ; perhaps the loss of a position with a house of business or a school. It is in no sense a general hostility felt and expressed by all the community. Nevertheless, there is enough ill-will to prevent many faint-hearted people from professing what they would like to believe, and the embarrassing relationship with an unconverted family restrains others. The Christian convert must withdraw himself from the worship of ancestors, and as has been shown in earlier chapters this means that he must cut himself off from the intimate ceremonies and holidays of the home. The Min Chia home is also the temple of ancestral worship, and each member of the family has a part to play in the rites. It would be easy for the convert to cease to frequent Buddhist shrines or the temples of other gods, but he cannot avoid the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship which take place every day in his own home.

A junior member of the family may find this atmosphere

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The gorge of the Mekong.

The eastern shore of Erh Hai lake.

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797 so difficult that he will prefer to emigrate to some other
798 place where he will not be under family pressure, but when the head of the family is converted it often leads to a real breach, since other members refuse to permit the worship of the ancestors to cease, and the only solution is to divide the home. Perhaps for this reason conversions are usually confined to members of less importance, students far from home, old women whose rôle in the family is of minor importance, or young girls who will in any case soon marry into another family. Much pressure is exerted on young women who become converts as it is felt that their attitude may be displeasing to the family into which they are betrothed, while they themselves are often unwilling to marry non-Christians. These family difficulties account for a large part of such hostility as is generally felt to Christianity, for older people often fear that such complications will disturb the arrangements they have made.

797 The influence of missionaries resident in the country is thus perhaps more indirect than direct. The Christian community is small, and in spite of the fact that several of the highest Chinese National leaders are Christians, there is in Yunnan no general movement towards the western religion.[1] As members of those western nations who are most strongly influencing the Chinese culture, the missionaries by their way of life as much or more than by their teachings are exerting an increasing influence on the standard of living adopted by the wealthier class. This influence is the more important as they are the only foreigners of any race who come in contact with the Min Chia people. Those members of the non-Chinese races

[1] The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, General Feng Yu-hsiang, Mr. Sun Fo, Mr. T. V. Soong, Madame H. H. Kung, wife of the Finance Minister and sister of Mesdames Chiang and Sun Yat-sen, and others, all Protestants.

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797 who visit the Min Chia country, Tibetan horse and tea dealers, Li Su and Miao villagers, are all primitive people whose culture is inferior to that of the Min Chia themselves.

177 Although Burma is not far away as the crow flies, about two hundred and fifty miles at most, there is only the slightest contact between the two countries. Many Min Chia it is true do go to Burma to work in the winter season, but they congregate in the jade mines of the north where they see hardly any Burmese, and associate only with their fellow Yunnanese workers. The Burmese do not travel. All trade between the two countries is in the hands of Yunnanese, largely Moslem muleteers and merchants. The Indian merchants and traders who are so conspicuous in Burma itself never cross the frontier into Yunnan, and none are ever seen as far east as Ta Li. To most Yunnanese and Min Chia, Burma is "Ying Kuo," that is to say "England," and the belief is general among the less educated that it is the home of the English themselves, who they regard as a kind of ruling caste of Burmese.

Burma thus plays little part in the Min Chia conception of the outside world, and the influence of western culture is spread more through Chinese adaptations of our institutions and inventions than by direct contact with the neighbouring countries under English and French rule. The Chinese newspapers and periodicals filtering through weeks late into the towns of western Yunnan bring news of strange and far-off places with queer names ; Ch'e K'e (Czechoslovakia) and P'o Lan (Poland) ; the activities of a certain Hsi Te La (Hitler), and their bearing on the war with Japan. On a high pass between the Yang Tze and the Mekong, a Min Chia merchant on his way up into Tibet explained to me that England could not help China against Japan because if we brought our fleet to the eastern

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177 seas Italy and Germany would attack us in the west. One cannot ask for more knowledge of the outer world than that.

177 Against these factors making for change one must set the
489 massive forces of inertia which will limit and modify any influence from outside. First of these is the difficulty and inaccessibility of the country. There is the road to Burma and K'un Ming ; one road, long, expensive and difficult, and this is the only direct link with the outer world. The new Burma-Yunnan railway, which will be completed in a few years' time, will not pass within fifty miles of Min Chia country. These modern means of communication in any case only affect the lives of a handful of the rich, being mainly built for national rather than provincial purposes. The mass of the Min Chia will never ride in a bus to K'un Ming or Burma, if only because they could never afford to do so. Yunnan, being very mountainous, is not a country which can be rapidly opened up by the introduction of motor transport, as on the plains of India and north China. The existing routes are useless for any wheeled vehicle and the making of motor roads is a most elaborate and difficult engineering feat. Except for the road to Burma, which is a national war measure, there are no routes through Yunnan carrying a sufficient volume of trade to justify these expensive public works, consequently it is unlikely that any other large-scale motor roads will be built in western Yunnan for several years.

The only reason for which it would be worth while to open up western Yunnan by such roads would be if a large tourist traffic existed, such as pays for the mountain roads of Switzerland or California. Tourists indeed would find Yunnan a paradise if these communications existed, but it is extremely unlikely that such a traffic will come into being for at least fifty years more. Yunnan is very far from such

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177 radical political innovations. Confucius said, "The people are grass and the ruler the wind, as the wind blows, so the grass bends". This statement is still entirely true of the Chinese people, with one qualification. The Japanese have already found out that the wind must be a local wind and not a gale from the east.

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large centres of wealth as exist in eastern Asia. It is more than a week's journey from Shanghai by steamer and train. The distance from Calcutta is about the same, and the lesser centres such as Rangoon or Singapore are all unable to support a large tourist traffic. 177 489

Western Yunnan is therefore likely to remain almost an unknown and rarely visited land, even by the Chinese from other provinces. At the present time the refugees from occupied or devastated China have only reached western Yunnan in small numbers, and were peace to be restored, few of them would stay in a country where very little money can be earned. This factor, the poverty of the country, is the other main obstacle to the forces of change. Until western Yunnan can find a product which can be exported cheaply and fetch a good price in the world market—a substitute for opium in fact—the people must remain poor. While communications remain bad such a product is hard to find, but communications cannot be much improved until the country can afford to pay the great expenses necessary. From this vicious circle there is no easy escape. 177

The natural conservatism of the common people is a factor against change which can easily be overrated. The events of the last twenty-five years have disproved the old belief that the Chinese were a conservative race. Their government until the fall of the Manchus was intensely opposed to any change, and the people followed its lead; under the republican government, which requires changes, the people, equally, have obeyed the orders given by their rulers. The rapid disappearance of such customs as foot binding, the total disappearance of the queue, prove how little the Chinese are attached to old social customs, while the complete absence of royalist feeling or any interest in the old monarchy shows how easily they will submit to

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MIN CHIA GRAMMAR

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NOUNS

All nouns are preceded or followed by a classifier, of which there are more than fifty, but of which only twelve follow a general rule. With one exception the classifiers follow the noun, and also follow any numeral adjective qualifying the noun.

Examples : Mer, a horse, classifier, a der.
Mer der = a horse.
Mer a der = one horse.
Mer go der = two horses.

There are two forms of the plural.

(1) The limited plural "wa" used of a restricted number of things, E.G. Your horses = Mer wa der lo lao.

(2) The indefinite plural Ya used of general categories. E.G. Horses = Mer ya.

When ya is used the classifier is omitted.

There are no gender or case forms for nouns.

CLASSIFIERS

The following twelve classifiers obey a general rule.

(1) A, precedes noun, for all units of measurement, both time and space. E.G. A chuoe = an inch. A bai ger = a night.

(2) A ao, follows noun. For all fruits. A peach = Da a ao. There are a number of other nouns taking a ao.

(3) A der, follows noun, applies to all non-human living creatures and also ghosts and bandits. E.G. A cat = A Mi a der.

(4) A dor, follows noun. Applies to flowers. E.G. Mai guei a dor, a rose.

(5) A dsur, follows noun. Applies to great lengths, such as rivers, roads. E.G. Gur a dsur = a river.

(6) A ga and a gua, follow noun, apply to short lengths, sticks, etc. E.G. Po a ga = a mast. Wa a gua = a beam.

(7) A ger, follows noun. Applies to enclosed spaces, buildings, cupboards. Ta wu a ger = a room. Tsur a ger = a gun.

(8) A jia, follows noun, applies to instruments, machines, etc. Dso ji ji a jia = a plough. Dser a jia = a clock.

(9) A lai, follows noun, applies to miscellaneous objects.

(10) A Ni, follows noun, applies to human beings and gods, except thieves. So yi ni = a merchant. Nuer ni = a woman.

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193 (11) A niu, follows noun, applies to long flexible objects, ropes, etc. E.G. Dso a niu = gut. Tai so a niu = a chain.

(12) A pu, follows noun, for limbs of the body. Ser a pu = an arm. Go a pu = a leg.

(13) A dso, follows noun, applied to trees. In other cases is irregular.

The following classifiers follow no rule and are only found with the nouns mentioned with them below.

A ba — Jiao i = a chair. Sai = a fan. Sa = umbrella. Ga gu = water-chestnut. Dsa = bill. So so = funeral.

A bai — Chieh = coin. Gai = bowl. Yeh guor = pipe. Ba = tub. Luai dser = wheel.

A ber — Chi da = scissors.

A bi — Hor pao = fire cracker.

A biu — Tsao ya dser = sunflower.

A chua — Ser = book. Shao suer = story.

A dai — Ber tso = cabbage.

A dao — So gu = ring.

A di — Gua der = bone.

A do — Shao mao = hat. Lu gu = maize plant.

A dsa — Ger = horn. Do = lamp.

A dser — Dser = city. I da = knife. Ma ba dao = swordstick. Dso dser = branch.

A dso — Piao = banknote. Dso = bed. Gur = bow. Ber = card. Hor = flower. Do ma = hair. Dsai zo zur dser = Carpet. So tiao = receipt. Wa = net. Tser = onion. Dser = paper. Dser dser = table. So ur = willow.

A duai — Mo = dream.

A du — Tsao hu = window. Ver = cloud.

A gao — Gao = lake. Gao = song. Ver = cloud.

A fa — Hao = house.

A jer — Gu = drum. Sai = temple.

A ji — Ngai = shoe. Chu ger = straw sandal.

A jieh — Hai ji = field.

A juee — Wu = beard. Wei = Buddhist image. Ser = god.

A jueh — Bi = bank, edge.

A kao — Da bi = carrying pole. Mo = grave. Da duai = mill.

A ka — Jiu = sedan chair.

A ker — A = saddle.

A ko — Ma gua = robe. Jier = well.

A kuai — Dsa sai = cocoon. Sai = egg. Sur = hill, mountain. So guai dser = elbow. Ji fer = place. Shua = garden.

MIN CHIA GRAMMAR

A mi	Sua bai = abacus. Lao = gong. Ger = mirror. Jia shi hu = courtyard.
A mu	Ji = arrow.
A pi	Tiao gur = spoon. Wer = tile. Mo = wheatcake.
A ser	Dser = chopsticks.
A sai	Dsur = hoe. Bi = raincloak. Mai = gate, door.
A so	Gu = bridge.
A su	Yeh = ship, boat.
A ter	Chieh dser = pincers.
A tiao	Ger = meat.
A ta	Dao so dser do mo = thumb. So dser = finger.
A tieh	Ber = ancestral tablet.
A tso	Ju wai = face.
A yao	Mi bo = fence. Sai = leaf. Shier = mat. Tso ber = dressed stone. Ser ler = wood, a piece.
A yo	Ser ver = affair. Ber = disease. Gua yo = trousers.
A yu	Yu = village.
A wai	Der = cave.

VERBS

General rule of word order is Subject-Verb-Object.

Tenses are indicated by the addition of suffixes or time adverbs.

Present tense. He goes = Bao bai

Past tense. He has gone = Bao bai hu lao

Other shades of past meaning are indicated by the use of adverbs such as do mo = formerly and 'i jiu' = already

He had gone = Bao i jiu bai hu lao

Future tense. He will go = Bao niu bai (niu = want, wish)

Conditional. Is indicated by prefixing the present or future tense structure by ' huer ' = if or ' ku pa ' = perhaps.

If he goes = huer bao bai

He would go = Ku pa bao bai

This can also mean ' perhaps he would go ' the sense being determined by context.

Passive. Is indicated by two particles, dsor and do which follow the subject and terminate the phrase respectively.

He was struck by a stone = Bao dsor tso kuai ger der do

' Do ' can be ommitted and lao substituted.

They were burnt to death = Ba dsor shu shia lao

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193 Negative. Is formed with the use of Biao = no. Bo and Mu = not and Dor = cannot.

It is not mine = Ngao lao *biao*
I do not know = Ngao zo *bo* do
(Here bo = not, is inserted between zo do = to know.)
I had not seen him before = Ngao do mo a do bao *mu*
(Mu always terminates the phrase.)
He cannot arrive = Bao pia dor
I cannot get up = Ngao bai ku dor
Can be said but not done = Shua chi der dser chi dor (Proverb)
Der = can, the positive antitheses of dor is used in the same way.
He can manage = Bao ba der

Interrogative. The ordinary form is ni mu.

Can you come ? = Lao bai dso ni mu ?
Have (you) any as big as this = Dso lo lai dao lao ni mu ?
Will (you) sell ? = Gur ni mu ?
Niu der ni niu dor ? Used in the same way as ni mu.
Have you leased a house ? = Lao kao hao niu der ni niu dor ?
Will this do ? = Lo lai niu der ni niu dor ?
Questions can be expressed by stating both alternatives with bo = not or ni = or in between.
Is it enough ? = Lu *bo* lu ?
Will you dye it red or black ? = Niu zai huor lao *ni* her lao ?
When interrogative adverbs and adjectives are employed no other form is used.
When did he come ? = Bao *ha ta* bai dso hu la ?
What are you doing ? = Lao dser *ha lai* ?
How many are there ? = Dso *ji* lai ?
Who is that ? = Du ni dso ha ni ?
How much money have you = Lao dso ji shio chien

Exceptions. To rain = O ver shi (O = to fall of rain, etc.) or Ver shi o.

The wind blows = Bi ser po
Yu, to come; only used in conjunction with prepositions.
To come back = Da yu
To come down = To yu
To come through = Tur yu
To come downstairs = Gai to lo yu

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ADJECTIVES

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This = Lo, these = lo dier

That = Ber, du, those = Ber dier, du dier

Rule. Follow noun but precede classifier.

This thing = Hu nger lo lai

That mountain = Sur du (ber) kuai

These horses are faster than those = Mer lo dier bi du diernger jiu

Numerals precede classifier:

These two horses = Mer lo go der

(When a numeral is used the plural form ' dier ' is omitted.)

Adjectives either precede or follow noun and classifier ; the only rule is euphony.

These two fast horses = *Mer lo* go der *nger jiu*

A high mountain = Sur a kuai *ga* or *Ga* sur a kuai

A small matter = *Sai* ser ver a yo

A far off place = Ji fer kuai *duai*

A fat goose = O a der *go*

A fat pig = *Go* dai a der

A hungry dog = Kwa a der ji ka

To day it is cold = Ger ni hai ji *gur*

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are declined in four cases. No other pronouns or nouns have these modifications.

Nominative and Accusative	*Genitive*	*Dative*	*Ablative*
I = Ngao	Ngao lao	Ngo lao	Ngo mo
Thou = Lao	Lo lao	Lo lao	Lo mo
He = Bao	Bo lao	Bo lao	Bo mo
We = Nia	Nia lao	Nia lao	Nia mo
You = La	La lao	La lao	La mo
They = Ba	Ba lao	Ba lao	Ba mo

EXAMPLES:

Nominative and Accusative. I am going to find him = *Ngao* bai yi *bao*

Genitive. Your money = La lao chieh.

Exception. Ngao mao = my mother. Relatives do not take the genitive case.

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193 Dative. Yesterday I said to him = Ngao dser sai ni da *bo lao* shua
He cursed me = Bao ur *ngo lao*

Ablative. He wants money from me = Bao lai *ngo mo* chieh
Ru = to call takes the ablative
Call him (to come) = ru *bo mo* bai dso
Ablative is also used with Jier = to borrow
I borrowed money from you (thee) = Ngao jier lo mo chieh

Relative pronouns. Who = Ha ni, A la ni
Whose = Ha ni lao
What = Ha lai, ha ya
Which = A la lai

E.G. Who are you = Lao dso *ha ni* ?
Whose is this ? = Lo lai dso *ha ni* lao ?
What house is this = Lo lai dso *ha ya (ha lai)* hao
Which do you want ? = Lao niu *a la lai* ?

PREPOSITIONS

Back = Da (only used with verb to come ' yu ' to mean return)
Bai da yu = to come back

Behind = Ur dao bai
The sun is behind the mountain = Nieh pi dso sur *ur dao bai*
Behind the wall = O ur dao bai
They are coming behind = Ba ur dao bai bai dso

In front, before = Do Mo. After = Bo ru (used in time sense only.)
They are in front = Ba do mo bai
After the rain = Ver shi o *bo ru*
Some years later = Wa shua *bo ru*

Ru = next. Only used in time and age contexts
Next day = Ru ni
Next year = Ru shua
He is next (in age) = Bao dso ru

Ago = Do (' Up ' i.e. the stream of time)
Some years ago = Do wa shua
Last month = Do wa
The year before last = Do shua

Under = Er

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Underneath = Er bao Above (onto) = Do bao
Hsia Kuan = Er Guer Shang Kuan = Do Guer 193

Underneath the stone = Tso kuai er bao
Under the trees = Dso ya er bao
Under water (exception) = Shuee hu
The bird is flying over the house = Dso der ler hao *de bao*
The clouds are above the hill = Ver ya dso sur *do bao*
Climb onto a rock = Gai dso tso kuai do bao

Down = to Up = dso
Coming down the mountain = Sur lao *to* yu
Go down to Hsia Kuan = Bai *to* Er Guer
Down stream = Ger *to* (Lit : flow down)
Up stream = Ger *dso*
To climb up stairs = Gai *dso* lo ti

On = lao Off = to (Same as down.)
On the mountain = Sur lao
On the table = Dser dser lao

To, until, till = Pia From = Yo
He lived to be eighty = Bao her pia bia dser shua
Wait till I return = Do pia ngao bai da yu
It is thirty li to Hsia Kuan = Pia Er Guer dso sa dser lai
He comes from the lake = Bao yo gao bai dso

At = dso In = hu, ku With = da Out = wa
He is at Ta Li = Bao dso Dai Lai
He is at home = Bao dso hao der
In the water = Shuee hu
In the cupboard = Gur ger hu
In the town = Dser ku
In Yunnan = Yueh La ku
In the fields = Hai ya ku

Rule. Hu, is used for confined spaces and water;
Ku, is used for indefinite unenclosed spaces.
Out of town = Dser wa
Other provinces = Wa so
Inside and outside = Ker bao and wa bao
In the house = Hao ker bao
It is cold out = Wa bao gur
Put it inside = Lai ker bao

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60 = Fer dser	70 = Tser dser or Chi ser 802
61 = Lu yi	71 Chi yi
62 = Lu er	72 = Chi er
63 = Lu sa	73 = Chi sa
64 = Lu ssu	74 = Chi ssu
65 = Lu wu	75 = Chi wu
66 = Lu lu	76 = Chi lu
67 = Lu chi	77 = Chi chi
68 = Lu ba	78 = Chi ba
69 = Lu jiu	79 = Chi jiu
80 = Bia dser	90 = Jiu dser
81 = Ba yi	91 = Jiu yi
82 = Ba er	92 = Jiu er
83 = Ba sa	93 = Jiu sa
84 = Ba ssu	94 = Jiu ssu
85 = Ba wu	95 = Jiu wu
86 = Ba lu	96 = Jiu lu
87 = Ba chi	97 = Jiu chi
88 = Ba ba	98 = Jiu ba
89 = Ba jiu	99 = Jiu jiu

100 = A Ber
1,000 = A Chi
10,000 = A Ngur

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NUMERALS

802 The Min Chia numerals are corrupt, Chinese forms being mixed with the Min Chia. From One to Thirty, Min Chia words are used, but from Thirty to Thirty-nine and from Fifty to a Hundred, corrupt Chinese forms are used, with the exceptions of Forty to Forty-nine, and the numbers Fifty, Sixty, Seventy, Eighty and Ninety. Over One Hundred, corrupt Chinese is used except for the numbers One Thousand and Ten Thousand.

One	= Yi	Eleven	= Dser Yi
Two	= Go	Twelve	= Dser lai
Three	= Sa	Thirteen	= Dser sa
Four	= Shi	Fourteen	= Dser shi
Five	= Ngur	Fifteen	= Dser ngur
Six	= Fer	Sixteen	= Dser fer
Seven	= Chi	Seventeen	= Dser Chi
Eight	= Bia	Eighteen	= Dser bia
Nine	= Jiu	Nineteen	= Dser jiu
Ten	= Dser	Twenty	= Lai
Twenty-one	= Lai yi	Thirty-one	= Sa yi
Twenty-two	= Lai lai	Thirty-two	= Sa er
Twenty-three	= Lai sa	Thirty-three	= Sa sa
Twenty-four	= Lai shi	Thirty-four	= Sa ssu
Twenty-five	= Lai Ngur	Thirty-five	= Sa wu
Twenty-six	= Lai fer	Thirty-six	= Sa lu
Twenty-seven	= Lai chi	Thirty-seven	= Sa chi
Twenty-eight	= Lai bia	Thirty-eight	= Sa ba
Twenty-nine	= Lai jiu	Thirty-nine	= Sa jiu
Thirty	= Sa dser		

40 = Shi	50 = Ngur dser
41 = Shi yi	51 = Wu yi
42 = Shi lai	52 = Wu er
43 = Shi sa	53 = Wu sa
44 = Shi shi	54 = Wu ssu
45 = Shi ngur	55 = Wu wu
46 = Shi fer	56 = Wu lu
47 = Shi chi	57 = Wu chi
48 = Shi bia	58 = Wu ba
49 = Shi jiu	59 = Wu jiu

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ENGLISH—MIN CHIA

A

192 A, one piece (classifier)	Lai	
Abacus, an	Sua bai (a mi) Chinese Loan Word	
Ability	Bo ser	C L W
Able, to be	Hueh	C L W
Above (lit. ' top side ').	Do ba	
Abroad (foreign)	Wei guer	C L W
Accept	Jia	
Accustomed to	Shi gua	C L W
Acre (Chinese *mu*)	(a) Mu	C L W
Acrobatics	Shua ba shi	C L W
Add	Jia	C L W
Adopt (of children)	Dsao tu dser	C L W
Adopted son	Tu dser (ni)	C L W
Adultery	Bu dso da	C L W
Advantage	Yo yi	
Affair, matter	Ser ver (a yo)	
After (lit. ' that next ')	Bo ru	
Afternoon (lit. ' Lower half day ')	Er ba ni	
Afterwards	Do di	
Again	La dsai	C L W
Aggravate	Ji shia	C L W
Aim, to	Miao dsuai	
Air	Chi	C L W
All	Ni, dser	
Allow	Dsuai	(Cf. Chin. Chun.)
Alone	Du	C L W
Already	I Jiu	C L W
Also	Ni	
Although	Sueh za	C L W
Amber	Hu per	C L W
Ancestor	Do bao (ni)	
Ancestor (original)	Ber Dser	
Ancestral Tablet	Ber (a tieh)	
And	Bier	
Anger	Chi	C L W
Animal, domestic (lit. 'cow horse')	Ngur mer (a der)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Animal, wild	Yer ver (a der)	
Ant	Bi ber (a der)	
Anywhere	A la	
Apple	Piu guor (a ao)	CLW
Apprentice (' learn trade one ')	Ur so yi ni	
Apricot	Er (a ao)	
Arrive (see ' to ')	Pia	
Arrow	Ji (a mu)	
Arm	Ser (a pu)	
Artichoke	Bao bao tsai (a ao)	CLW
As	Bi	
As far as	Wei dser	
Ask	Bier	
At	Dso, Hu	
At least	Zo shio	
Aunt, paternal	A Nia (ni)	
Aunt, maternal	Gu ma (ni)	
Aunt, paternal uncle's wife	Da Mao (ni)	
Aunt, maternal uncle's wife	Jiu Mu (ni)	
Autumn	Chu	
Avoid	Bi	CLW
Axe	Bo (a lai)	
Azalea	Yu sa hu (a dor)	

B

Back (preposition)	Da yu, Da dser	
Back, the	Dao go shi	
Back, to carry on the	Ver	
Back of hand	So da bai	
Bad	Hai, Bo Chio	
Bake	Ko	
Ball	Cho (a ao)	
Bamboo	Dsur (a gua)	
Bandercoot (lit. ' bamboo rat ')	Dsur ser (a der)	
Bandit	Fai (a der)	CLW
Bank (of stream)	Bi (a jueh)	
Banknote	Piao (a dso)	CLW
Barefoot	Tser go ju shi	
Bark, to	Bia	
Barley (lit. ' Big wheat ')	Dao mo (a ao)	

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Basket, hand	Ti lao (a lai)	
Basket, back	Do (a lai)	
Bat (animal)	Bier fer (a der)	
Be, to	Dso	
Bead	Vur do (a ao)	
Beam	Wa (a gua)	
Bean	Do (a ao)	CLW
Beancurd	Do fer	CLW
Bear a	Shiu (a der)	CLW
Beard	Wu (a juee)	
Beautiful (lit. ' good to see ')	A hu	
Become	Da	
Bed	Dso (a dso) pu (a pu)	
Bedding	Lo bao	
Bee	Fer (a der)	
Before	Do mo	
Beg	Tu	
Beggar	Tu her ser ni	
Begin	Ker	CLW
Behind (preposition)	Ur dao bai	
Believe	Shiu	
Bench	Ba do (a der)	CLW
Big	Dao	
Bill	Dsa (a ba)	CLW
Bird	Dso (a der)	
Birth	Her	
Birthday	Ji her ni, So ser	
Bit (piece)	(a) Di	
Bite	Nga	
Bitter	Ku	CLW
Black	Her, Tser	
Blame	Guai	CLW
Blind	Der	
Blister	Pu	
Blockup	Dsa	
Blood	Shua	
Blow (of wind)	Po	
Blue	La	CLW
Blunt (lit. ' not sharp ')	Bo Yi	
Boat	Yeh (a su)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Body, the	Tser Ko	
Boil, to	Dser	
Boiling water	Hua Shuee	
Bomb	Dsa da (a ao)	
Bone	Gua der (a di)	
Book	Ser (a chua)	
Borrow	Jier	CLW
Bottle	Bier (a lai)	
Boundary	Gai	CLW
Bow, a (and arrow)	Gur (a dso)	
Bowl	Gai (a bai)	
Box	Shia dser (a ao)	CLW
Box, small	Hao dser (a lai)	
Boy	Ser dser ler (ni)	
Branch (lit. ' tree son ')	Dso dser (a dser)	
Brass (lit. ' yellow copper ')	Ngo ger	
Brave	Yu	
Brazier	Hor lo dsao (a lai)	
Bread	Ma ter	CLW
Break	La	
Breakfast	Tsa	
Breath	Chi	CLW
Brick	Jueh (a ao)	
Bright	Mer	
Bridge	Gu (a so)	
Bring	Lai	
Broad	Kua	CLW
Broom	Juai lai, Jueh (a ger)	
Brother, elder	Gao (ni)	
Brother, younger	Tai (ni)	
Brother-in-law (E. sister's H.)	Ji fer (ni)	
Brother-in-law (Y. sister's H.)	Mai Shi (ni)	
Brother-in-law (husband's B.)	Tai Po (ni)	
Brother-in-law (wife's B.)	Ju Yer (ni)	
Brush	Sua dser (a lai)	CLW
Brush-pen	Fer (a gua)	
Bucket	Ter (a lai)	
Bud	Huor go lu (a dor)	
Buddha, image of	Wei (a juee)	
Buddha's hand (fruit)	Fer so ga (a ao)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

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Buddhist monk	Der bao (ni)	
Buffalo (water)	Shue ngur (a der)	
Bug	Dser shieh (a der)	
Bullet	Tsur dser (a ao)	
Bump into, meet	Po	
Bundle (of thread)	Hao	
Burn	Shu	
Burst out (of leaves)	Fer ku yu	
Bury	Mai	C L W
Bushel	(a) Do	C L W
Busy	Ma, Wai nieh	C L W
But	Da ser	C L W
Butcher	Sao ngur ni	
Butcher (pig)	Shia dai ni	
Butterfly	Hu dier (a der)	C L W
Buttocks	Ker ver	
Button	Guei (a ao)	
Button up	Guei ku	
Buy	Mer	

C

Cabbage	Ber tso (a dai)	
Cake	Biu dser (a lai)	C L W
Cake, wheat	Mo pi (a pi)	
Calamity	Hor	C L W
Calendar (solar)	Ya Ni	C L W
Calendar (lunar)	Yu Ni	C L W
Calf (of leg)	Wu ao	
Call	Rur	
Camelia	Dsao Hor (a dor)	C L W
Can (verb)	Kao I, Der, Lo	
Candle	La dser (a ga)	C L W
Cannot	Dor	
Cane	Dser (a gua)	
Capital, provincial	So tso	
Captain (of ship)	Yeh dso (ni)	
Card	Ber (a dso)	
Careful	Sai shi	C L W
Carpenter	Ngur jiu (ni)	
Carpet	Dsai zo zur dser (a dso)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Carry	Da	
Carve	Ker, Diao	C L W
Cash (change)	Shier chieh	
Cash (copper coin)	Ger chieh	
Cat	A mi (a der)	
Catch	Diu	
Caterpillar (hairy kind)	Bi Shu (a der)	
Catty	(a) Jier	C L W
Cauliflower	Tsai Hua (a dor)	C L W
Cave	Der (a wai)	
Centipede	Wu gu (a der)	
Ceremony, Buddhist (burn incense)	Shu chier	
Certain	Du	
Chain (lit. ' iron rope ')	Tai so (a niu)	
Chair	Jiao I (a ba)	
Change	Gai bieh, Bi	C L W
Charcoal	Ta	C L W
Cheap	Pi yi, Shia yu	C L W
Cheat	Ko	
Cheese (two kinds)	Niu sai, Zer biu	
Chestnut	Chi shi (a ao)	
Chicken	Gai (a der)	
Chicken pox	Tur do	
Chinese literature	Ha ver	
Chisel	Dso (a lai)	
Choose	Shuai, tser	
Chop, to	Dso	
Chopsticks, a pair	Dser (a ser)	
City	Dser (a dser)	
City wall	Dser o	
Clan (joint family)	Dsu	C L W
Clan temple	Jia tser (a jier)	
Clean	Ga jiu	C L W
Clever	Tsu miu	C L W
Climb	Gai	
Clock	Dser (a jia)	
Cloth (cotton)	Piao	C L W
Clothes	I ko, plural I ya ko	
Cloud	Ver (a du, a gao)	
Coarse	Tsu	C L W

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Cockcrow	Gai mer	
Cocoon (silk)	Dsa sai (a kuai)	
Coffin	Nga, Ni tso (a ao)	
Coin	Chieh (a bai)	
Cold	Gur	
Cold in head	Sao Fer	
Colour	Yeh ser	CLW
Coloured	Tsai	
Come	Bai dso	
Coming or going	bai dso bai dser	
Commandeer	Fer	
Compare	Bi	CLW
Comparative, indicator of	Yuer	CLW
Complete	Dser	
Concern, to	Shia ser	
Concubine	Sai yao (ni)	
Consequence	Gua shi	CLW
Constantly	Dso	
Control, to	Gua	CLW
Convenient	Fa bieh	CLW
Converse	Ga shua	
Cook, a	Dser yu ni	
Copper	Ger	
Cormorant	Gao (a der)	
Corner	(a) Gur	
Cost	Ger	
Cotton	Hao mi	
Count	So	
Country	Shio hur	
Courtyard	Jia shi hu (a mi)	
Cousin (P P B E)	A gao (ni)	
Cousin (P P B Y)	A Tai (ni)	
Cousin (P P G E)	Da di nuer (ni)	
Cousin (P P G Y)	A yeh nuer (ni)	
Cousin (maternal boy)	Lao Biao (ni)	
Cousin (maternal girl elder)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Cousin (maternal girl younger)	Biao mai (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, boy)	Lao Biao (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, girl E.)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, girl Y.)	Biao mai (ni)	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

192 Cover, to	Mo	
Crab, a	Pa hai (a der)	
Craftsman	Jiu (ni)	
Cracker	Hor pao (a bi)	C L W
Crane, a (bird)	Bu ser (a der)	
Create	Tsao	
Credit	Jieh	
Crime	Juee	C L W
Crooked	Wur	
Crops	Dsua Jia	C L W
Crossbow, a	Da La (a jia)	
Cross over	Guer	C L W
Crow	Hur ngur (a der)	
Cry	Ku	C L W
Cudgel	Gua (a gua)	
Cup	Dser (a bai)	
Cupboard	Gur (a ger)	
Curse	Ur	
Curve	Ker	
Custom	Guai ju, Fo su	C L W
Cut with scissors	Ger	
Cut with knife	Ser	

D

Dance	Tiao ba	
Dangerous	Wai Shieh	C L W
Dare	Ga	C L W
Daughter	Nuer (ni)	
Daughter-in-law	Dser ver (ni)	
Dawn	Mer ber	
Day	(a) Ni, Shier	
Day after to-morrow	A dser ni	
Day and night	A Ni a Yao	
Day before	Do ni	
Day-time	Nieh do	
Deaf	Gur	
Dear (expensive) (big price)	Ger dao	
Death	Shi ho	
Deceive	Sa da	C L W
Decide	Jer	
Deep	Ser	

1: Fitzgerald M-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Deer	Ma lu (a der)	CLW 192
Dense	Bo	
Depute	Pai	CLW
Desire	Yuai Yi	CLW
Dew	Zao Shuee	
Different	Tsa	CLW
Difficult	La	
Dig	Wa	CLW
Dirty	La ta	
Discuss	Sa i	CLW
Disease	Ber (a yo)	
Distant from	Ger	
Disturb	Lo	
Ditch	Kao (a dsur) Ger Lai	
Divinity	Ser (a ni, a juuee)	
Divorce	So da bao	
Do	Dser	
Do as you please	Sweh bieh	CLW
Doctor	Yo Ser (ni)	
Dog	Kwa (a der)	
Donkey	To lo mer (a der)	
Double	Shua	CLW
Doubt	Ni Hu	
Down	To	
Drag	Kai	
Dragon	Lur (a der)	
Draw, to	Hua	CLW
Dream	Mo (a duai)	
Drink	Ur	
Drown	Ver	
Drum	Gu (a jer)	CLW
Drunk	Juee	
Dry	Ga	CLW
Duck	A (a der)	
Dumb	Ya	CLW
Dust	Shu lai	
Dwell	Ger	
Dye	Zai	
Dyke	Ji dser (a dsur)	
Dysentery	Da ni	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

E

192

Each	Gao	
Ear	Liu do (a lai)	
Early	Ju	
Earth	Ji	
East	Der	
Easy	Yo i	CLW
Eat	Yu	
Eaves	Ju bai	
Echo	Yu so	
Edge	Bi (a jueh)	
Eel	Ver yo (a der)	
Egg	Sai (a kuai)	
Eggplant	Chi dser (a ao)	
Eight	Bia	
Eighteen	Dser bia	
Eighty	Bia dser	
Elbow	So guai dser (a kuai)	
Elder (an)	So lao (ni)	
Elephant	Shio (a der)	
Eleven	Dser yi	
Embrace	Bu	
Embroidery	Shiu huor yi	
Empire (under heaven)	Hai er	
Employ	Gu	
Empty	Jier, kur	
End	Tu, Bao	
Endure	So	
Enemy	Tso (a ni)	CLW
Engage	Kao	
Enjoy	Shia	
Enlist (in army)	Da biu	CLW
Enough	Go, lu	
Enter	Bai ni	
Entire	Yi so	
Entreat	Chio	
Escape	Mu, ta	
Eternal	Yo	
Eucalyptus	Ya tsao guor (a dso)	CLW
Evening (night)	Bai ger (a)	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Everywhere	Pieh	
Evidence	Piu juee	C L W 192
Exactly	Jia hao	
Example	Bi fo, Bi yui	C L W
Exchange	Mo	
Exhort	Chueh	C L W
Exorcise (send ghosts)	So gur, sur kuai (for disease)	
Expand	Guor dao	
Expect	Shi wa	C L W
Expensive	Ger dao	
Explain	Chia	
Extra	Liu wei	C L W
Eye	Wai ker shi (a ao)	
Eyes	Wai ser	
Eyebrows	Wai mai	

F

Face	Ju wai tso (a tso)	
Fade (' lose colour ')	Diao ser	C L W
Fail	Dor	
Faint	Huai	
Fairy	Sai ni	
Fall (of rain, etc.)	O	
Fall over	Ba	
Fall in, down	Lua	
False	Jia	C L W
Family	(a) Hao	
Fan	Sai (a ba)	
Far	Duai	
Farm	Dsua jia hao	
Farmer	Dser dsua jia ni	
Fat	Pa	
Fat (animals)	Go	
Father	Di (ni)	
Father-in-law (woman speaking)	Yao fer (ni)	
Father-in-law (man speaking)	Dao so bo (ni)	
Favourable (as of wind)	Sur	
Fear	Ger	
Feed to (animals)	Wai	
Feel	Jiao	C L W

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192

Fence	Mi bo (a yao)	
Female	Nuer (ni)	
Ferry	Du	
Fever	Huai	
Few	Shio	
Field	Hai ji (a jieh)	
Fierce	Ao	
Fifteen	Dser ngur	
Fifty	Ngur dser	
Fig	Ver hua guor (a ao)	
Fight	Der dsa	
Filial	Shiu	
Find	Yi	
Fine (not weather)	Mo	
Fine, to	Fer	
Finger	So dser (a ta)	
Finish	Wor	CLW
Fir	Shio (a dso)	
Fire, to (gun)	Dser	
Fire	Huai	
Firewood	Shi	
First	Chieh	CLW
Fish.	Ngur (a der)	
Fish with cormorants, to	Mia gao	
Fishing line	Hur (a niu)	
Fit	Hao ser, Jia hao	
Flea	Tio shor (a der)	
Float	Ber	
Floor	Go mer	
Flour	Mi	
Flow	Ger	
Flower	Hor (a dso)	
Flowerpot	Hor ba (a lai)	
Fly, a	So (a der)	
Fly, to	Fer	
Fog	Wu	CLW
Fold ('times')	Bai	
Follow	Ger dsao	
Food ('rice')	Her ser	
Fool	Ha lu lu (ni)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Foot (measure)	(a) Tser	
Foot	Go	
For (instead of)	Chi	
Foreign	Ya	C L W
Forenoon (' top half day ')	Do ba ni	
Forest (' trees ')	Dso ya	
Forget	Pai mu	
Forgive	Zao	C L W
Formerly	Do mo	
Fortune teller	Sua mier ni	C L W
Forty	Shi	
Four	Shi	
Fourteen	Dser shi	
Fox	Hu ni (a der)	C L W
Fragments	Shueh	
Freeze	Du	
Friend	Po yo (ni)	
Frog	O mer (a der)	
From	Yo, da	
From time to time	Ma lo ma lo	
Front, in	Do mo	
Frost	So	
Fruit	Guor dser	C L W
Fry	Dsa	
Full	Ma	
Funeral	So so (a ba)	
Fur	Ma	
Furniture	Jia hor	C L W
Future	Jia lai	C L W

G

Gain	Yu	
Gamble	Da ber, Cho bia	
Garden, flower	Hor la (a lai)	
Garden, kitchen	Shua (a kuai)	
Gate	Mai (a sai)	
Gather	So	
Generation, a	(a) Dai	
Gentian	Pao dsa huor (a dor)	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

192

Geomancer (see god man)	A ser ni	
Ghost	Gur (ader)	
Ginger	Go	
Girl	Nu la dser (ni)	
Give	Gu	
Go	Bai, Chur, Nger	
God (Christian)	Sa di	CLW
God (pagan)	Ser (ni) (a juee)	
Gold	Jieh	
Gong	Lao (a mi)	
Good	Hu	
Good (moral)	Chio	
Goods	Hor	CLW
Goose	O (a der)	
Goose, wild (' sky goose ')	Hai o (a der)	
Gorge	Go (a dsur)	
Government	Dso fu	CLW
Gradually	Lu su	
Grain (rice)	Ser	
Granary	Tsa fa	
Grand-daughter (and grandniece)	Nuer sua (ni)	
Grandfather, paternal	A lo (ni)	
Grandfather, maternal	A gu (ni)	
Grandmother, paternal	A lai (ni)	
Grandmother, maternal	A pao (ni)	
Grandson (and grandnephew)	Sua (ni)	
Grapes	Pu tao (a ao)	CLW
Grass	Chu	
Grave	Mo (a kao)	
Grave-picnic (up-to-graves)	Dso mu	
Green	Lur	
Green of leaves	Cher	
Grey	Hueh	CLW
Grind	Mao, Wai	
Grindstone	Mao dso (a lai)	
Grit (gravel)	Ao	
Grow	Guor dser (of crops)	
Guard	So	
Guess	Tsai	CLW
Guest	Ker (ni)	CLW

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Guide	Dso	
Gun	Tsur (a ger)	
Gun powder	Huai yu	
Guts	Dso (a niu)	

H

Hail	Shueh kor dser	
Hair (animal)	Ma (a dso)	
Hair (of head)	Do ma (a dso)	
Half	(a) Bao	
Hand	So (a pu)	
Hang	Gua	CLW
Happy	Shi hua	CLW
Hard	Ngur	
Hare	Tao lao (a der)	
Hat	Shao mao (a do)	
Have, to	Dso	
Hawk	Di lu lu (a der)	
He	Bao	
Head	Do Ba	
Headman	Lao bai ni	
Heal	Yi	CLW
Hear	Chur do	
Heart	Shi (a ao)	
Heat, to	Dso	
Heaven	Hai tso	
Heavy	Dser	
Heel	Ur go dser dai (a lai)	
Help	Ba ma	CLW
Hemp	Ser dser	
Here	A da	
High	Ga	
Hill	Sur (a kuai)	
Him (accusative and ablative)	Bo mo	
Hire	Kao (of men, chier)	
His	Bo lao	
Hit	Der	
Hoe, a	Dsur (a sai)	
Hole	(a) wai	
Holiday (festival)	Guor jia	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

192 Hollow	Wor	
Home	(a) Hao	
Honey	Fer mi	
Hook	Gu lo (a lai)	
Hope	Shi wa	CLW
Horn	Ger (a dsa)	
Horse	Mer (a der)	
Host	Ker dso bao ni	
Hot	Ru nieh	
Hour	Dieh dsu	CLW
House	Hao (a fa)	
How	Ha lai ni	
How many	Ji shio	
Hungry	Ji ka	
Hundred	(a) Ber	
Hunt	Nier	
Hurry	Ji	
Husband	Bao (ni)	

I

I	Ngao	Cf. Cantonese
Ice	Biu	CLW ?
Idle	Shia	
If	Zer guor, Huer	CLW
Illness	Ber, nia do	
Impatient	Dsor ji	CLW
Important	Yao jiu	CLW
In	Ku, Hu, Mo	
Incense	Shio	
Indigo	La	
Infant	Tser wu la (ni)	
Influence	Ka du	CLW
Ink	Mo	CLW
Inn	Jieh (a ger)	
Insect	Dser (a der)	
Inside	Ker bao	
Inside (of clothes)	Ni dser	
Insipid	Bier	
Instead of	Chi	
Intercallary month	So wa	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Interrogative particle	Ni mu	
Invite	Yao, Chier	
Iron	Tai	
Irrespective	Ver lueh. Ch. 'wu lun'	CLW
Item	(a) dser	
Ivory	Shio nger	

J

Jade	Yuee	CLW
Jetty	Ma to	CLW
Join	Nieh	
Joy	Ji, Shi hua	CLW
Joke	Sao	
Jug	Gu (a ao)	
Juice	Dsao	
Jump	Tiao	CLW
Just (preposition)	Hu, Mo	

K

Keep (animals)	So
Kill	Shia, Der shia
Kind (sort)	Lo yo
King	Wa (ni)
Kitchen	Dsao fa, Tser fa
Kite	Fo dso (a lai)
Knee	Kua dser dai (a lai)
Kneel	Gur
Knife	I da (a dser)
Know (savoir)	Zer do
Know (connaitre)	Zo do

L

Ladder	Lo ti (a ga)	CLW
Lair	Ker (a lai)	
Lake	Gao (a gao)	
Lame	Dseh go	
Lamp	Do (a dsa)	
Land	Ji ber	
Late	Mai, Pi	
Later	Bo ru	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192

Laugh	Sao	
Law	Fa ni	CLW
Lazy	La dor	
Lead, to	Dso	
Lead (noun)	Chieh	CLW
Leaf	Sai (a yao)	
Leak, to	Ur	
Lean upon	Kao	CLW
Learn	Ur	
Lease	Kao	CLW
Leather	Gu	
Leave behind	Nio	
Left (opp. of right)	Dser	
Leg	Go pu	
Lemon	Shia yueh (a ao)	CLW ?
Leopard	Ba (a der)	
Leper	Da fer ni	
Leprosy	Da fer	
Level	Ber	
Li, a	(a) Lai	
Lid	Po (a lai)	
Lie, to tell a	Ber do	
Life	Mier dser	CLW
Light	Nia	
Light (weight)	Tser	
Lightning	Ji gur la	
Like	Shuai	
Lime	Huai	
Link, a	Ko (a)	
Listen	Chier	
Little	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Live	Her	
Lizard (two kinds)	Bi hu, Di gu lai (a der)	
Load, a (beast	(a) Dso	
Load, a (man)	(a) Da	
Load, to	Dso	
Lock	Sor (a ger)	CLW
Locked up	Ler ku hu	
Locust	Sa la gai (a der)	
Long	Dso	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

192

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Loose	Su	
Loquat	Pi pa guor (a ao)	CLW
Lord	Dso (ni)	
Lose (money)	Tier	CLW
Lose	Tser, Su	
Lotus	Lai Hor (a dor)	
Love	Ai	CLW
Low	Bi	
Lower (not comparative)	Er	
Luck	Yueh Chi	CLW
Luggage	Shiu ni	CLW
Lunch	nieh do	
Lungs	Fai	

M

Mad	Ber	
Madman	Ber ver (ni)	
Magpie	Wu jua (a der)	
Maize	Lu gu (a do) (a grain, a ao)	
Malaria	Fer piao ver	
Male	Dser (ni)	
Man	Ni ger (ni)	
Manage	Ba	CLW
Manager	Lao bai (ni)	
Many	Ji	
Market	Dao dser, Gai ser (a lai)	
Marry (of a man)	Shi ser	
Marry (of a girl)	Tser gao, Der fer nuer	
Marsh	Shieh	
Mast	Po (a ga)	
Mat	Shier (a yao)	
Match, to	Pai	
Material	Tsai niu	CLW
Me (accusative and ablative)	Ngo mo	
Measure	O	
Meat	Ger (a tiao)	
Medicine	Yo	
Meet	Hueh	
Melon	Shi gua (a ao)	CLW
Melt	Hua	CLW

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192

Memory	Ji shu	
Mend	Shio	CLW
Merchant	So yi ni	
Merchants' Guild	Sa hueh	CLW
Middle	Wai shi mi	
Middleman (marriage)	Mai so ni	
Midnight	Ba yao	
Milk	Ba	
Mill	Da duai (a kao)	
Mine, a	Kai gu (a lai)	
Mine, my	Ngao lao	
Mirror	Ger (a mi)	
Mistake	Tsor	CLW
Mixed	Dsa	CLW
Modest	A bo ser	
Money	Chieh	CLW
Monkey	O shua (a der)	
Month	(a) Wa	
Month, First	Dser Wa	
Month, Second	Ser wa	
Month, Eleventh	Der wa	
Month, Twelfth	Ya wa	
Moon	Mi wa	
More	Yer fa	CLW
Morning	Chur ku, Do ba ni	
Mortgage	Ya	CLW
Moslem	Hu hui (ni)	
Mosquito	Mo dser (a der)	
Mosquito net	Tsua dsa	
Moth	Pu do wor (a der)	
Mother	Mao (ni)	
Mother-in-law (man speaking)	Yao mu	
Mother-in-law (woman speaking)	Dao so yao (ni)	
Mountain	Sur (a kuai)	
Mourning	Sho yi	
Mouth	Ju lai	
Move	Ba	CLW
Much	Yer fa	
Much less	Dser mo	
Mud	Lai	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Mulberry	Dser so (a ao)	
Mule	Lao dser (a der)	C L W 192
Mushroom	Ser (a dor)	
Music	Yu yao	C L W
Must	Bi, Gai, da	C L W

N

Nail	Jier (a ao)	
Naked	Tser di diu	
Name	Mier tser	C L W
Narrow	Dser	
Near	Jieh	
Neck	Bao dser ku lai	
Needle	Dser (a lai)	
Needlework	Dser hu	
Neigh (horse noise)	Mer mer	
Nephew	Jieh (ni)	
Nest	Dso ker (a lai)	
Net	Wa (a dso)	
Never	Wa chueh	C L W
New	Shi	
News	Shiu ver	C L W
New Year	Guor dser wa	
Next	Ru	
Nickel, a	Nier bi	C L W
Niece	Nuer jieh (ni)	
Night	Bai ger (a)	
Nine	Jiu	
Nineteen	Dser jiu	
Ninety	Jiu dser	
No	Biao	
No fear	Ger niu	
Noise	Mer	
None (not have)	Dso mu	
Noon	Nieh do	
North	Ber	
Nose	Bi gua	
Not	Bo, Mu	
Now	A gu, No ta	
Number	Su mu	C L W

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

O

192 Oar	Dsai (a ga)	
Obey	Ser, Suai	
Obtain	Der	
Occasion	(a) Jia	
Official, an	Gua (ni)	CLW
Often	Wa jia	
Oil	Yu	
Old (things)	Gur	
Old (men)	Gu	
Old man	Gu bao (ni)	
Old woman	Gu yao (ni)	
On	Lao	
One	Yi	
Onion	Tser (a dso)	
Onto	Do ba	
Open	Ker	
Opium	Ya pieh yeh. Chinese from English	
Or	Ni, huer	
Orange	Hua guor (a ao)	CLW
Orchid	Ai la (a dor)	
Original	Ber	
Orphan	Gua dser (ni)	
Other	Bier di	CLW
Ought	Yu da, Yu gai	CLW
Ounce	(a) Lo	
Our, ours	Nia lao	
Outside	Wa	
Outside (of clothes)	Mier dser	
Overcast	Mo	
Owe	Shio	
Ox	Ngur (a der)	

P

Pack	Dso	
Pain	Ser	
Paint	Chi	CLW
Palm (hand)	So ji shi	
Palm tree	Dser fer (a dso)	
Panther	Ba (a der)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Paper	Dser (a dso)	
Paper images (funeral)	Dser shia	
Parrot	Yiu ger (a der)	C L W
Part	Fer	
Partition, a (wall)	Ber bier	
Passive particle	Dsor	
Pass motions	Gai so	
Past tense particle	Lao, Hu	
Patch	Bu	C L W
Path	Tu (a dsur)	
Pawn, to	Da	
Pawnshop	Da pu (a ger)	
Pay	So	
Pea	Wai do (a ao)	
Peaceful	Piu A	C L W
Peach	Da (a ao)	
Peanuts	Lao di su (a ao)	
Pear	Shu ni (a ao)	
Peel, to	Bai	
People	Miu	
Pepper	Hu jiao	C L W
Perhaps	Ku pa	C L W
Persimmon	Ta dser ba (a ao)	
Perspire	Tser nga	
Pewter	Shi	C L W
Pheasant	Yer Gai (a der)	
Phoenix	Fo (a der)	
Pick, to	Dsai	
Pick up	Dser	
Pidgeon	Ji gu (a der)	
Pig	Dai (a der)	
Pigsty	Dai hao (a ger)	
Pillar	Dso (a gua)	
Pillow	Dser der (a lai)	
Pincers	Chieh dser (a ter)	C L W
Pine tree	Ber (a dso)	
Pint	(a) So	C L W
Pipe (tobacco)	Yeh guor (a bai)	
Pit	Ku (a lai)	
Pitiful	Mi mao tso	

192

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

Pity	Lieh	CLW
Place	Ji fer (a kuai)	
Plain, a	Ber lao	
Plan	Fa dser (a lai)	CLW
Plank	Ber (a yao)	
Plant, to	Dsur	
Plant seeds	To dser	
Plate	Ba dser (a lai)	
Play	Wu cho	
Please	Chier	
Plough	Dso ji ji (a jia)	
Plough, to	Dso ji	
Plum	Ni dser (a ao)	
Plum (another kind)	Mai dser (a ao)	
Plural particles	Wa, Ya	
Pocket	Yi lu (a lai)	
Poison	Du yo	CLW
Pole	Da bi (a kao)	
Politeness	Lai	
Pompom (head-dress) (Brave flower)	Yu hor (a dor)	
Pomegranate	Sai miu (a ao)	
Pool	Jier (a lai)	
Poor	Chio	
Porter (chair)	Jio fer (ni)	
Porter (goods)	Da da (ni)	
Pot	Gu (a ao)	
Potatoes	Sai yo (a gua, a ao)	
Pottery	Gai ba	
Pour out	Chi	
Practise	Nieh shi	CLW
Present (time)	Ger	
Price	Ger	
Prickley pear	Shueh yu dsa (a ao)	
Prison	Jieh yu, Ba hao	
Private	Ser	
Probably	Da Kai	CLW
Propitiate	Jiu Shio	
Prosperous	Suai dsa, Suai Shuee	
Protect	Bao hu	CLW
Proud	Jiao ao	CLW

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

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Proverb	Su hua	CLW
Provoke	Zer	
Public	Gu	
Publish	Fa mi	CLW
Pull	Ji	
Punish	Shiu	
Pure	Chier	CLW
Pursue	Jieh	
Push	Ma	
Put	So, Lai	

Q

Quake (earthquake)	Ji yo	
Quarrel	Lo	
Quarry	Ai dser	CLW
Quench	Mier	
Question	Bier	
Quick	Nger Jiu	
Quietly	Mu cher mu chi	

R

Rain	Ver shi	
Rain, to	O ver shi	
Rainbow	Go der	
Rain cloak (grass)	Bi (a sai)	
Raspberry (wild)	Hua pao (a ao)	
Rat	Ser (a der)	
Ravine	Go (a dsur)	
Raw	Her	
Reach (arrive)	Pia	
Read	Sho	
Ready	Yu bi	CLW
Reap	Ya huor	
Really	Ser dsai	CLW
Rear, to (children)	So	
Reason, a	Yueh gu	CLW
Receipt	So tiao (a dso)	CLW
Receive	So	
Reckon	Shueh	
Red	Huor	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Recapture, retake	So da	
Recur	Fer	
Relatives	Chi jier	
Release	Dser	
Remember	Ji do	C L W
Rent	Dsu chieh	C L W
Repair	Shio	C L W
Rest, to	Shia	
Retire	Tuai	C L W
Revere	Jiu	
Rhododendron	Ma bi yi (a dor)	C L W
Rice (cooked)	Her ser	
Rice (dry)	Ha gu	
Rice (growing)	Guor	
Rice (reaped)	Ser	
Rice seed	Go dser	
Rice seedlings	Ga gur	
Rice (uncooked)	Mai	
Rice (wet)	Shueefer	
Ride	Gur	
Right (correct)	Chu	
Right (side)	Bi	
Ripe	Dser	
Ring; a	So gu (a dao)	
Rise up	Dso ku, Bai ku	
River	Gur (a dsur)	
Road	Tu (a dsur)	
Rob	Chia	C L W
Robe (Chinese)	Ma gua (a ko)	
Rock, to	Wer dso wer dser	
Roll	Ga	
Roof	Hao do ba	
Room	Ta wu (a ger)	
Root	Mi (a niu)	
Rope	So (a niu)	
Rose	Mai guei (a dor)	C L W
Rot, Rotten	La	C L W
Rough (not smooth)	Ber mu	
Round	Wai	
Rub	Bo	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Rudder	Dio	
Rule	Dso	
Rump	Ker ver	
Run	Pao	C L W
Rust	Shiu	C L W

S

Sack	Dao lu (a lai)	
Sacred	So	
Sad	Yu tso	
Saddle	A (a ker)	
Sail, a	Wor po (a lai)	
Salt	Bi	
Sand	Sao dser	
Sandal (straw)	Chu ger (a ji)	
Satisfied (food)	Bu	
Sausage	Ya tsa (a gua, a niu)	
Save	Ju	
Saw, a	Juee dser (a lai)	
Scar	Ba	
Scarecrow	Wu dsao (a der)	
Scent	Chu	
School	Shiao ta (a ger)	C L W
Scissors (a pair)	Chi da (a ber)	
Scratch	Gua	
Screw	Jueh	
Secretly	A lao	
Sedan chair	Ji (a ka)	
Seduce	La ni ger	
See	A do	
Seek	Yi	
Seize	Pu	
Self	Dso ji	C L W
Sell	Gur	
Send	Der fer	
Send off	So	
Series	(a) Ngo	
Settle	Sweh	
Seven	Chi	
Seventeen	Dser chi	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Seventy	Tser dser	
Sew	Dsai	
Shade	Bai yu	
Shallow	Chi	
Shame	A bo ser	
Shape	Shuai	
Sharp	Yi	
Shave	Jer	
Sheep	Yo (a der)	
Shell	Kao kao (a lai)	
Shellfish	Chiu (a ao)	
Shin	Go shiao gua (a gua)	
Ship	Yeh (a su)	
Shoe	Ngai (a ji)	
Shop	Jieh (a ger)	
Short	Tso	
Short (stature)	Bi	
Shoulder	Dao bao do (a lai)	
Shut	Ji	
Side, that	Bo bao	
Side, this	Lo bao	
Silk	Tso dser	CLW
Silkthread	Sai	
Silkworm	Dsa (a der)	
Silver	Ni	
Sin	Juee	
Sing	Tsa, Ji ker	
Sink	Lor	
Sister, elder	Ji (ni)	
Sister, younger	Nuer tai (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Elder Brother's W.)	Da sao (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Y. Brother's Wife)	Tai ver (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Wife's E. sister)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Wife's Y. sister)	Biao mai (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Husband's sister)	Gu ma (ni)	
Sit	Gur	
Six	Fer	
Sixteen	Dser fer	
Sixty	Fer dser	
Skill	Bo ser	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Skin	Bai	
Sky	Hai tso	
Slave girl	Ya to (ni)	C L W
Sleep	Wai dua, Tser a shuee	
Sleeve	Yi shi	
Slight	Sao vai	C L W
Slip	Jueh	
Slow	Kwa dier	
Smack	Der	
Small	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Smallpox	Ma dser	
Smoke	Yeh	
Snail	Bi shi dser (a der)	
Snake	Ker (a der)	
Snow	Shueh	
Soft	Per	
Soldier	Biu (ni)	C L W
Son	Dser (ni)	
Son-in-law	Nuer sao u	
Song	Gao (a gao)	
Sorcerer	Sai dser (ni)	
Sorrow	Ku	C L W
Soul	Ser (a ni)	
Sound	Mer	
Soup	Her	
Sour	Sua	C L W
South	La	
Sow, to	Jier	
Space	Tsa, Lao (a)	
Spark	Huai shier dser	
Speak	Shua do	
Special	Ter bier	C L W
Speech	Do	
Spend	Fai	C L W
Spider	Dao ser dao (a der)	
Spin (thread)	Der hur	
Spirit (ghost)	Gur (a der)	
Spoil	La	
Spoon	Tiao gur (a pi)	C L W
Spread	Pu	C L W

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192

Spring (season)	Tsur	
Square	Fa	
Squirrel	Di lao ser (a der)	
Stable	Mer fa (a ger)	
Stage (journey)	(a) Dsa	
Stammer	Gua dsai	
Stand	Dso ku	
Star	Shier (a ao)	
State (country)	Gwer	
Steal	Da	
Steps	Ger ti	
Stick on	Cha	
Still (preposition)	Dsai	
Still, yet	La, Ni	
Stink	Chu	
Stirrup	Do	
Stomach	Fer ao	
Stone	Tso kuai (a ger)	
Stone (dressed)	Tso ber (a yao)	
Stone mason	Tso jiu (ni)	
Stool	Ba do (a der)	
Stop	Jier. So so	
Story	Shao suer (a chua)	C L W
Straight	Miu	
Strange	Guai	C L W
Stream	Go Shuee (a ger)	
Street	(a) Gai	C L W
Strength	Li nia	
Stretch	Jier	
Strike	Der	
String of cash	(a) Shi	
Strong	Chia	C L W
Student	Shiao so (ni)	
Stumble	Do	
Stupid	Hu tu	C L W
Sudden	Hu za	C L W
Suck	Ji	
Suffer	So jueh	
Sugar	Sao da	
Sugar cane	Ga dser (a gua)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Suicide	Dser sa	CLW
Summer	Nieh	
Sun	Nieh pi	
Sun, to dry in	Hao	
Sunflower	Tsao ya dser (a biu)	
Supper	Bai	
Surface	(a) Mi	
Surname	Shier	
Surround	Wai	CLW
Swallow, to	Tuai	
Swallow, a	Gai yer dser (a der)	
Sweat	Nga	
Sweep	Shu	
Sweet	Gà mi	
Sweet potato	Hua tser (a lai)	
Swell	Tser	
Swim	Ya shuee	
Swordstick	Ma ba dao (a dser)	

T

Table	Dser dser (a dso)	
Tail	Mi du (a lai)	
Take	Lai	
Take away	Dser	
Take care	Sai shi	CLW
Tame	Suai Juee	
Tangerine	Ju dser (a ao)	CLW
Taro	Bi ter (a ao) (the plant, a dai)	
Taste	Dso	
Tax	Suai	CLW
Tea	Dsao	
Tear, to	Pai	
Tear down	Dsai hu	
Tears	Wai mi shi	
Tell	Shua	
Temperament	Shier lai	
Temple	Sai (a jer)	
Temporary	Do jier	
Ten	Dser	
Ten feet	(a) Dsa	CLW

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192 Ten thousand	(a) Ngur	
Tender	Niu	
Terrace	Tai dser (a lai)	CLW
Terrible	Niao bu der	CLW
Thank	Dor shier	CLW
That	Bo, Du	
That much	Biao ser	
That way	Bia lai	
Thatch	Ma	
Theirs	Ba lao	
Then	Hu	
There	Bo da	
Therefore	So yi	CLW
Thermometer	Ha tsu biao (a jia)	CLW
These	Lo dier	
They	Ba	
Thick	Gur	
Thief	Dser (a der)	
Thigh	Dao kuai	
Thin (men)	So	
Thin (things)	Bo	
Thing	Hu nger (a lai)	
Think	Shia, Mi	
Thirst	Ka	
Thirteen	Dser sa	
Thirty	Sa dser	
This	Lo	
Those	Ber dier	
Thousand	(a) Chi	
Thread	Hur (a niu)	
Three	Sa	
Throat	Gu dai ji	
Through	Tur	
Throw away	Niu	
Thrush	Hua mei (a der)	CLW
Thumb	Dao so dser do mo (a ta)	
Thunder	Hai mer	
Tibetan	Gu dsu (ni)	
Tie up	Ver ku	
Tiger	Lao do (a der)	

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Tile	Wer (a pi)	
Time	Gu fer. Dser Nger	C L W
To	Da	
To day	Ger ni	
To morrow	Mer ni	
Tobacco	Yeh	
Together	Tu. A ru	
Tone	Yu	
Tongue	Dsai lai	
Too	Tai	C L W
Tooth	Dser ba (a lai)	
Towards	Pia	
Town	Dser (a dser)	
Trade	So yi	C L W
Transgress	Fa	C L W
Transplant seedlings	Fer ji	
Tree	(a) Dso	
Trousers (a pair)	Gua yo (a yo)	
True	Dser	
Truly	Ser dsai	C L W
Trust	Kao	C L W
Try	Ga ser	
Tub	Ba (a Bai)	
Turn	Jueh	
Twelve	Dser lai	
Twenty	Lai shi	
Twice	Go jia	
Two	Go	

U

Ugly	A bo chio, La a	
Umbrella	Sa (a ba)	C L W
Uncertain	Bu du	C L W
Uncle (paternal, elder)	Da di (ni)	
Uncle (paternal, younger)	A yeh (ni)	
Uncle (maternal)	A jiu (ni)	
Uncle (aunt's husband)	Gu dieh (ni)	
Underneath	Er bao	
Understand	Zer do	
Undress	Luai	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Unfortunate	Gao shi	
Universal	Pu tu	CLW
Unload	So	
Unlucky	Yueh chi hai	
Until	Pia	
Unto	Pia	
Up	Ku	
Upper floor	Lo (a ger)	CLW
Upwards	Dso	
Us	Nia mo	
Use	Zer	

V

Vaccinate	Dser niu do	
Valley	Go (a dsur)	
Vegetables	Her pa, Tso	
Vermicelli (mien)	Mieh	CLW
Very	Hur, Fai	
Village	Yu (a yu)	
Village levy	Dsua diu	
Virgin	Tu (ni)	
Voice	Cher chi	
Vomit	Tser	

W

Waist	Yi gua	
Wait	Do	
Wake	Shi shur	
Walk	Bai	
Wall	O pier (a pier)	
Wall, city	Dser O	
Walnut	Ao dao (a ao)	
Want	Niu	
Warm	Wai wo	
Warn	Jiu	
Wasp	Fer (a der)	
Wash	Sai	
Watch, a	Piao (a jia)	CLW
Watch, the	Der lao	
Water	Shuee	

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192

Water, to	Wa shuee	
Water chestnuts	Ga gu (a ba) (a ao)	
Wave, a	Lu gua (a lai)	
Wax	La	
We	Nia	
Wealthy	Dso chieh	
Wear (on head)	Do	
Wear (clothes)	Yeh	
Weary	Sao ku	
Weasel	Ser lao (a der)	
Weather	Hai ji	
Weave	Dso	
Weed	Ku, Ma chu	
Week	(a) Shiu Chi	C L W
Weigh	Chueh	
Well, a	Jier (a ko)	
West	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Wet	Per	
What	Ha lai, Ha ya	
Wheat	Mo (a ao)	
Wheel	Luai dser (a bai)	C L W
When	Ha ta	
Where	A la	
Which	A la lai	
White	Ber	
Who	A la ni, Ha ni	
Why	Wei Ha lai	
Widow	Guer ver mao (ni)	
Widower	Guer lao ber (ni)	
Wife	Shi ver (ni)	
Wild	Yer	
Wild-cat	Yer A mi (a der)	
Wild-duck	Hua ya (a der)	
Wilderness	Shia ji	
Willing	Shi hua	C L W
Willow	So ur (a dso)	
Wind	Bi ser	
Window	Tsao hu (a du)	
Wine	Dser	
Wing	Yeh tser ker (a lai)	

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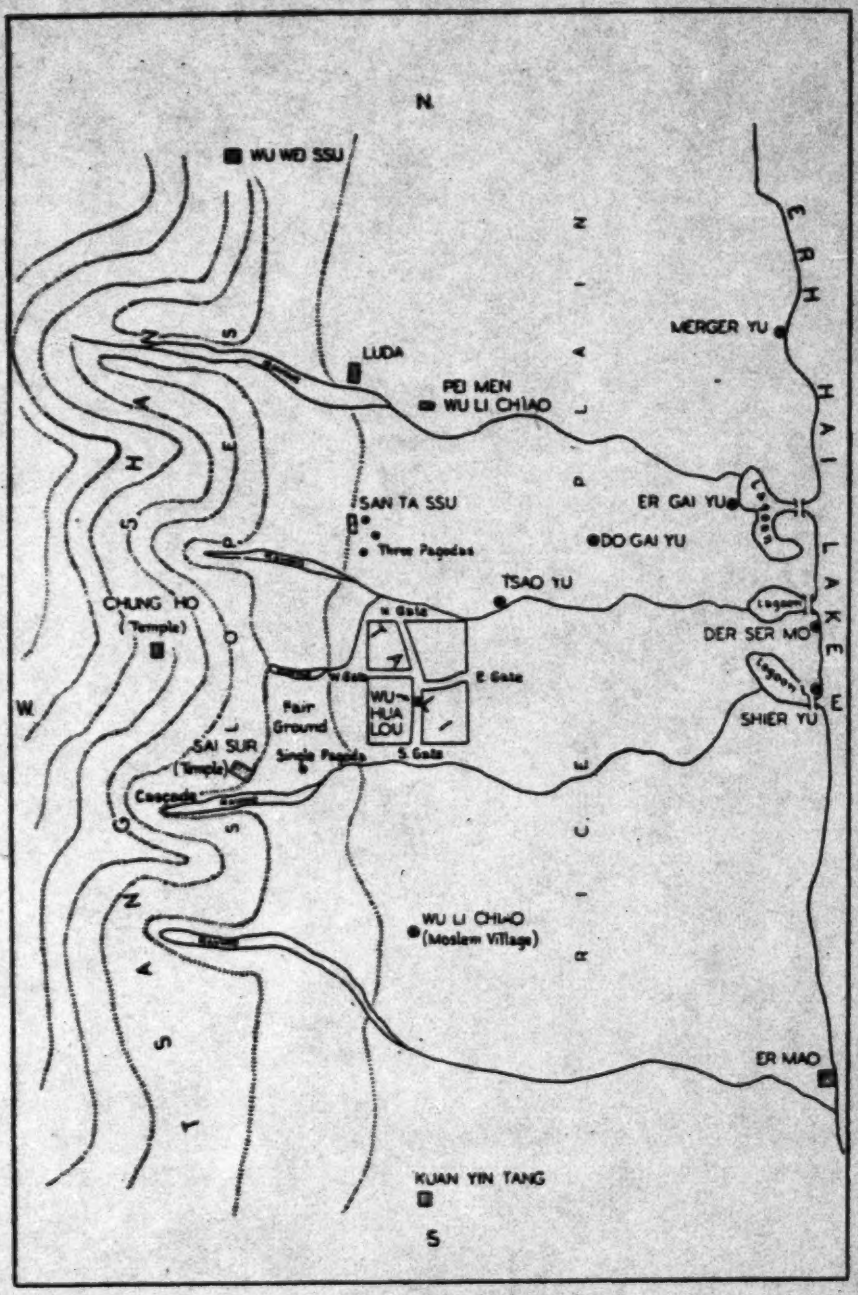
Environs of TA LI CITY



[Face p. 276]

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Border Peoples AE3

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192

Winter	Der	
Wipe	Ma	CLW
With	Da, Ni	
Without	Ver	
Wolf	Tsai go (a der)	CLW
Womb	Bao	CLW
Woodcutter	Dso shi (ni)	
Wood, wooden	Ser ler (a yao)	
Work	Gu	CLW
World	Sai ger. Hai er	
Wound	Sa	
Wrap	Bao	CLW
Wrapping cloth	Bao fer (a lai)	CLW
Wrapper (for babies)	Guor bai	
Write	Wer	
Wrong	Tsor	

Y

Yawn	Chi hao	
Year	(a) Shua	
Year (of age)	Ni shua	
Yellow	Ngo	
Yes	Dsao	
Yesterday	Dser sai ni	
You (thou)	Lao	
You	La	
You (ablative, etc.)	Lo mo	
Young	Sai	
Your, yours	Lo lao	
Youth, a	Ni shua sai (ni)	
Yunnan	Yueh la	(from Chinese)

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YUNNAN PROVINCE

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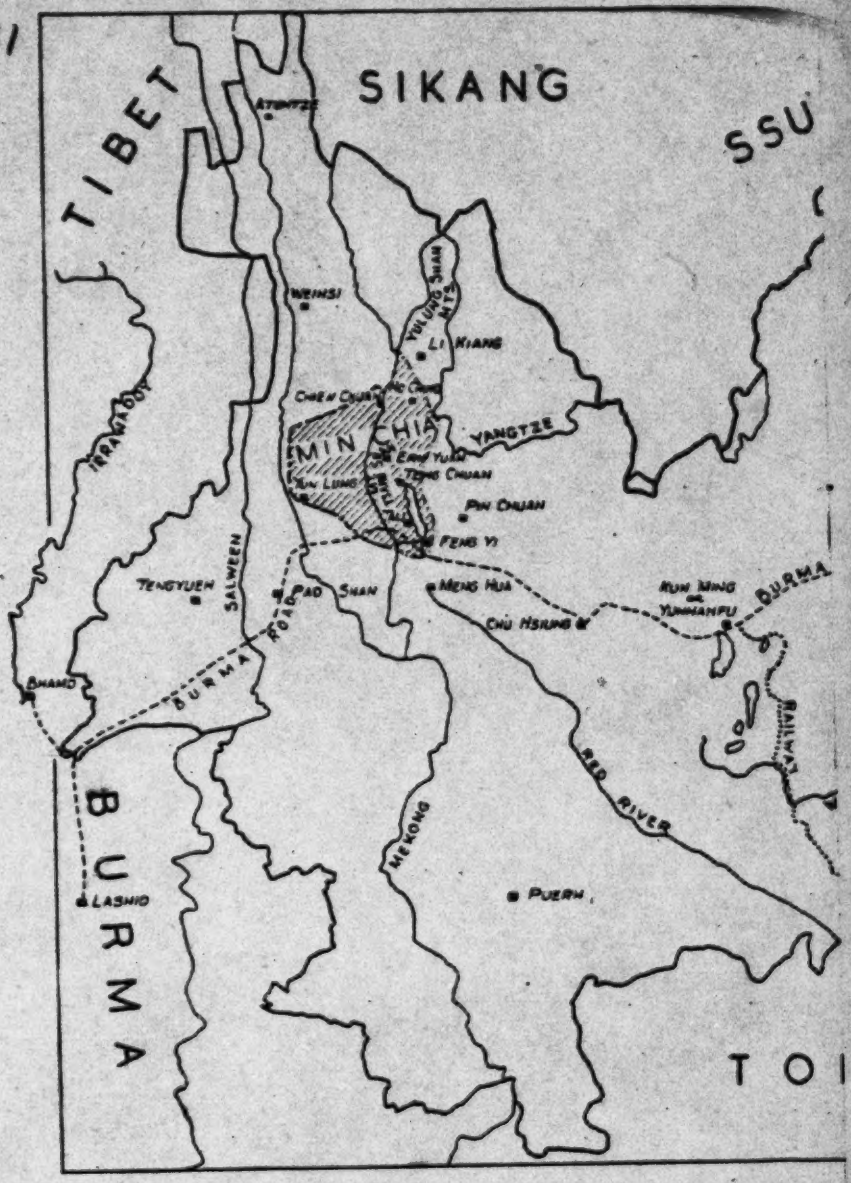

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TA LI District and ERH HAI Lake

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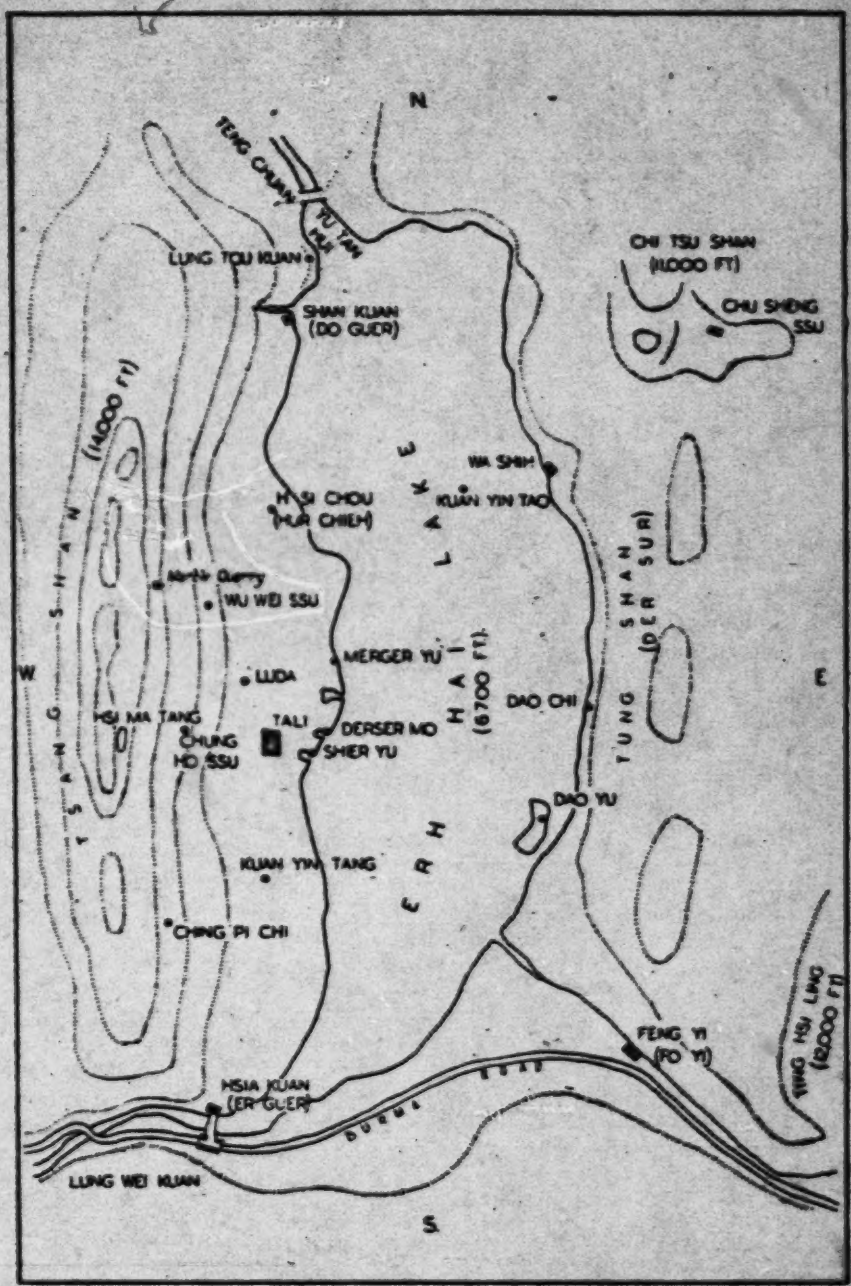

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Some Creation Stories

Told by Tribal Peoples of The Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan

By T'ao Yün-k'uei

Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung /Frontier Studies/. Chengtu, 1945, pp. 1-12.

[1]

Translated from the Chinese for Human Relations Area Files
by
Yankee P. Tsang

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Some Creation Stories

Told by Tribal Peoples of The Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan

By T'ao Yün-k'uei

The following is a record of sixteen stories about the origin of mankind, elves, insects and fishes, rice and grains, tobacco and wines. These were written down as told by the natives in the borderland of Yunnan in the year 1936 when an investigation was made of the tribal peoples there. (See map of the distribution of aborigines in Yunnan, Page 2.) /2/

Myths and stories, in a simple society, are not merely after dinner talks or subject matters for pastime, but they are recognized as things which actually took place in the past. They look upon the myths in the same way the Chinese believe in the Golden Era of San-huang-wu-ti (three monarchs and five emperors). Their myths live in their everyday life; and thus, from myths, it is not difficult for us to have a glimpse of their mass beliefs, morals and the principles of conformity in social behaviors. In these myths, there are many intricate scenes, winding perspectives, attractive descriptions, numerous love affairs and adventures. And this is no less the reason that it has become one of the indispensable subject matter of pastime for the monotonous living in simple societies. Even we, upon hearing these tales, would feel their vivid persuasiveness, and be thus enlivened by them. From the viewpoint of comparative anthropology, to study the problems of cultural propagation, evolution, and the near and distant relations among various racial groups, myths are also a paramount object for research. Owing to the lack of comparative data, this essay will be limited to a narration of the original tales to serve as a reference for future study.

/3/ I. Moso (who call themselves Nashi)

1. Li-chiang hsien

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge had become calamities which drowned out all mankind. The only survival was a man by the name Zungtzerliri, who, by hiding himself in a drum, narrowly escaped. As the Deluge gradually rose, the drum ascended with it. When the roars of the water had ceased, he broke out from the drum 773 539

MAP OF ABORIGINAL DISTRIBUTION

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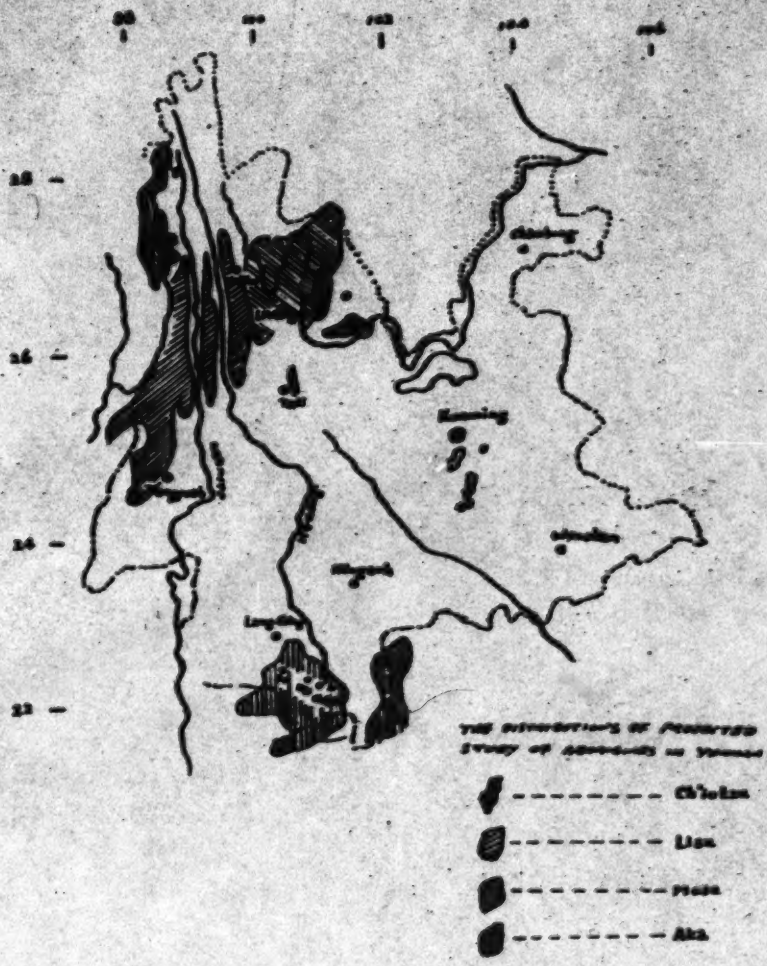

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and found himself already in Heaven. He then encountered a maid whose name was Zweherbebermi. The maid said to him: "You are a mortal on the earth. Why do you come to Heaven?" The man answered: "There is a great flood on earth. My kindred have all died. Since I have no dear ones left, I have roamed at will to Heaven." The maid said: "I too have no beloved ones. Why not you and I the two of us, befriend and love each other?" The man was then taken to her house, and hid in a bamboo basket behind a door. In the meantime, her father, whose name was Zwe-la-Ap'u, abruptly returned, and inhaling the odor of a stranger, he called out: "Whence came this wild dog in my house?" He, however, made no further investigation but kept on sharpening a knife on a rock night and day, and talked to himself: "Verily, I know there is a strange creature in the house; I must kill him." Then, her mother said: "Please do not raise your hands; let me find out about it later." The mother then questioned her daughter, and she answered: "It is no outsider, but one who has come from the earth. An extra man in our house does no harm. Besides, when the sun rises, you may order him to dry provisions and grains, or if it is cloudy and raining, to dig furrows and clean out the water; but I beg you for his life." The father, who had overheard the conversation between the mother and the daughter, broke in and reproached: "Don't you be tempted by the sorcerer. Bring him forth, and I will personally examine him." The maid opened the basket and led the man to her father. The father had known people well; it required only one look for him to tell a good man from a bad one. He looked over his hands, and learned that he was an intelligent man. He then told the mother: "Though this man is fairly intelligent, he is neither one of our kind nor good enough to to be a slave. Let us spare his life but drive him down to the world below." But the mother insisted that tests be given to determine his ability before making any decision, for she too grew very fond of the man. After her repeated intercessions, the father pretended to consent.

At nightfall, the father commanded the man to spend the night with him on a cliff, from which he intended to throw the man off in his slumber and to effect his death. Both the mother and the daughter suspected the father's intention, and privately told the man: "Tonight as you go to sleep with father, you must take with you a blanket in which a big rock is to be wrapped; and leave it by father's side. Then go secretly to sleep somewhere else." The man went, following the instruction. Toward midnight the father kicked off the rock, which

fell into a mountain torrent and struck dead a roebuck. As the father 773
woke up the next morning, and saw the man was still about, he fig- 539
ured out another plot and said: "Last night when the rock fell, it must have killed a beast. You may go fetch it and share it as food with me; but tonight, I will choose to sleep by the side of a river, and you are to keep me company. "The mother and the daughter again uncovered his intention, and told the man: "Tonight you will again take with you a blanket with a rock wrapped inside. Place it by father's feet, and also, leave a piece of log between you two; adversity may thus be avoided. " The man obeyed. Toward midnight, the father again kicked the rock, which fell into the river and struck dead some fish. On the morrow, the father found the man was still around, and said to him: "You may go into the river to catch some fish; we two shall eat together. But when we finish eating, you must set out to look for tiger's cubs for me. " The man, following his words, set out to look for cubs, but found none. Instead, he returned with the meat of a roebuck. The father became angry, and said; "This is no tiger but roebuck, why cheat me? Go quickly to search for it; otherwise, death will be the punishment. " The mother and the daughter then told the man: "Tigers are mostly in places where the sun cannot be seen, but cubs like to stay under the sunlight. Go look for it. " Following their words, the man camouflaged himself in a piece of tiger skin and thus succeeded in getting the cubs.

The father, finding that he had failed in his scheme, worked out another, and said to the man: "You will have to cut down, within a day's time, a forest as large as nine mou of land. " The man said: "It is impossible to do one mou in a day, let alone nine mou! " The mother and the daughter, consoling him privately, said: "Do not worry. Tomorrow you may carry with you nine axes to /4/ the forest; mother will send some men to help you. " Without failing, nine mou of forest were chopped down when night approached. Then the father said again: "Tomorrow you must burn up all the woods, within a day's time, till they are reduced to ashes. " The following morning, the man carried out the order by burning up all the woods. But the father said to him again: "You must sow grains upon nine mou of farm within a day's time. " The mother and the daughter again instructed the man: "All you have to do is to sow nine

grains upon each mou, for when father returns tomorrow, he would order you to collect, in a day's time, all the grains sowed." The man carried it out accoringly, and returned. As expected, the father said to him: "Within tomorrow's time, you will have to pick up all the grains you have sowed." Since the man had listened to the ladies, he was able to carry back the unsowed grains. The father then ordered a counting of the grains, and asked: "Where are the three halves of grain?" The man examined and answered: "Two halves were eaten by the ants, and the other half was in the stomach of a dove." The father said: "You must get them back!" The man had no alternative but to leave for the hills to look for them. Observing some ants under a rock, he picked one/of them/ up and broke it into two joints for the two halves of rice. The ant was an insect with a single body, but today, it has two joints. That is how it happened. He then saw a dove. As he was about to shoot it with an arrow, the maid, who was weaving in a nearby spinning chamber, saw it, and hurriedly threw a shuttle at his arm. The arrow flew instantly away and hit the dove. The other half of grain was taken out after cutting open the dove. As the three halves of grain were found, he took them to the father.

Upon seeing the grains, the father said no words; but after a while he said: "What have you come to do in Heaven?" The man said: "Since all the human beings on earth have died out, I have come to Heaven to search for a companion." The father asked: "Do you want to marry my daughter?" The man answered: "I dare not, but since the people of the world have all died, and I, being up in Heaven, would like to have some one, whether good or bad." The father asked: "How much silver have you brought with you?" The man answered: "There is now only a great deluge on earth. I have escaped with nothing but my life. But ever since I came up to Heaven, you have ordered me to get roebuck, catch fishes, hunt tigers, cut down woods, burn the hills, sow grains and collect provisions, all of which I have accomplished. These may well be regarded as the price for the companion I am seeking." The father then asked: "Do you have relatives (meaning special abilities)?" The answer was: "My relatives are those who have survived the beatings and the murders. (Pointing out that he had not died even though the father had tried to kill him.)" The father then said: "Well, since my wife and daughter both have agreed that you are the right one, what have I got to object?" He then married his daughter to him. Before long, the maid was pregnant. The parents said (to them):

"You must go to the world below to propagate the species; thus, you can no longer stay in Heaven." Then the couple knelt to bid their parents farewell, and went down, hand in hand, to the world below. 773 539

Somehow, the two had incurred the enmity of their heavenly neighbors, who, by blocking out the way with clouds and mists, made it impossible for the two to get out even after a thorough search. All of a sudden, they encountered a white crane and entreating it for a ride, they made their way down to earth. In the meantime, the Flood had receded. With the exception of some buzzing bees, no other creatures were left;so they built a hut with straws. There they lived a month and gave birth to triplet sons, who proved to be mutes. The couple's mother heard of it in Heaven, and knew that it could be of help only if they themselves prayed to their brother and sister-in-law (the oldest son of their heavenly parents and his wife). Therefore, she dispatched a butterfly as a messenger to come down to the world to inform them. The couple then made a sacrifice to their brother and sister-in-law. As soon as the prayer ended, the triplet sons, all at once, were able to speak. But their languages were different, one from the other. The oldest son spoke Kutsung (Tibetan) language, the second son, Nashi (Moso) language, and the third, Paitzu (Minchia) language. These triplets were the ancestors of the three tribes.

At the time when the newlyweds were coming down to the world, their parents bestowed on them all kinds of grains and animals except cats and turnips. However, the wife had secretly hidden some turnip seeds in her finger nails, and kittens in her lap. The grains are the foodstuffs commonly used today, and the animals are those twelve that serve as birth symbols; but the turnip is not among the grains just as the cat is not among the symbolic animals. As the father found out in Heaven about the theft of seeds by his daughter, he was in a rage. He said: "Although the /5/ turnips are very solid, I will now make them soft once they are cooked, so that they will not fill the stomach when eaten. And although the cat is a beast, I will make it purr in the stomach so as to make it different from the other beasts." The mother, who had been worrying over the newlyweds' incapability in housekeeping, commanded a dog to go down to the world with an order that they were to comb their hair once a day and eat one meal every three days. However, the memory of the dog failed him, and he got it so mixed up that he told them that three meals were to be

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eaten every day, and that hair was to be combed once every three days. This became their present habit. But since an excessive quantity of rice had been eaten, the necessary result was excretion. As a punishment, the dog was ordered to eat the manure.

The daughter had been previously engaged to one heavenly god, Käsinasa. Having heard of her marrying someone else, Käsinasa was greatly exasperated. Hence, he exercised his black art by making frost, snow and epidemics fall onto the human world so as to show his vengeance. He also locked up the gate to Heaven; thence, no mortals could enter as they pleased.

II. Lisu.

1. Tzu-kai village, Salween River (under the Administrative Bureau of Kung-shan).

In the ancient time, as the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, people on earth all died out, leaving but two persons who were brother and sister. The older brother named A-heng-Pa, and the younger sister, A-heng-Ma, had been stranded in a mountain cave together with a dog. Since the good earth was drowned out by the floods, and no foodstuffs were to be obtained, they sent the dog to a heavenly god to beg for grain seeds. The heavenly god placed some grain seeds in the ears of the dog to take back to the mountain cave. The dog wagged its head, and the grain seeds fell onto the earth; thus different kinds of foodstuffs were produced. Among them there was a young melon plant, which produced a huge melon. One day, cries were heard inside the melon. Both the brother and the sister were scared and kowtowed toward heaven to ask for help. Suddenly, a knife fell down from heaven. The brother and sister cut open the melon with the knife, and looked in. From the melon, out jumped five men, of whom three were white, one black, and one with wings. The three whites turned into Lisu, the black one, into Nashi (the Moso of Li-chiang area), and the one who had wings, being scared at the moment when the melon was cut open, flew all the way up to a ledge, and turned into a ghost. That is how ghosts in the human world had their origin.

Later, a god was sent down from Heaven to teach them reading. The three whites wrote down all the words they had learned on a piece of skin which was given by Heaven. The black one had them written down on a rock. While the god returned to Heaven to report, they wandered apart. The three whites walked together while the black one went to another place. On the way, the three whites became

hungry, but could not find anything to eat. In desperation, they ate the skin which had the words on it. As a result, they could only speak but could not write. The black one, who had written down the words he learned on a rock, was able to look them up on the rock whenever he forgot. 993 539

2. Wei-hsi-lo-kuo village, Mekong River (Wei-hsi hsien).

The period of the Vast Wilderness was divided into three stages. The first stage was named Chu-fu-ya, during which the size of man was a little over five inches. The utensils they used were small. Thus, the size of a pot was that of an egg shell, the size of a bowl, the husk of rice. At that time, the men had little energy; so they could not engage in exploitation and creation. The second stage was named Miou-shu-miou-hsieng-ya. The size of man was a little over one foot. They had made some progress. But, unfortunately, calamities from Heaven prevailed, and there appeared in the sky seven suns and seven moons which, drying up everything with an intensive heat, set the entire earth in smoke and caused all the plants to wither. Then a drought followed, which had lasted for three days /sic/ before the people went up to the mountains to pray for rain. Rain descended from heaven, and it did not stop after three consecutive months. Thereupon, floods burst forth from hills and mountains, inundated the world, and thus wiped out mankind. /6/ The third stage was called Wa-e-hsei-mei-ya, which was named after the reign of one demon, Wa-e-hsei-mei. This demon was huge beyond measure, and all the cloth woven by the Lisu people for a period of three years was not enough to cut a pair of trousers for him. Seven pots of rice were not enough to fill his stomach. And the quiver carried by this demon could contain a big bear. Since the people were unable to supply him with food, which the demon had exacted from them, they could no longer stand his molestations and resorted to run, one after another, for the valleys. There, they mated with the monkeys and apes, and soon, they themselves became monkeys and apes, thus marking the extinction of mankind.

Later, a god descended from Heaven onto the earth. The name of the god was E-yi-pa, who brought with him a melon seed and planted it on a farm. It grew and grew, finally bloomed, and bore a melon, bigger than a bamboo basket, ten feet high and 20 feet in circumference. Men were often heard talking in the melon. The heavenly god waited until it grew ripe, and with a long knife, he first cut open the east end of the melon from which, unexpectedly,

713 two ghosts (Ni) jumped out. Then the south end was cut open, and
537 two wolves emerged. Afterwards, the west end was cut, and two snakes wriggled out. The heavenly god was greatly enraged at the birth of these three kinds of venomous creatures. He then unsheathed the knife and cut the melon, from the north to the south, into two halves. In the east half, there was a boy named A-heng-Pa, and in the west half, a girl, named A-heng-Ma. The two were able to speak and walk at their birth. No suckling was done prior to their eating solid food. The heavenly god adopted them as his son and daughter. As they grew up to wisdom and beauty, the regret was that at the time no other human beings existed to mate with them. The heavenly god had no alternative but to coax the two, brother and sister, into marrying each other in order to propagate the human species. The two refused and, mocking the heavenly god, they said: "We, born of the same bone and flesh, cannot contract a marriage that is incest." The heavenly god said: "This will be all right, for Heaven is going to employ you two for propagating the human species in the world. Do not oppose the will of Heaven. I have a grindstone: You, my son will take the upper portion; and you, my daughter, the lower portion. The two of you will each stand on the top of a mountain and throw down the portions of the grindstone so that they will roll into the torrent. If the upper and lower portions of the grindstone unite, then it denotes that you two may get married. If not, then you may do as you wish and you may not get married." The two agreed to the heavenly god's words, each throwing down the portions of the grindstone from atop two mountains. When the portions of the grindstone rolled into the bottom of the torrent, they tallied, as properly as could be, one upon the other. The heavenly god was greatly elated upon witnessing it, and married the two.

After their marriage, the two became unusually devoted to each other. Ten months later they gave birth to triplet sons. The oldest son was named Tcha-gk-Mu, and being wise and handsome, he was employed to rule the people and became an official. The second son, Tcha-li-bi-mu by name, possessed the wisdom to commune with spirits and being expert in divination, became a wizard. The third son, Hsia-ne-la-mu by name, was industrious in craftsmanship and became a technician. Consequently, the world was well ruled. Thence, the three men married the daughters of the common people, and thus there came into being, mankind in the world. (The sudden appearance of the daughters of the common people was not explained.)

3. Yen-wa village, Mekong River (Wei-hsi hsien).

In the distant ancient time, there once lived a wise carpenter, who was able to make puppets which looked not only the very image of real people but could also move about. At that time, the entire universe was a vast wilderness uninhabited by mankind except the carpenter, his wife and a daughter. The divine artisan reckoned that it was high time for mankind to multiply themselves on the boundless earth; if not, the earth would grow aged and the heaven, wild. One day, the divine artisan, while talking with his wife, said: "I am going to the hills to carve puppets. I will make them capable of moving about, speaking, drinking and eating, and even bearing children. They will be cast in my own image and so similar to me that you two, mother and daughter, would not be able to tell the difference. This will be my way to propagate the human species who shall, /in turn/ bear children and raise them." His wife said: "Do you really possess such divine art?" The artisan said: "I do possess the divine art in making wooden figures the very image of myself, and if you mother and daughter can identify me among them, then I will confess that I have lost." /7/ On the second day, the daughter went delivering food to her father who was somewhere in the hills. Observing there were thirteen men who resembled her father, she failed to differentiate her real father from the puppets. So the food she brought was distributed to the thirteen men. Upon her return she told her mother everything. The mother said: "You are young in years. That is why you could not recognize your father. Your father has a characteristic which I can tell."

On the following day, his wife went delivering rice. All the thirteen men came to get their food; and his wife nearly failed to identify her husband for the twelve wooden images and the divine artisan were completely alike in every sense and every way. His wife, being nimble-minded in moments of desperation, told the thirteen men to stand still and said to them: "The rice I have brought is for my husband to eat, not for you puppets." As she was saying this, she carefully watched the faces of the thirteen men, and observed that one of them had a few beads of perspiration on his nose. Knowing that he was her own husband, she stepped forward and said to him: "You might be able to deceive your daughter but you could not fool your old wife." Thus, the wooden figures retreated into the mountain forests, mated with apes and monkeys, and since have produced all the species of

mankind. The present Lisu people are also one of those species, whose fathers were puppets, and mothers, apes and monkeys. Hence the Lisu like woods and sleep on wood, which is also used for marking years. A small pine is to be planted upon the birth of a child. When the person dies, this tree is cut down and its cambium rings are examined to determine his life span. Wooden blocks are erected on graves in memory of the deceased.

III. Ch'iutzu (who call themselves Duru)

1. So-ch'ieh village, Tu-lung River (under the Administrative Bureau of Kung-shan).

(A)

In the distant ancient time, living creatures came into being as a result of the intercourse between the sun and the moon. But all the living creatures were stupid round-shaped masses that were chaotic and indistinguishable. Thereafter, a god of the snow mountains, by the name of Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u, turned snow into clean water to lave the various creatures, and did away with their appendages and tumors so that different species were produced. The first to appear was mankind, /consisting of/ a man and a woman. Then birds, beasts, insects and fishes made their appearance with respective sex distinctions. The man and woman mated between themselves and multiplied to become the mankind of today. The rest of the creatures also multiplied, and out of them evolved the various kinds of animals in the world today. After the marriage of man and woman, their progeny thrived, but there were no grains on earth for food. Therefore the husband, Mupongo, rode on sunbeams and ascended Heaven to steal grain seeds. Originally, he intended to sow the grain seeds only on the land where he lived, but unexpectedly, winds blew at his sowing hand and the seeds were scattered all over the world. That was why there are grains everywhere nowadays. Although they had grains, yet there was no fire. So prayers were offered to the heavenly gods to request the means to make fire. While praying, his hands were playing with some rattan, and unintentionally, he rubbed the rattan against the trunk of a tree. As the friction produced enough heat, sparks emerged. The means to make fire was thus learned. Later, Mupongo's children were sick. Riding a bee, he flew to Heaven to ask the heavenly god, Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u, for medicine. When he arrived at the gate of Heaven, he called out: "Open the door!" An answer came inside the door: "Where comes this earthly being who knocks at the door? Go away quickly!"

Mupongo begged and begged, and was finally let in. The god then gave him some medicine; but, in the meantime, the bee which carried him threw off its burden and flew away, leaving him to fall from Heaven. While falling, he came to a lake, and in his carelessness, the medicine fell from his bosom into the lake. Consequently, the water of the lake had the taste of wine. Mupongo returned with empty hands, and the couple blamed each other for their children's death. But afterwards, they bore more children. However, it was because of this that the Ch'iutzu have wines but no medicine; and for the same reason their population has never thrived. 773 539

/8/ (B)

After the marriage between brother and sister, the wife went up to Heaven to visit the heavenly god, Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u. The god told her: "I have bees and honey. I will give you some bees." He put the bees in a bamboo tube and told her to take it to her husband but not to look into it on her way /home/. As the woman descended to mid-air, she could not refrain from having a look at the bees. But as soon as she opened the lid on the tube, the bees all flew away. These are the wild bees to be found today on the hillside. The next day, the woman went up to Heaven again, and the god gave her another tube. She was told to keep it in a chest in her room when she reached home. But the woman, failing again to restrain herself, opened it to look in before she entered the house. So the bees flew away again, and were all over the eaves and trees near their house. That is why today bees are raised on eaves and trees. Some of the bees turned into mosquitoes which, like the bees, sting people; their sting, however, is itchy but not painful.

(C)

There was a time when no line was drawn between human beings and ghosts, and men were often eaten by ghosts. One day, some ghosts who failed to get food on a high mountain, came to the side of a river. There again, they found no food. As hunger intensified, the ghosts cried out for help. A human voice answered: "I can help you /but/ you must promise first that from now on you would never eat people /again/." The ghosts answered: "Fine, we will never eat people from now on." The voice then said: "Go, look into the river. There will be food in the river." In the meantime, the man

10 had picked a lot of bamboo leaves which he threw into the river, and
539 which turned into fish. The fish was actually food for the ghosts.

(D)

In the ancient time most people went hunting. One day, a man hunted in the hills and heard some one calling his name and saying: "Wait for me. We shall go together." But the hunter could only hear his voice and failed to locate the man. A moment later, the voice said again: "Wait for me. We shall go together." As before, he failed to see the man. The hunter was horrified, and stretching a bow in one hand while holding a knife in the other, he waited. The voice rose again several times and the hunter got angry. He bawled and railed at it. The voice then said: "You rail at me and bawl at me. I shall not go with you anymore." Since then, men and ghosts each take a different path. Ghosts like to exercise evil influences; hence there are diseases and calamities among people.

2. K'ung-ting village

(A)

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge rose as high as heaven, and mankind was destroyed. But on the mountain of the god Kawakapu, there lived two persons, a man and his sister. The name of the brother was Pang, and that of the sister, Nang. Fearing the possible extinction of human species, they married each other and bore nine sons and nine daughters. The sons and daughters also married each other. The first couple had no names; but after they were married, they became the ancestors of the Tibetans. Of the second couple, the man was named Ging and the woman, Nien; they married each other and became the ancestors of the Ch'iutzu. At that time, these four persons had an archery contest. A piece of iron was the target. It was agreed that whoever hit the target could levy taxes on those who missed. The first couple hit the target and the second couple missed. That is why the Ch'iutzu have to pay taxes to the Tibetans. Of the third couple, the man was named Gong and the woman, Küen; after their marriage, they went to live by the side of the Titzu river, where rattan was produced. They became skilled in braiding baskets with rattan; thus they supplied the Ch'iutzu with rattan baskets. Of the fourth couple, the man was named Tchien, and the woman, Nüen; after getting

married, they moved to live in Man Nuen (to the west of Katha in Burma), and became the ancestors of the natives there. No records are available concerning the rest of the nine couples of whom, however, one couple was the ancestors of the Chinese. 773 939

(B)

/9/ The heavenly god Mubai had married his daughter to a fellow named Gungeng. One day, the heavenly god took various kinds of grains from his house to that of the Gungengs. On the way, he suddenly became stingy and hid away the grain, leaving only some mixed cereals for his son-in-law. His daughter discovered the grain seeds he had brought; she stole them and placed them beside some ginger. Thus, the grains are found in the human world; but since they have been placed together with ginger, the grains also grow twin ears like the ginger which has double-fork sprouts. All the edible plants in the human world were transmitted by the heavenly god Mubai.

On another day the heavenly god gave his daughter some fish spawns, which were placed in a bamboo basket. The daughter went by a river, and through her negligence, the basket fell into the water. Thus, fishes live in water instead of on land.

(C)

Gungeng's children got sick, and his woman went up to Heaven. The heavenly god gave her some medicine and a bamboo tube, and told her not to look into it before she reached home. The woman had gone half the way, when she came by a lake. Through her negligence, the medicine fell into the lake and the water turned into wine. Furthermore, she failed to restrain herself and opened the bamboo tube which was filled with bees. The bees crowded out, all at once, and flew eastward. That is why today there are bees on the cliffs along the Salween and the Mekong rivers. The woman covered the tube hurriedly with a lid and a few bees were left there. She took the bees home with her and raised them, and they became domestic bees. The Gunggeng couple who were originally kid brother and sister, became the ancestors of mankind after their marriage. (The Gungeng couple are Pang and Nang in story A.)

(D)

In the distant ancient time, human beings and ghosts were able

713 to see each other face to face, and they often hunted together. By
539 and by, the men became busy /in other things /; so the ghosts were sent to watch the traps. As numerous boars, rats and monkeys fell into the traps, the ghosts, without reporting to the men, ate them all by themselves. When questioned by the men, they answered that none was caught. Afterwards, a dog which belonged to one of the families, mistakenly walked into the trap, and was also eaten by the ghosts. The owner, searching for the dog, asked the ghosts if they had seen it. The ghosts said they did not. But it was reasoned that a dog would not wander away like this. The hunters then learned that all the trapped beasts were eaten up by the ghosts. They bawled and railed at the ghosts who, being annoyed, hid up their trails and started to cast evil influences on the men. From then on, men and ghosts lived in their separate worlds, and men had many diseases.

3. Sin-jui village.

In the past when the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, all mankind was obliterated except two persons, a boy and his sister who lived together in a house. As they grew up, they inadvertently mated with each other. Afterwards, they felt it was rather unceremonious; so they placed by a river a bamboo tube and filled it with water. The two had intercourse by the water-filled tube, and prayed to Heaven: "If the bamboo tube does not topple over and the water is not spilled while we two are mating, then it denotes that the Old Heaven permits our getting married and bearing children. If the water-filled tube topples over and the water spills out, then it denotes forbiddance." This lasted for three days and nights, and the water-filled tube was not toppled over. They continued to live together and bear children. There were altogether nine pairs of children, of whom one-half were boys and the other half girls. They lived separately in nine places and became nine clans.

4. Pu-k'ao-wang village

/10/ In the past when the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, and all mankind was obliterated, only two persons survived. They were a kid brother and his sister, who had slept in separate beds. As they woke up, the two found themselves lying in one bed. Feeling that it was unceremonious, a water-filled bamboo tube was

placed between the two; but it was moved away when they woke up again. Then, the two prayed to Heaven: "If it is the will of God that we two should be man and wife, then when the water is splashed on the ground it would turn into nine rivers." When they finished praying, the water was splashed, and it actually turned into nine rivers. Thus, they were married and bore nine sons and nine daughters who, mating among themselves, became nine married couples. Each of the couples occupied a river and lived there, thus multiplying into nine species. The Tu-lung is one of the nine rivers and the Ch'iutzu one of the nine species.

IV. Aka

1. Chiu-fang, Lang-t'sang hsien

Once there lived two brothers who had to support their father, who was too old to do any work. Being extremely poor, the two had arrived at a decision one day to take their father out for sale. Approaching the place, they observed a little bird perching on the top of a bamboo, and the father said: "When the bamboo shoots grow, they do not forsake the old stem; nor do the young birds desert their old. How could you have the heart to desert me?" After hearing the words of their father, the two showed remorse and took their father home. However, the situation at home grew worse, and the two wanted to leave home for some other place in order to make a living. So they took out some rice and meat, and said to their father: "We two are going away; the rice and meat are kept for you to eat." Thus they left. Later, the father was swallowed by some water monster when he went to bathe in a pond.

One day, the two brothers returned home. They found some manure left on the ground by their father, but failed to see his person. They carried the manure out and came to a village house. They told the landlord: "We are leaving this in your place. It is medicine, and do not let your dog eat it. Otherwise, you will have to repay us." Consequently, the landlord strapped his dog to a post. He did not expect that the two brothers would free the dog while he was not watching. So the manure was eaten by the dog. The two then reasoned with the landlord and asked for compensation. The landlord had no alternative but to repay them with gold and silver, which the two refused. When iron was offered, they accepted.

The two went to work on the iron by the pond. In the meanwhile,

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the eyes of the water monster were hurt as the water was polluted with iron. So a crab was sent to negotiate with the two and to ask them not to use the water. The two paid no heed, and furthermore, they snatched the crab with a pair of tongs. The crab was pained and jumped into the water. The water monster then sent a fish. The two said: "If your old man (meaning the water monster) has eye trouble, he better come to speak for himself." Thereupon, the water monster came out. (The water monster was actually a dragon.) At that time, the two snatched the dragon with the pair of tongs and wounded it slightly. The dragon then promised to give the two brothers some fish to eat. The older brother wanted to have them fried, but the younger brother wanted to have them boiled. They disagreed and walked apart, each going a different direction.

The older brother went up a river, and saw on one of the banks a tree, on which there was a mother monkey, holding two baby monkeys in her arms. He said to the mother monkey: "I love your sons very much. Would you give them to me?" The mother monkey, not knowing that it was one of his tricks, let the baby monkeys down to the ground. He instantly stamped them to death with his feet and took the mother monkey as his wife. His younger brother went toward another direction. He came to a village, but found no sign of inhabitants there. /As it happened,/ they had been eaten up by the ghosts. Then he found two maidens prostrating underneath a hog trough, but knew not whether they were human beings or ghosts. He pricked their ears with a needle, and they bled. He thus learned they were human. He asked them why there was no one in the village. They answered: "All were eaten by the ghosts but us two. We had hidden ourselves underneath the hog trough and were spared." He asked: "What kind of ghosts are those that exercise this evil influence?" The maidens said: "We cannot dry white cloths in the sun for then the ghosts would appear. Neither can we pound rice. The sound would also cause the ghosts to appear." He did not believe it and told the maidens to get some white cloths to sun them. /11/ To be sure, ghosts came flying in the shape of eagles. He hurriedly killed them with some instruments. When rice was pounded, long-haired monsters appeared. He chopped them all into two sections, but they were reunited and fled. By this time, the ghosts who were either killed or fled, could no longer play their devilish tricks. So the two sisters promised to marry him. The older sister had previously received from their mother a wooden pestle with one end round and the other pointed.

One touch with the pointed end would resurrect a dead man whereas one touch with the round end meant death. The pointed end was used on the villagers who all came back to life. Stems of the willow tree were cut into the shapes of knife and fork and planted at the entrance to the village. Thus, the ghosts could no longer enter the village to cast their devilish influence. This is how the wooden knives and forks at the entrance of an Aka village had their origin. 773 539

The younger brother took the two maidens with him and started for home. On the way, a mother monkey was seen washing his older brother's wrapping towel. He was surprised and questioned it. The mother monkey said: "It is your brother's personal belonging. What has it to do with you?" The younger brother broke into a great rage, killed the mother monkey and ate it. Upon his return, he told it to his older brother. The older brother said: "True, it was my woman." Hearing that it was killed by his kid brother, he sank into a profound sorrow. Moreover, he feared revenge by the numerous relatives of the mother monkey. He then asked his kid brother for a woman for compensation among the two maidens. The younger brother consented, but he privately smeared black charcoal on the face of the beautiful one, while he cleaned and dressed up the ugly one. The older brother was deceived and married the woman who was carefully dressed up. Before long, the relatives of the mother monkey came; they bawled and railed. The younger brother came up with a plot. He had the rocks burned red hot and then asked the monkeys to sit down on them. Consequently, the buttocks of the monkeys were all heated to redness. This was the origin of monkeys with red buttocks.

2. Pan-chung.

Once there were two brothers who, while taking a walk, encountered suddenly a strong wind. The two said: "Whence comes this strong wind? We better find out its origin." Consequently, they walked toward the direction where the wind came. As they approached a ledge, they found it was large and had a huge cave from which came the wind. The two brothers, facing the wind, entered, and found it was dark at first. As they went further it brightened all of a sudden. The two lost their footing and fell to the roof of a house, which happened to be their aunt's. The aunt, who had been missing for quite a long while, was kidnapped by some monster. When she saw them she asked: "Why have you come here?" They answered:

113 To hunt wild boar." The aunt said: "Please, don't ever say such a
537 thing. This monster is very ferocious. You might as well come and see your second uncle."

Before long, they observed the limping approach of a great cock. Their aunt said: "This is your second uncle." The cock seemed pleased to see the two, but said: "Since my nephews are here, you must do something for me to show your talents." So the two were sent to sow grains on a farm and were told to cover in a day ten mou of land. The two, figuring that it was really impossible to finish sowing on such a large tract of land, became worried and frightened. The aunt told them privately: "It will be all right. I will order some little demons to help you. But you better have a good sleep outside the wooden fence." When the two woke up, they observed that the grains had already been sowed. Then they were ordered to cut down bamboo groves, and with the assistance of their aunt, they were able to chop down an entire hill of bamboos. These were carried back to their aunt's house, and with them a number of pigeon cages were plaited. Their second uncle, who was out looking for some people to eat as he had done daily, returned in the evening and was very much pleased with it. He then asked for their wishes. The answer was that they had been away from home too long and would like to get out of the cave and go home. The cock, thereupon, presented them each with nine dumplings of glutinous rice. As the cave was below in the ledge, it required a lot of climbing to get out. With the rice dumplings they could induce the birds and beasts to help them to get out of the cave. Thus, the two bade farewell to their aunt and set out.

At first it was rather difficult; but as they had climbed up a layer, they encountered a turtle dove to which they offered a rice dumpling for its help. But the turtle dove, holding the rice dumpling in its beak, left them without further ado. Fortunately, a shrew-mouse came and leading the two by their clothings, helped them up. The two were grateful and gave the shrew-mouse as gifts a rice dumpling and a flute which they had carried with them. /12/ In the meanwhile the turtle dove had seen this from a distance and flew back to ask for the flute. The two said: "If you fly away after getting the flute, what then?" The turtle dove said: "You may hold on to my tail so I cannot run away." Therefore, the two held on to its tail before they gave it the flute. As the turtle dove got the flute, it tried again, despite the promise, to fly away. But the two held fast onto its tail and thus made the gradual ascent. As they were approaching the mouth of the cave,

they could see the sky and the land; but the tail of the turtle dove gave away at their violent pull, thus leaving the turtle dove free to fly away. By this time, they had reached the mouth of the cave and were able to crawl out. Consequently, today the cooing of the turtle dove is like that of a flute; but it has no tail. The shrew-mouse likes to eat rice but cannot cry. All the creatures in the world were produced from this cave, and so were the winds.

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THE BASIC SPIRITUAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE RELIGION OF THE CHIANG.*

T. TORRANCE.

174 In my research work among the Chiang tribesmen in the N. W. of Szechwan I early came to the conclusions; (1) that they came originally from somewhere in Asia Minor, and (2) that their Old-Testament pattern of religion represented an early patriarchal type, known to the Hebrews before their settlement in the holy land, and followed by them more or less after arrival there. To this opinion we still mainly adhere. Though much more has been learnt in recent years about their customs and ritual nothing has come to light to change this view in any radical sense.

[197] It is known that they speak a language allied to that of the Tibetans, Chiarong and Nosu. The presumption is that they are [144] of one stock. But, nevertheless, they have certain racial characteristics of their own. They are finer in physique and frequently show Semitic features of countenance which these races fail to do. Many of their customs, too, indicate a closer affinity to those of the Hebrews. Even if it be asserted that the Tibetans and Chiarong came also from the West—which we believe—yet, because of these facts, caution is needed before sweepingly including them in the same racial stock as these three races. The Chiang is a sort of a Jew among our West China peoples. You can scarcely hide him even when his blood has been mingled with a strain of Chinese. He has a way with him, an appearance and a religious outlook that marks him out from others around him.

We admit we have been criticised for doubting the classification. But the language test does not always hold. There are many races talking English to-day who cannot be called Anglo-Saxon. Did the Chiang always speak the language they do to-day? He would be bold who asserted they did without sufficient proof of the same. The suspicion is strong that they did not. To-day, as we hear more of their wonderful religion this suspicion may grow stronger than ever.

000 What then is the nature of the Chiang religion? It is simply that of the olden-time worship in the high-places. We know that this was followed by the nations of Canaan and after their day by

*Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1934.

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The wife of the chief of the Ch'iang at Lifan.

A Ch'iang woman carrying water.

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the Israelites themselves up to the time of the captivity. If opinion does differ somewhat as to the exact character it assumed, whether among the Canaanites or the Israelites, the fact remains that they both did worship the Deity or deities in such sanctuaries.

The Canaanites had their mountain groves or high-places with a stone pillar or pillars in each, a tree or sacred pole, an altar and carved images of their gods. This is borne out from the command of Moses to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 12; 3: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place." Then in Deuteronomy 16; 21 a further command is given: "thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image; which the Lord thy God hateth." The Israelites to begin with obeyed these commands, but worship in high places persisted. The prophet Samuel sacrificed there. The sanctuary at Gibeon, where Solomon once offered a thousand offerings, was called a high place. And the godly King Jehoshaphat, who turned not aside from what was right in the eyes of the Lord, yet did not hinder the people from burning incense in the high places. The Israelites, however, in times of religious relapse so restored the Canaanitish manner of worship that Ashera, the Hebrew term for grove, came to represent as well the images and pillars introduced therein.

778 The Chiang make no representation, carved or hewn, of Deity
171 but they publicly worship Him in a sacred grove high up on a mountain side or a mountain top. In the grove there is a sacrificial altar built of unhewn stones. Behind the altar grows a sacred tree which is an essential part of the sanctuary. Between the tree and the altar, or on the altar, stands a white stone of glistening purity, generally of quartz. Such a grove it will be noted is more elaborate in its contents than that recognised by the orthodox Israelites, yet has nothing of the corruption of that of the Canaanites. Essentially, this mode of worship, it will not be denied, suggests oneness of origin with both Canaanite and Hebrew, and brings down to us, does it not, a primitive form of Semitic worship in the dress of hoary antiquity? Doubtless the Canaanites did not originally have the corruptions that later characterised their groves and called forth the divine displeasure. Their cult, apparently, was a mixture of Semitic observance and Sumerian superstition.

776 The Chiang, more honourable than the Canaanites, have maintained their monotheism comparatively unsullied, and have given us an example of religious constancy to be found, apart from the Jews, in no other people.

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778 The use of a sacred White Stone is a leading feature of Chiang worship. It is set up both in the groves and on the roofs of their houses. In the grove it stands above the altar of sacrifice; on the roof it is placed ever the middle of the battlement above the back wall. The Deity is not supposed to reside therein and it is not, therefore, worshipped. The Stone is sacred, in the first place, because of its whiteness. Whiteness betokens goodness in contrast to blackness, which betokens evil. Its colour thus symbolises the holiness of God who hates evil and loves good. It is sacred, secondly, because it reminds men that he is the natural Rock or Mount of their strength. That God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, and that he is the Rock Source of all good and blessing, constitute the twin fundamental tenets of their belief.

778 The Stone requires to be conical or mount-like in shape and set up as found in its natural or unchissled state. Occasionally small white stones are placed around its base but these have no religious meaning. The significance of the Stone itself is the continual intimation it makes that God may only be approached by the way of holiness, and is only found when men respond to this demand of his character. As a monument on the house top it bears an unambiguous witness that those who dwell under it are a people who recognise the God of Heaven as their God, and are willing to serve him according to the immemorial customs of their fathers.

776 It will be seen from this that the religion of the Chiang is not one of stone-worship. To speak of it as such is to talk at random and gives a misleading impression. Some who want to believe that it is, because the affirmation sounds sensational, are the worst offenders. They prate about the White Stone worship but they have nothing to support the assertion except ignorant hear-say, or wilful misrepresentation. The Chiang are not animists. They know whom they worship and they do not worship him ignorantly. This requires to be said because already it has been stated far and wide that the Chiang worship the White Stone. A foreign journal once announced that the tribes people worshipped a white stone. The news was sensational; that was the effect desired. Truth, therefore, went by the board. Now, litholatry is a big word. It has a scientific or learned sound. The mere use of it is supposed to be ample proof that the Chiang are litholatrists, and the proving of this is necessary to be able to say they are animists—another big word. The Israelites had two sacred stones in their Holy of holies. Were they litholatrists? They lifted up their eyes unto the hills from whence came their help. Did they worship the hills? Did they not expressly state at the same time that their help came from Jehovah who made the Heaven and the earth? Let us be as just to the Chiang as we are to the Israelites.

It is useless to say that one was told by the Chinese that the Chiang worshipped the White Stone. The Chiang themselves deny

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A Ch'iang village.

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A road in the Ch'iang country.

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776 that they do. This should be enough. At the same time some of the ignorant among them may say that the White Stone is their "Pu-sa." Yet the same man tells you that he worships God and none other. In his mind there is no contradiction. The fault is yours if you fail to understand him. Certain words to him have a different meaning than to you. He speaks Chinese as a secondary [191] language. Then he is talking down to you. He is pitying your ignorance and with his imperfect Chinese gives a wrong impression to the listener who has not wit enough to understand this. For instance, a tribesman may call his photograph his "pu-sa." But he knows enough that it is only a likeness. Though he uses this name for it that would not justify any one saying he worshipped himself, i.e. his own likeness, and is therefore, to be scientifically classed as an animist.

000 Sacred stones in primitive times were very comman. They were used in many different places in many different ways. In some instances they appear to have been worshipped. Few doubt that the Canaanites did. But no *true* Israelites did. The interest to us of the Chiang use of the White Stone is in the reflex light it throws on the use of memorial and covenant stones by the Hebrews. Jacob set up the stone that served as his pillow to mark the site where Jehovah appeared to him in promise and blessing. There he made his vow and from there he started on his journey with the assurance that the all-seeing eye of a gracious Providence watched over him for good. The stone was a mark, a memorial and a sign of his vow. For to him Heaven had opened in that place, and it was given him to see there a ladder of intercourse between earth and Heaven, very dreadful but very reassuring. We shall yet see that the Chiang hold almost identical views regarding their Stone which brings into fine relief those of the patriarchs.

776 Jacob in his dying blessing to Joseph spoke of the Mighty
191 One of Jacob who caused his bow to abide in strength and made his arms strong when he was grieved and shot at by his persecutors. The God of his father "from whence came the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, should help him and bless him with the blessing of Heaven above and of the deep that croucheth beneath." Obviously in Jacob's mind the Shepherd of Israel and Stone at Israel were one. In his own case he speaks of this Shepherd and Stone as the Angel who redeemed him from all evil. It was he who spoke to him in Paran; He, who as a man, wrestled with him at the Jabbok and by whom he uttered his parting blessings on his sons. The Chiang do not explicitely speak of their Stone as Shepherd or Angel but they do speak of an Angel or God-sent man who acts for them in their approach to God at the altar where the Stone stands. The Chiang and Hebrew concepts are so closely allied that they may be called alike in everything but the terminology.

191 It was on, Sinai, the Mount of cloud and fire that Jehovah
778 revealed himself to the Israelites and made known his Voice to

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them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed he people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is especially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

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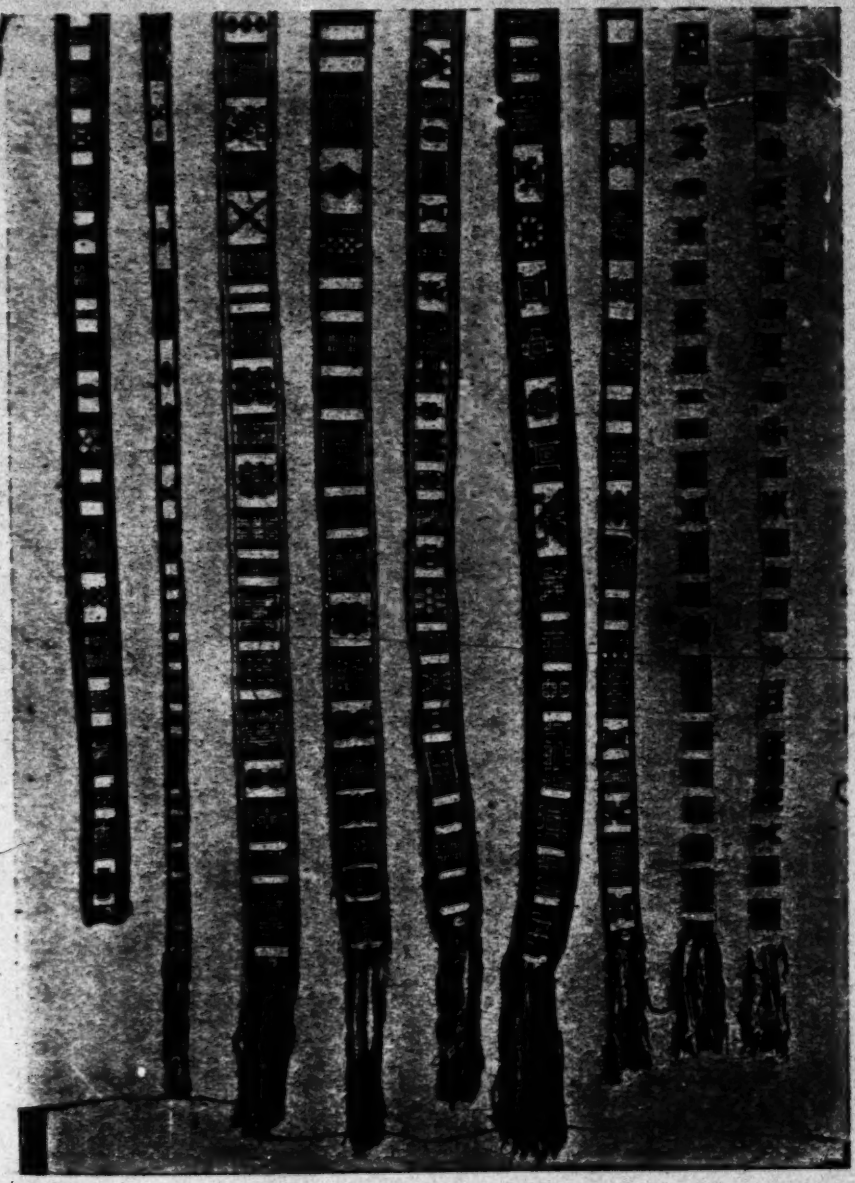

Ch'iang belts. Obverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship.
191 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man*. Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship
782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee". or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

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776 makes the Christian reflect again how Christ's teaching of God as the Heavenly Father is the beauty and the strength of Christianity. The Chiang idea of God makes a wonderful forerunner to that greater one, which Christ gave to men.

God, in his nature, is thought of as spotless in holiness or purity, and in his character as the righteous governor of the universe. He searcheth the hearts of men. He finds out if they are white or black, i.e. good or evil. To the repentant suppliant he extendeth sacrificial mercy; to the evil doer retribution according to his iniquity.

The White Stone and the altar provide tangible evidence of these conceptions. Since God is holy, the sinner may not approach
783 him before he is ceremoniously cleansed. A sin-bearer is, therefore, necessary to remove his sin. On it falls the divine judgement. A spotless bullock, or lamb or fowl is the victim. When its blood has been shed the way is open for prayer and supplication.

The origin of this crucial ceremony no Chiang can give. It has been observed, all say, from time immemorial. They regard it as an all-important divine requirement. Aged priests, deep in the religious lore of their race, which is handed down from generation to generation, unanimously maintain this. The whole purpose of sacrifice, they say, is the removal of sin to secure the divine blessing. Its substitutionary character is never questioned but strenuously maintained. Without the shedding of blood there can be no remission of sin, and apart from that even the priests dare not presume to pray.

It is useless for any one to try to discount this belief of theirs. Some who, from prejudice, would fain read out of it this substitutionary meaning charge us with reading into it preconceived ideas of sacrifice taken from the Old Testament. But love of the truth must state exactly what the facts are. And it is not fiction but fact that the Chiang do thus interpret the meaning of their sacrifices. God, they believe, meets them at the altar, and no where else, because there sin is cleansed away.

That salvation by substitution happens to be an Old Testament and a New Testament doctrine only enhances the interest of the Christian in the Chiang ritual. Yet the interest or the wonder does not end here. There is something more wonderful still, so
776 wonderful, that at first, one can hardly believe his ears when he is
783 told of it. They solemnly assert that their sacrifices are only provisional: they are but the semblances of a supreme sacrifice yet to come. How can the critic account for this? Let who will question the asseveration, the proof again is overwhelming.

A divine agent is to come from Heaven to be The Great Sin-Bearer. When he appears the reality of their sacrifices will be accomplished. This future Sin-Bearer even now comes as an unseen Presence to the Grove to put through their petitions for

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Ch'iang Belts. Reverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove and as The Agent who medi[illegible]es between them and God.

At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the s[illegible]ifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang, as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

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down to coincidence, of course, but its designation can hardly be that. It is known as Abba Malah. Abba means Father: here, the Father in Heaven. Malah is not known other than as a name. They do not seem to be able to define or explain the term, But the pronunciation is very precise. The "lah" is spoken with a definite click, so much so that it is virtually Malak, the Hebrew word for Angel. Have we not in this another strong indication of the Semitic origin of the Chiang religious beliefs?

In connection with this Sacred Roll and angel-Sin-Bearer or Redeemer the student of scripture inevitably recalls the many instances in the Old Testament of the mysterious angel-visitant appearing as God in human form to patriarchs, prophets and saints in times of stress and difficulty. By Isaiah he is called "the Angel of His Presence who saved them ":" in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them, and carried them all they days of old. (Isaiah,. 62; 9). In Malachi, 3; 1, "He is called the Lord whom ye seek, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."

This delight of the Israelites for their Malak or Messenger of the covenant has a remarkable parallel in the fondness of the Chiang for their Abba Malah or Je-Dsu. They speak of Him in the possessive sense. The prefix of "ga-gee" goes with His name: "Ga-gee Je-Dsu" they say. The sentiment is that of the Christian hymn, "My Jesus I love thee, I know thou art mine."

Among Chiang Christians when the hymn "Jesus loves me" is sung the use of their own name "Je-Dsu" in place of the Chinese "Ye-Su" adds great zest to the singing. Every face then shines —every face is, as it were, a glistening white Stone.

At festival times the sacred roll is carried by the priest to the grove on a platter, where its base is embedded or planted in seed wheat. The emphasis is on the seed. The interpretation is not far to find when taken with the use to which this seed wheat is put. It is that death forms the prelude to life, a belief which the Chiang firmly hold. This will become plain as we proceed.

In some places the seed-wheat is carried separately to the grove, but at the grove the sacred roll is placed in it.

Where strict orthodoxy prevails there are three religious festivals in the year. The first occurs at their old New Year time, which falls on the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese calendar. The second comes in the Summer and the third in the Autumn. But the dates vary according to the locality and even may be changed a little, as exigencies of weather and social conditions indicate.

In numerous places now only one religious festival is held in the year; in other places two. Uniformity has lapsed. Even in exact ritual procedure it is not found. One district has preserved customs and conceptions that another has let go or forgotten.

For private sacrifices there is naturally no set time. These

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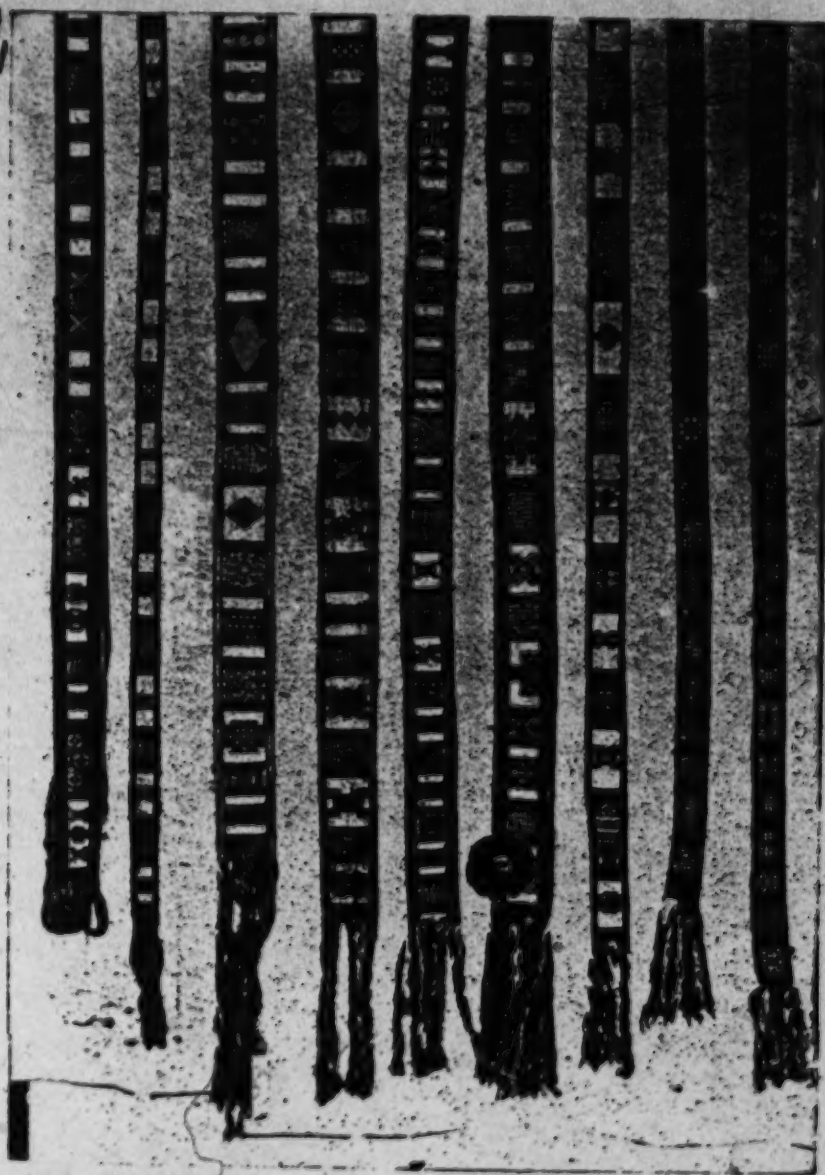

Ch'iang belts. Reverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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783 arise with the need or the occasion or the mood of the person offering. But in public or private worship there are extraordinary times when both are conducted on an extended or greater scale.

Public worship takes place in the sacred grove, and each village or set of villages has one of its own. Private worship begins on the house top with sacrifice and is continued in the home below.

783 783 In all worship a priest invariably officiates. He is essential to its proper conduct. An ordinary individual dare not take the honour on himself of presenting the blood of sacrifice: that is the prerogative of the priest set apart for the purpose. He it is who superintends the whole ritual, checking error, enforcing decorum, explaining its necessity and significance, and leading in the prayers made after the sacrifice.

The office is generally handed down from father to son. One generation initiates another. When the pupil is proficient in the knowledge of the nature and significance of the various rites he will be called on to perform, he undergoes a careful ordination. But he must be able to get married, and the marriage ceremony may be the closing act in the ordination. Single men cannot act as priests, lest taint or auspicion should rest on any one performing this holy office.

The ordination takes place in the grove. For the ceremony all the priests in the neighbourhood assemble. In company with any laity who desire to attend they form a procession that starts up the hillside as dusk draws on. Along the route fowls are sacrificed one after another to ensure a continuous dripping of blood from the start to the finish. Immediately the blood ceases to drip from one fowl it is thrown aside and another killed to maintain the cleansing of the path of the novitiates. It is a strange performance doubtless, only it sets forth in no uncertain way the emphasis that is laid on blood, and hence calculated to make men think of its necessary meaning even while it serves as a shock or challenge to man's aesthetic sense. Which same thing also the Jewish ritual continually did.

On the mountain the probationer bathes in a stream to rid himself of all bodily defilement and dresses himself in cleansed garments. A lamb on the altar is sacrificed in the usual way. The blood is sprinkled on the White Stone, the Sacred Tree, The Altar and all around. Oil or fat is put on the new priests head and the night-long chantings, prayers and drum beatings varied by intervals of rest proceed.

Next day each new priest has a lamb sacrificed on his housetop in front of the White Stone and Sacred Branch. At the conclusion of the accompanying prayers he may don the priestly garments and wear the priest's hat. He is now officially recognised as competent to undertake all sacerdotal duties connected with his office, whether in public or in private offerings.

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783 As a priest there is one thing he must not do: he must not change the intention of the sacrifice. Sacrifice may only be made for the one express and divinely ordained purpose of the remission of sin. It can not be turned aside to any other or made to any one but God. His duty is to maintain and enforce this original end, or otherwise he renders himself liable to the penalty of death.

We confess that the first time a priest voluntarily gave us this information we were surprised to the point of wonder, yea, and of admiration. For it revealed to us the intensity of their great central belief that their sacrifices of propitiation were not man-invented but God-born.

Everywhere the same insistence is made on the due order. Their chantings and prayers include an avowal of faithfulness in this respect. God is invoked to remember that the blood of the sacrifice is presented by his set command as made known to their fathers. Simultaneously the ancient priests are cited as witnesses that they have been stedfast to the rule of faith handed down by them.

Once at a High-place sacrifice, friction which arose among the worshippers led to certain irregularities and lack of reverence in the making of the offering, That same year, men noticed that death claimed the majority of the wanton offenders. This may have been a coincidence, of course, but the reason believed was because they sinned with a high hand.

But the surprise created by the staunchness of the Chiang to the faith of their fathers leads to a distinct shock when it is seen that the priests have allowed strange accretions and realistic amplifications to creep into parts of their ritual and profession which degrade its pristine purity. For instance the skull in the sacred roll obviously is an innovation to give it a dramatic presentation. [793] The horned skin cap of the priest is declared to have replaced by a plain shaped felt one with a circular brim. And a number of priests, not all, have copied some of the customs of the Chinese 000 exorcist. Worst of all, spiritism, in some parts with its customary admixture of real phenomenae and base trickery, has crept in. The investigator, even while he laments these excesses, has to take note of them. All is not pure gold that glitters. There may an alloy in it or it may be a base metal of the same colour. One has to distinguish and care is needed at every turn. Patience and caution are often necessary to disentangle the real from the simulation and what constitutes the old true-Chiang religion from its present day admixture of spurious elements.

177 It has to be remembered that during the reign of the Emperor Chien Long, A. D. 1736-1796 the Chiang suffered complete loss of political liberty. Then idolatry was forced on them at the point of the sword. Temples, never before seen on their mountain sides and plateaus, were wantonly built all through their territory. Since then a slow decadence has been noted in their worship. The

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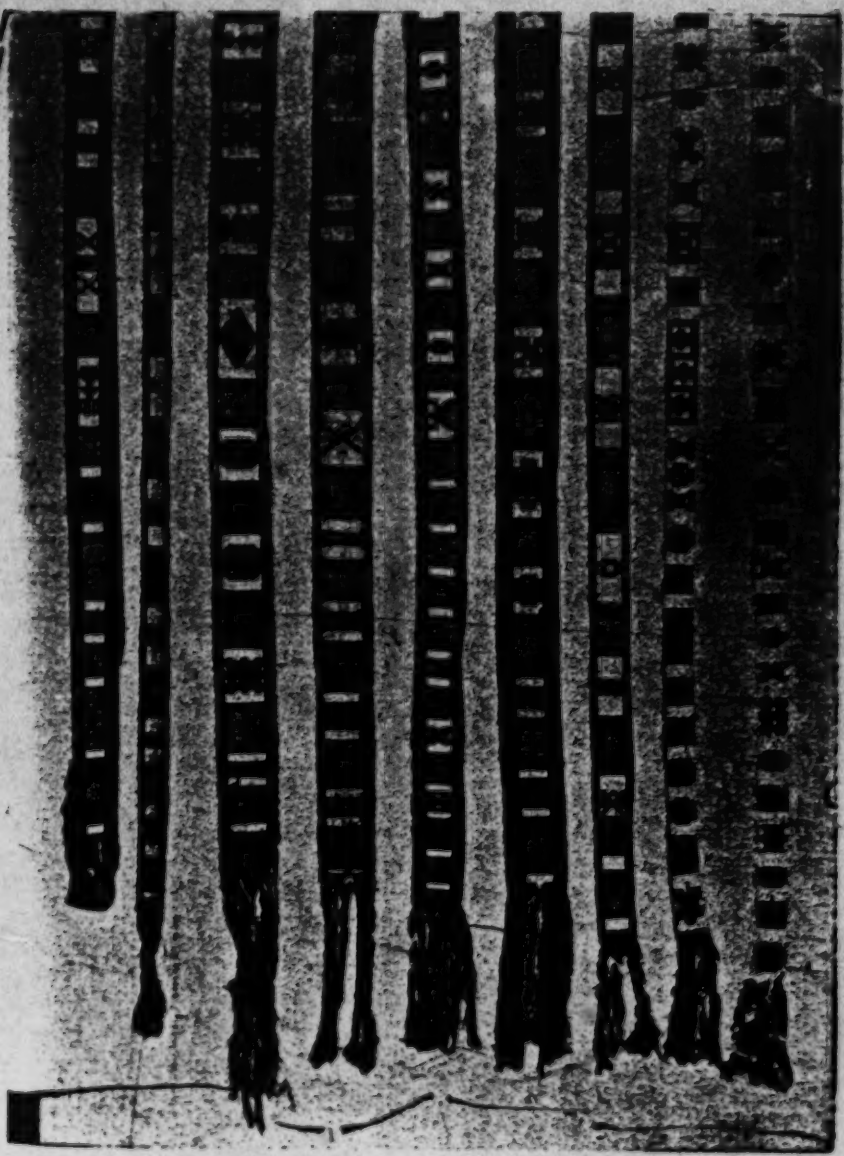

Ch'iang Woven Belts, reverse.
From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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177 old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

796 With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the 793 young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possess- 781 ion for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead [775] back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

793 In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a 755 bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

000 Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

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casual visitors or curious spying. None are supposed to approach the holy place except sharers in the sacrificial offering.

The procession towards the grove begins about nine or ten o'clock at night. The white clad participants carry torches or lanterns. One carries the sacred roll reverently on a basin or platter of wheat seed. This, at least, is the custom in some parts. In others the wheat seed is taken separately in the priest's pouch to the grove and then poured around the sacred roll on the basin or platter. A halt is made before arrival to re-sanctify the lamb. Water is now, curiously, poured into or over its ears, over its back and legs as a sort of baptismal ceremony. Note is taken whether the animal, under the douching, shakes itself or not. If it does, that is taken as a sign of its fitness; if not, it is unhesitatingly rejected. Naturally a healthy lamb does shake itself and the ritual goes on. A third cleansing or sanctification of the lamb is gone through on its arrival at the grove.

The rule in every observance is, "holiness unto Abba Chee." Worshippers, vessels, utensils must be cleansed. The lamb requires to be perfect. God is a God of purity. Nothing evil or unclean can come before him. Heaven is a pure-land. They who seek life there and the divine blessing here cannot obtain such apart from sacrificial purification. These repeated cleansings leading up to it all signify this ultimate purpose in the Chiang worship.

A white banner with a miniature bow and arrow on it is raised on the altar. The white roll is placed directly before the White Stone. A large cake of unleavened bread and a jar of wine are placed beside it. The priest takes his station. A fire is lit in the centre of the open space. These preliminaries over, the ritual begins.

Its opening is announced by the discharge of a small three chambered gun, used only for this purpose. The gun originally was of brass. The writer has part of an ancient one in his possession. Now they are made of iron.

The worshippers now kneel together as the priest begins his chants and prayers. He keeps time with a small drum. Je-Dsu, the angel overseer of all that is done, looks down to see that the hearts of those present are sincere. If not, the reputed punishment is liability to transfixion by a "brazen" arrow from heaven. A special awe, therefore, rests on every worshipper.

At the conclusion of the initatory chants a remarkable ceremony takes place. The priest or "Be-bo" burns incense of cypress twigs and enshrouds the White Stone in a cloud of fiery smoke. The background established, he, removes the rope from the lamb. The rope is wound around the vessel that to receive the blood. He and the elders now kneel and place their hands on the head of the victim. Afterwards all who have specially prepared themselves do the same.

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796 After this solemn act of the transference of their sin to the
783 lamb he recites an intercessory prayer. It begins with a triple ascription to God and goes on to invoke him to see and hear that they have assembled to offer sacrifice. He pleads that, "The offering of a lamb has been perpetuated from of old and the paying of vows from former generations. To offer sacrifice is not our invention, it was established in ancient times. This altar of the Most High opens the gate of heaven and the way of sacrifice. It leads men to pay their vows. The leader of the lamb has brought it thither. One hundred and ninety-two pairs of white banners show forth the purity of the altar, and signify that God is pleased to accept the offering. "O ye our ancient priests witness that our offering is very pure, and that it is not our own instituting, but has been from of old. In paying our vows we have eaten nothing offensive for three days, nor gone to any unclean place. We have come to the sacred grove; we have placed in position the vessel for the blood; we have led the lamb thither; we have untied the rope and bound it around the basin; the arrow of the bow we now unloose; we slay the lamb on this floor; O God of heaven come down, come down as we offer it to thee. Thou Yather of Spirit come to our grove. If our garments were not clean we would not dare to wear them; if our shoes were not clean we would not dare to put them on; if our hats were not clean we would not dare to use them; if our backs were not clean we would not dare to bear the drum; if our hearts were not sincere we would not dare to pay these vows or pray these prayers. The grass is in the blood basin; the bread and wine we have brought to our God; Oh, regard the slayer of the lamb and the priest as without sin and undo the sin of all present. We sprinkle the blood to atone for our iniquities; O God accept our sacrifice."

The arrow is now removed from the bow on the White Banner and the lamb slain.

The original practice was to kill the lamb by a brazen arrow, this being the symbol of judgment. But now a knife, the property of the priest, is used. On the handle glitters a white stone or a white bone ornament. The priest hands the knife to the leader of the lamb. The lamb's head is drawn against some one's knee. Another grasps its legs firmly. One thrust of the knife is made and the blood flows into a basin. With a wisp of grass it is sprinkled on the altar with its bread and wine and through the cloud on the White Stone and White Banner and on all sides.

The White Banner with its arrow spent is immediately removed and inserted beside the White Stone because the White Stone is the emblem of the divine holiness.

The action denotes that this is an offering in righteousness. That which their Abba Chee desires is presented before Him. Their plea for mercy is the spent arrow. For in its discharge sin was judged. Since punishment has been meted out to sin, as evidenced

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by the blood they sprinkle before him, they now ask for the remission of iniquity and transgression, which the goodness of God directed them to seek.

A paring from the hoof, the ears and the genital parts of the victim are burned on the altar, apparently as an act of consecration. The undivided horns are presented, but afterwards taken home. An ear is placed on the point of a staff and set up. The head, heart, liver and kidneys, with the flesh of the animal are consumed by fire.

The priest at sacrifices, other than the New Year sacrifice, which is the greatest of all, receives the shoulder or foreleg and breast and skin. Then the worshippers divide up the flesh among themselves. No stranger may eat of it for it is holy. The intestines are cleansed, minced, cooked and eaten with unleavened bread. It is their sacrament. Each worshipper drinks a small cup of wine.

The procedure varies somewhat according to locality. There is no exact uniformity found in the details of procedure. Each district has something of its own in the way of observance. But in the main the order follows a general line which is the same everywhere. Nowhere is sacrifice spoken of as the propitiation of Heaven or of God by man. It is necessary to draw attention to this point. The Chiang know nothing of this heathen doctrine. According to their belief God does not require to be placated. They regard sacrifice as divine and celebrate it as such. The celebration they call "the paying of vows," for this represents their concern in it. For in paying their vows they pledge themselves to God's will and service, which is what God requires of man. He provides the sacrifice; they accept it by vowing to him their fidelity.

The remarkable thing is that bands of these men in the stillness and darkness of midnight meet to worship God in this way, and have done so for over two thousand years in West China. They believe they meet God here. He comes near to them in the person of their angel Je-Dsu. The light of the sacrificial fire, reflected in the glistening whiteness of their White Stone, symbolises His glory. It is their Shechinah. They cannot interpret this with the precision that we should wish, but they are under no two opinions that this sacrificial light represents to them the shining of the divine effulgence.

Here we Christians feel that we stand with them on holy ground and would willingly remove the shoes from our feet. Very solemn and awful is the floor on which they thus worship. Who dare call this litholatry? The man who would is utterly devoid of soul—a hopeless Canaanite in heart and mind.

St. John in his vision of things in Heaven was carried away in spirit to a great and high mountain, where he was shown the holy Jerusalem descending out of Heaven from God and having the glory of God. Her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. The city had no need of

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the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dsu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths. It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb. On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again when she passes into this land of purity and of brightness. Among

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a people whose religion is so much expressed in types and shadows the sentiment in this, as elsewhere, is very beautiful.

After the sacrifices, responsive singing, rejoicing and dancing are engaged in by all. The songs now sung are said to be very beautiful. For three days all work ceases. It is a period of festive joy before the Lord . . . a real Sabbath of rest and of gladness, pointing forward, of course, to its counterpart in the Heavens.

N. B.:—For further information regarding Chiang religion and customs see the author's pamphlet, "The History, Customs and Religion of the Chiang"; also article in the 1923 volume of the Journal of The North China Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society, "The Religion of The Chiang".

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THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES PEOPLE AS AFFECTED BY THEIR CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. THE CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LIFAN

131 Lifan ranks second in area among the 138 counties of Szechwan Province. It is situated at the northwest corner of Szechwan, with an indefinite boundary to the north in the wild expanse of grasslands. The Ta-chin River 大金川 (Big Gold River) acts as part of its western boundary, and also Sikang as its western neighbor. In the south, it is separated from Wenchwan 汶川 County by a continuous mountain range with its highest peak named Hsueh-lung-p'o 雪龍坡 or the Snow Dragon Mountain, because it is perpetually covered by snow. The Min River 岷江 serves as part of its eastern boundary, and a mountain range divides Lifan from Sungpan 松潘 in the northeast.

133 The county is divided into three natural regions according to the three large river systems: the Min in the east, the Ta-chin to the west and the Yellow River to the north. The three natural regions are really three drainage basins. They are the drainage basins of the Cha-ko 雜谷 and the Hei-shui 黑水 or Black Rivers as tributaries of the Min River in the southeast, the drainage basin of the So-mo 梭磨 River as tributary to the Ta-chin River in the west, and the drainage basin of the Mei River 梅江 as tributary to the Yellow River in the north.

The topography, on the whole, may be classified as a dissected plateau, and it is sloping from the west to the east. The altitude of Wei-chow 威州, the eastern entrance of Lifan, is 4,500 ft. and that of Ma-tang 馬塘, about 150 miles west of Weichow, is over 10,000 ft. But this highland is badly dissected by streams and has formed many deep valleys. In the drainage basins of the Cha-ko and Black Rivers, the valleys are narrow and deep, while those in the other two drainage areas are broad and shallow. For example, while the So-mo and other valleys in the grasslands are all open U-shaped, those in the southeast area are entrenched V-shaped valleys.

The result is that very little flat land is to be found in the lower altitudes of the southeast. In the grasslands the lands are comparatively level, but the [132] altitudes are high, and the temperature is low throughout the year. Even during the height of summer, the night temperatures are usually around 40°. 241 During the day the temperature might rise to 70° or more. Thus the growing 133 season is too short for the ordinary types of agricultural crops, and both the

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133 241 relief and the low temperatures limit the cultivation on any large scale. Most of the cultivated lands are located in the southeast, in the drainage area of the Cha-ku and the Black Rivers, on gentle slopes between an altitude of 5,000 to 9,000 ft.

133 241 433 Roughly speaking, over 50% of the total agricultural food stuffs produced in Lifan are produced along the Cha-Ku valley, between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao 茶谷脑, a distance of not more than 50 miles. And these crops are mostly grown on slopes rather than on alluvial plains at the valley bottoms. The total area of alluvial plains at the valley bottom between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao is smaller in area than the cultivated mountain slopes of even one mountain settlement, as for instance Chia-chan-chai 甲山寨. This shows the insignificance of alluvial lowlands and the importance of slope cultivation in the region. Besides the Cha-ku valley, the Black River valley which is the other tributary to the Min also has some fertile slope lands under cultivation. As all the valleys are separated by high mountains with steep slopes, the cultivated area on slopes is nowhere very extensive.

241 132 433 Besides the topographic limits of land utilization, climatic influences are also very great. Though the climate varies from valley to valley, yet it is controlled by definite climatic laws. In regions where the altitude is below 6,000 ft., the summer temperature can go up as high as 86° F (30° C) and the minimum temperature during the hottest month, August, could go down to 57° F (14° C). On the average, the temperatures for six months from the middle of October to the middle of April, are below the critical temperature for vegetation growth. That leaves a growing season of only about six months.

In the grasslands the annual average temperature is below 60° F. Even during the height of summer, the maximum temperature goes only as high as 74° or 75° during the day, and can go as far down as 33° F. The growing season is thus shortened to less than four months.

As far as moisture is concerned, the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft., being hidden between high mountain walls, are usually very dry, because little moisture can reach them. The average relative humidity for August last summer was below 50%. Between an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000, due to the orographic effect of air that is rising along the slopes, the average relative humidity for August last summer was below 60%, while the slopes above 7,000 ft. during the same period had an average relative humidity of about 80%. Thus during the severe drought in the summer, while the crops on the lower slopes were all withered and with no hope for any harvest, the oats, potatoes, and barley were flourishing on the upper slopes. The relative humidity is still higher as the altitude goes higher until it reaches the altitude of about 10,000 feet, when it begins to decrease again. Therefore, according to moisture distribution, the mountainous country is classified into four zones the arid zone, the semi-arid zone, the humid zone and the subhumid zone.

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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 141 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 141 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang 羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan 番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

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Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, their houses are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed: about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain [illegible], where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is one of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribes people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING.

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First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a woman's because both men and women have the same style, and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and rubies, because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her rank.

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301 She[1] carries all her worldly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her neck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are usually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Tsing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Chan-Pa 糌粑. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese.
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

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231/476 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574 342 222 224 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窝, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窝, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything, I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

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In the grasslands among the Fan people, out of their nomadic mood of living grows the hospitable custom of playing host. In the wilderness of the grasslands there are neither inns nor hotels. Travellers in these regions have to depend upon the mercy of the local population for shelter and food. If a traveller once stayed in one tent, next time when he visits the place again he must stay with the same host. If not the host will be greatly offended, and the traveller will get himself into a bad way. The host family looks at the stranger as a member of the family, and they are very generous with chang-pa and milk. They seem to have a feeling of responsibility toward strangers who get into their midst. They feel it is up to them to feed the strangers. What they have is very little, but they are ready to share with others what they have. 574

E. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

The general impression of the tribal communities is the importance of women, and some people even say that the borderland is a woman's world, because women seem to dominate in everything there. But when one comes to examine the situation more closely, he finds the situation is quite different. In these mountainous and grassland areas, the natural environment is hard on people, living conditions are difficult, and the population is scanty. The result is that there is very little difference between the rich and the poor, and people are more democratic in spirit. Women, too, have to do their share in getting themselves and their families food. They have to work hard for their living. Therefore, women are as important as men in supporting the family. And where the Lama faith predominates, most men spend days and years in prayer and meditation, and dreaming about the future, and it becomes the lot of the women to see about the dirty work and the problems of the present. Women have to cultivate the land, or to attend to the cattle, or to rule the people, while their sons, grandsons, and even husbands are turning their prayer wheels and reading their scriptures. I do not think that they have ever thought that they are giving the women the more important place in society, nor do the women have any idea that they are working with freedom or equality. It is simply a question of necessity, because no people can live on prayers and scriptures alone. Thus without fighting for emancipation or equality, women are the pillars of society. 562

Among the tribal people there are as many women rulers as men. For instance, in the Black River the wife of the tribal leader at Lu-hwa 蘆花 is the ruler at Cha-o 雜窩. The wife of the tribal leader at Ma-o 麻窩 is ruler at Lung-pa 龍壩. In some cases the women leaders are doing a much better job than the men. The people do not seem to mind whether the ruler is a woman or a man, as long as he or she does the job well.

Not only among the ruling families, but even among the rank and file, the women seem to be the brains in all affairs. When you go into a house it is to

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562 the women you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lifan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Long-hai 龍海 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this fair honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their loudness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural and free from the restrictions of etiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 796

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 796

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791 one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for
796 their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localities six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

631 I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the
624 variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssu. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chuan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two women rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

249 II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

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now under the direct control of the county government, one can see huge stretches of once cultivated slopes that are now lying waste. "Because," the farmers say, "from the day poppy cultivation was forbidden we could not afford to cultivate all these lands, because there are too many wild animals coming out from the mountains to destroy the crops. We can cultivate only as much as we can protect."

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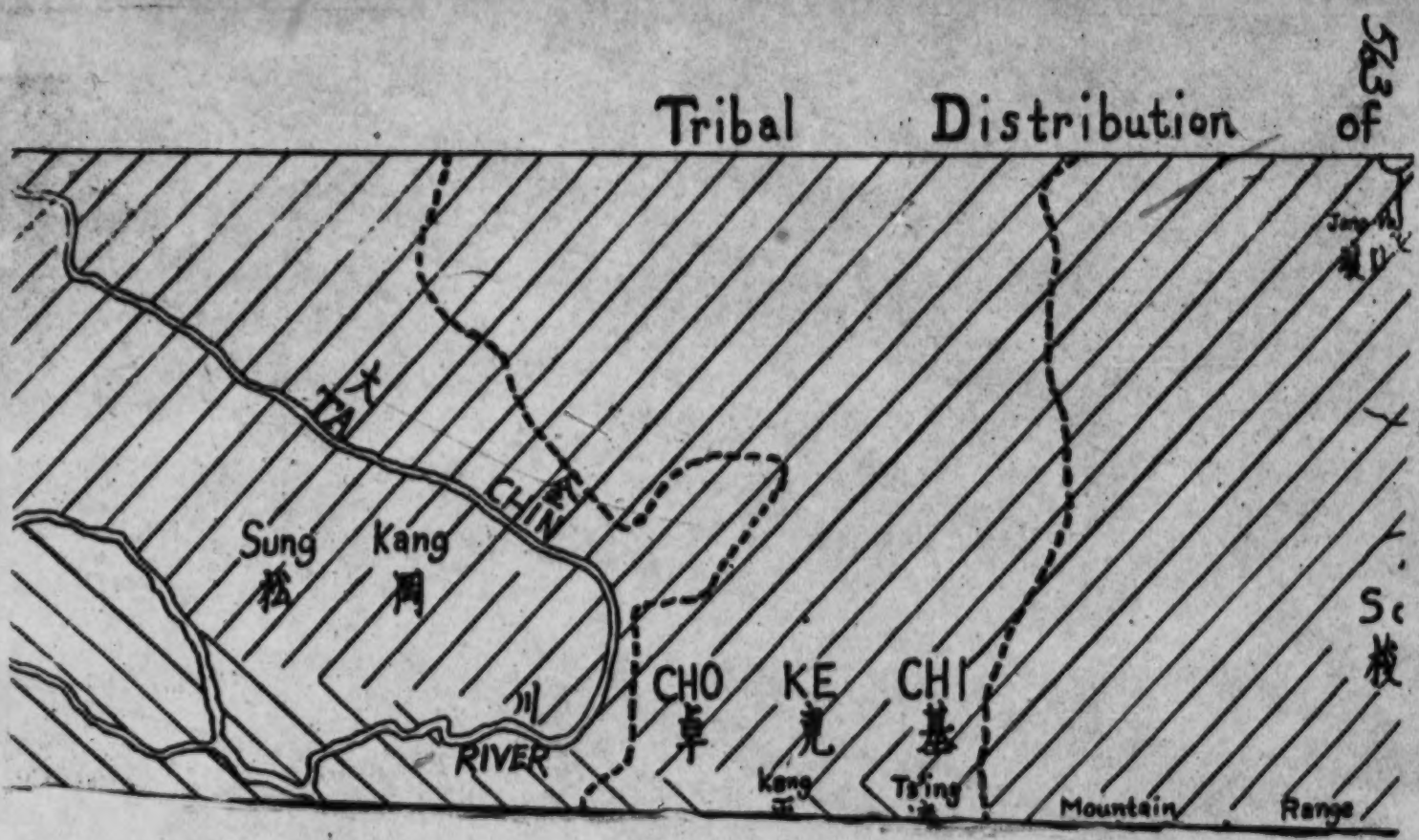
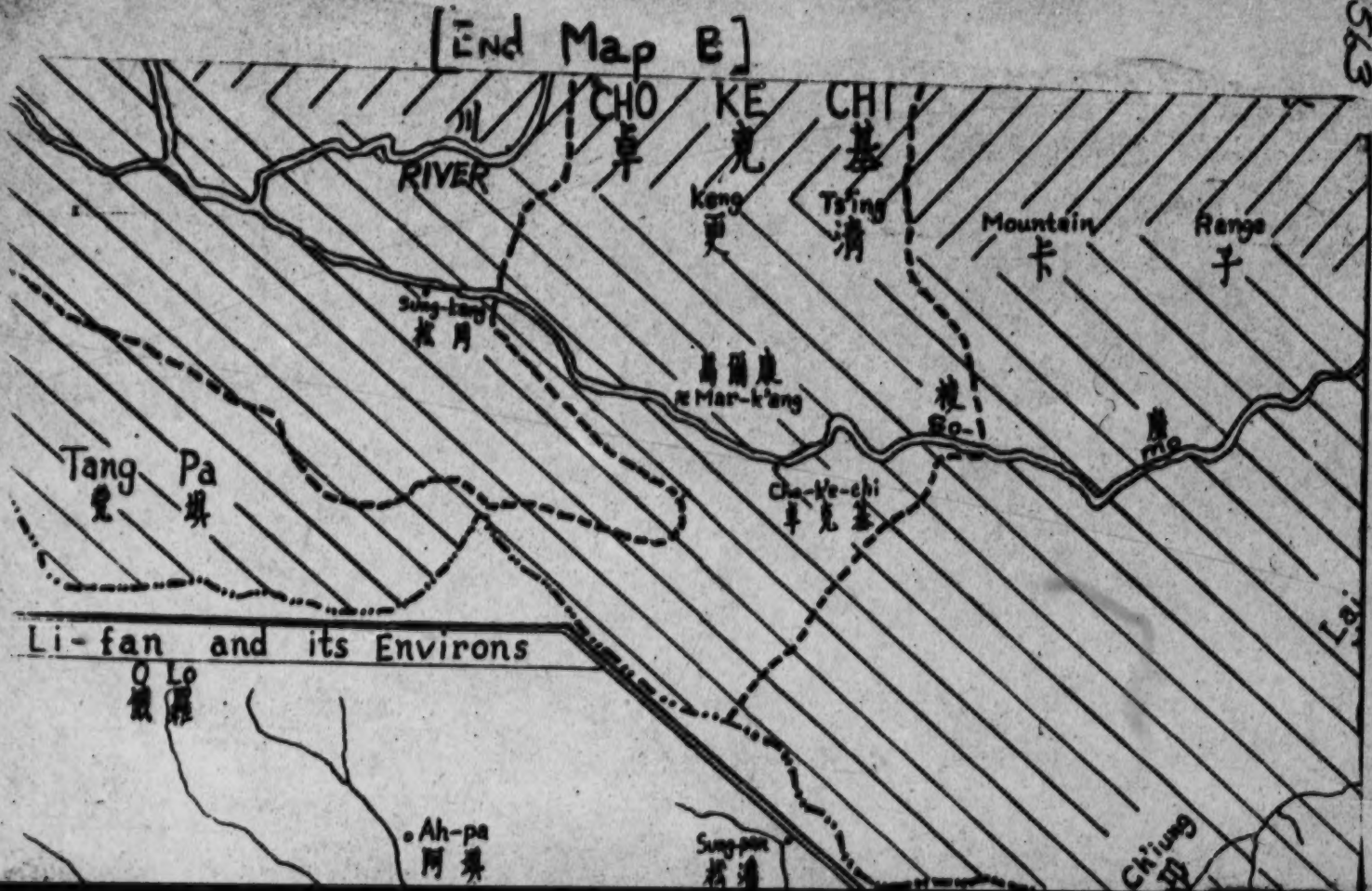
As a result of this the people are terribly poor, due to the lack of salable crops. The digging of medicinal herbs is also on the decline in recent years. In the interior of the mountains the situation is still worse. People cannot talk about law and order, loyalty, and faithfulness on empty stomachs. Military force cannot conquer the hearts. A new way must be discovered to help the mountain peoples to produce something that is easy to carry, yet can bring in a financial income that will enable them to buy their daily necessities. When the mountain peoples discover that something is more profitable than opium, they will stop cultivating the poppy of their own accord. Therefore, the best way to help these tribes people in the mountains is to help them to help themselves, by helping them to better adjust themselves to their particular environments.



4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3



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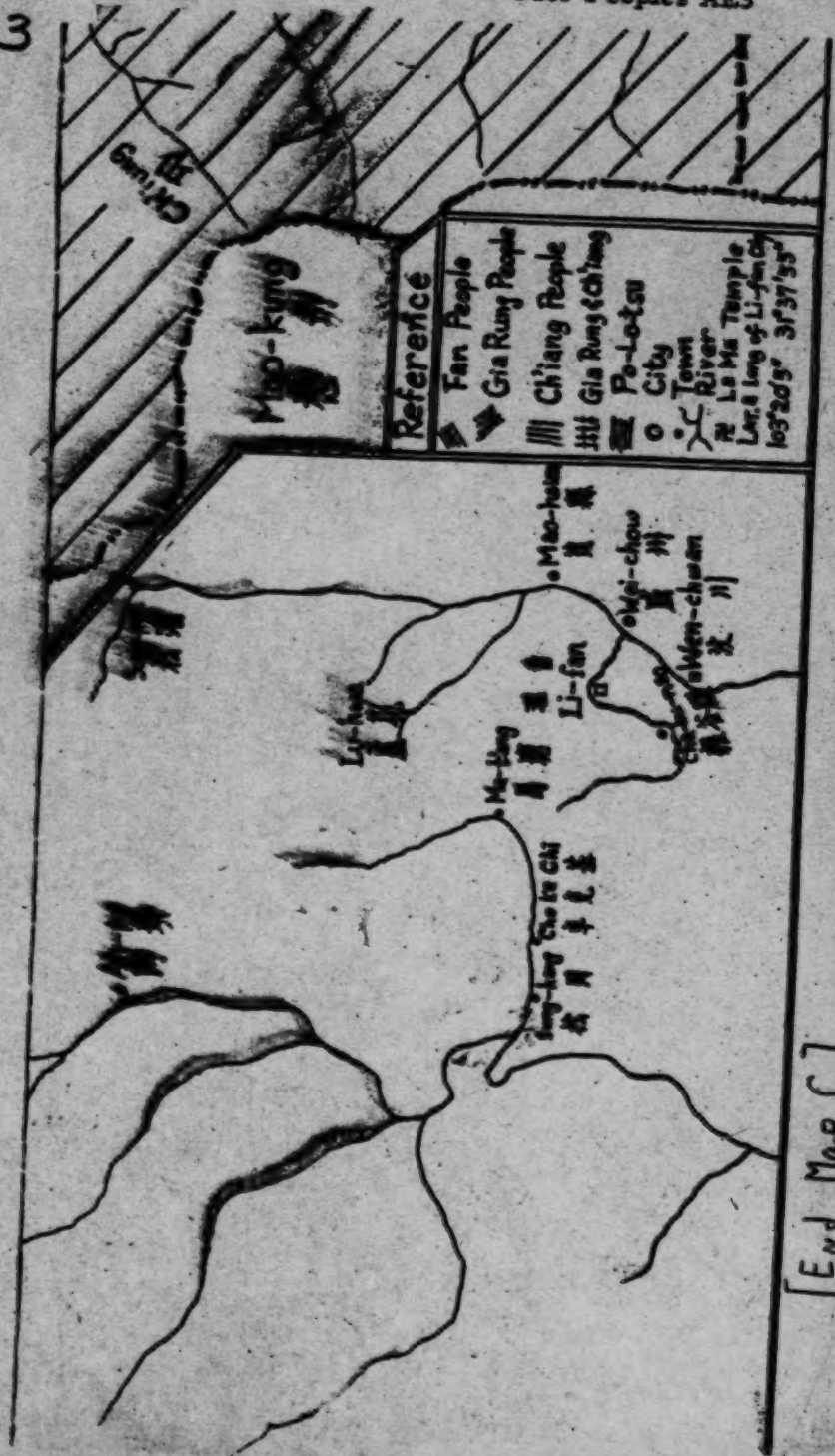

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4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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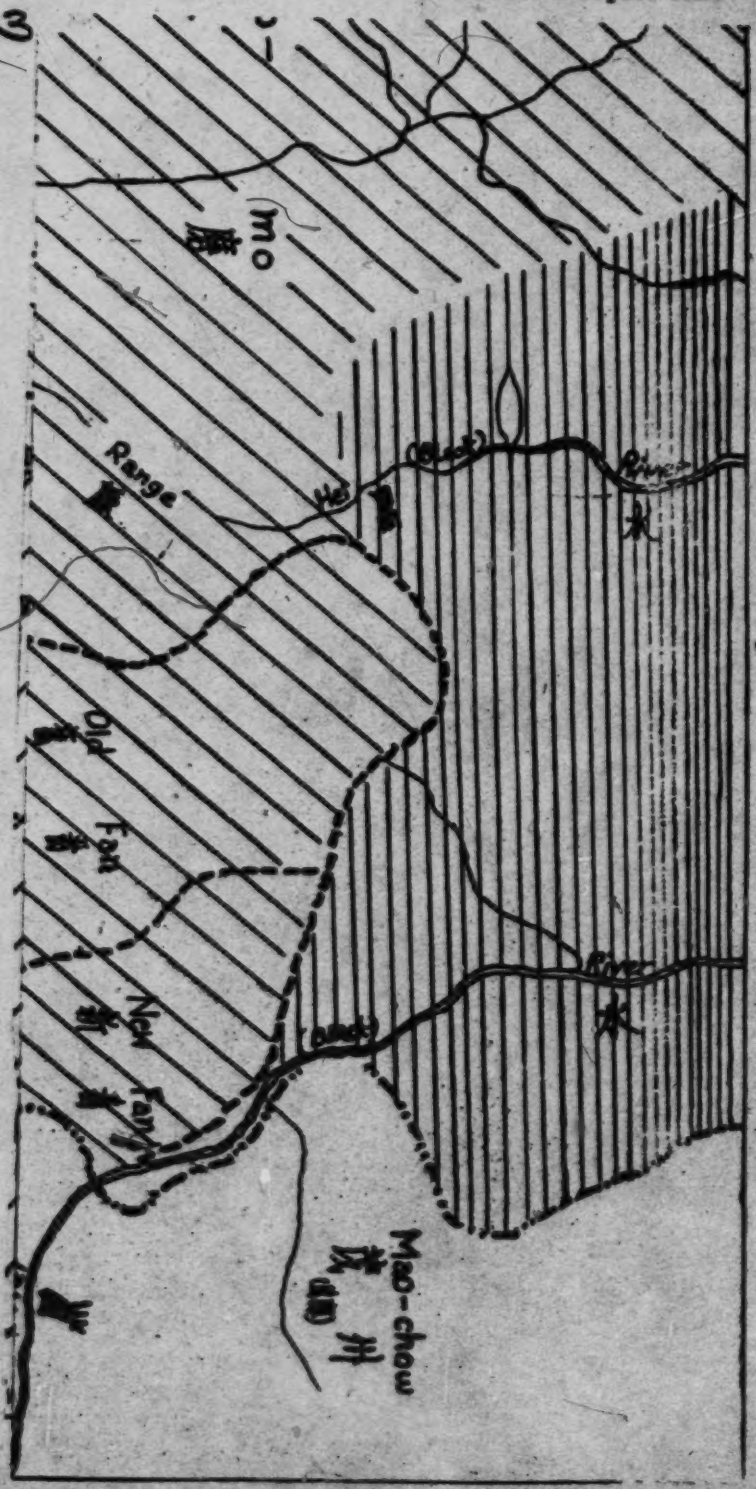

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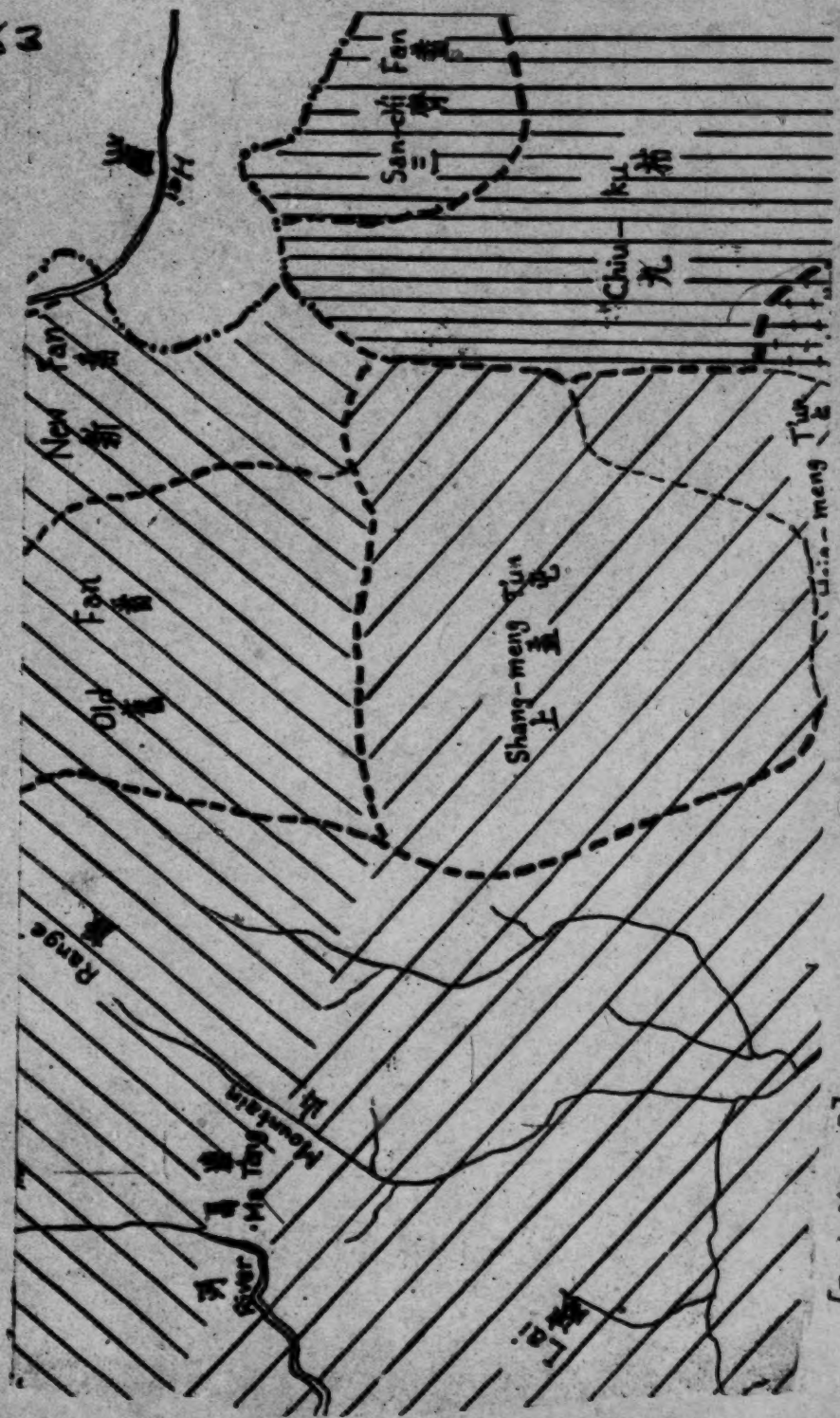

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4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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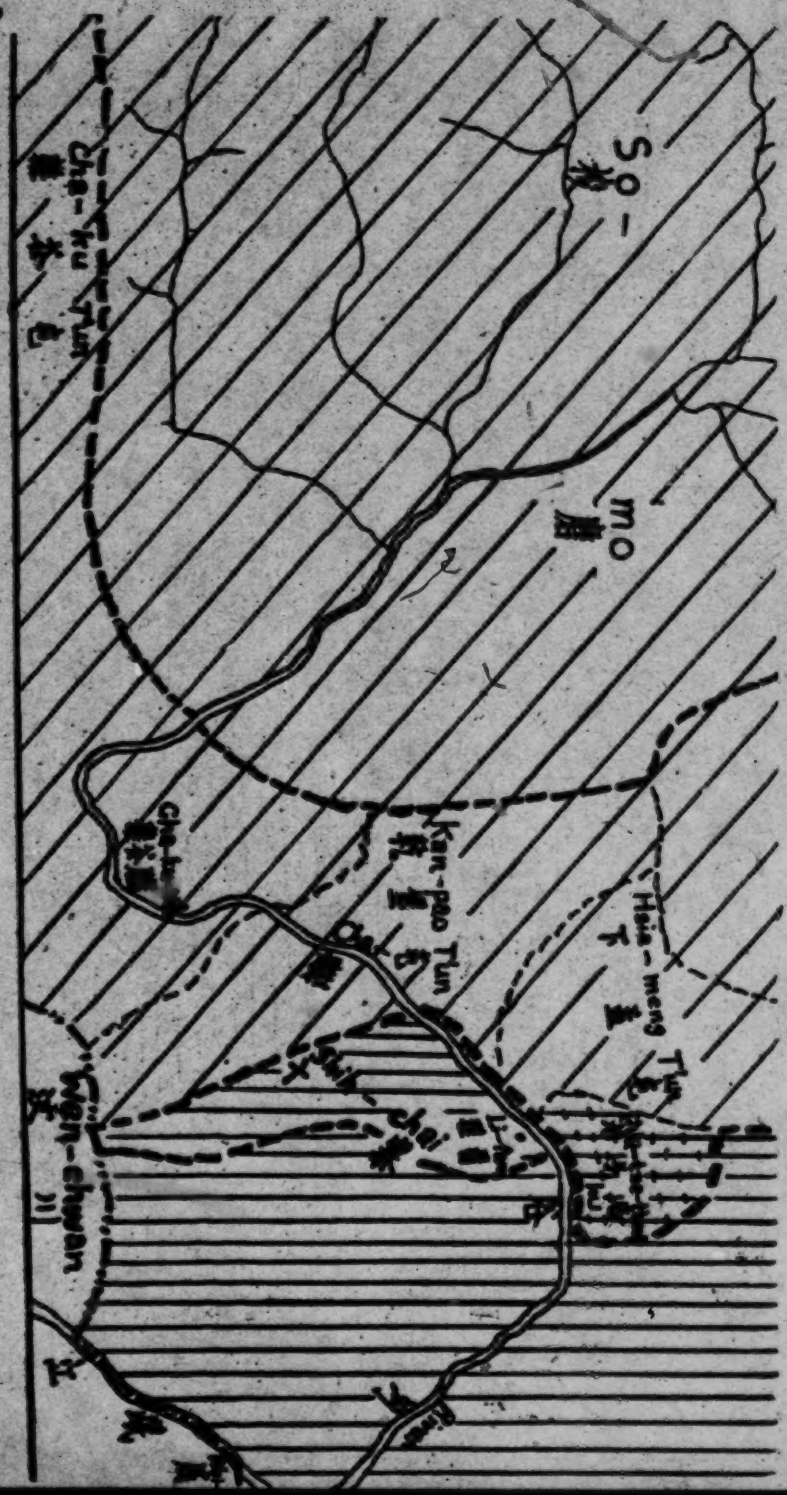

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THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. *Preface.*

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍棋寨, Mu Shang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei, Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'u Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ta'a Ko, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary Ta Sau official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-hsuai 張伯瑞博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1935 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

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186 Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only
[197] Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

173 I. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 人, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 儿. A small third character is sometimes added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An
[231] interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

174 There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理番廳志 卷四 邊防志二
Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Cai, Part Four.
史記四 周本紀第四
Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
中國民族史 第十一章 羌族
Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 301-2

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Far away there were once two nations, *Tzu La* and *Gu La*. There was a war between them, and as a result *Gu La* (the Ch'iang people) was defeated, and the Ch'iang migrated travelling a year and several months before they reached the place where they now live. On the way they crossed a river, using round boats made of cowskins. A boat leaked, and the sacred books got wet. While the books were being dried on the shore some goats came and ate them. Therefore there are no written sacred books, and their contents are handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. 174

When the Ch'iang reached West China, the Chinese and the Jung 戎 were at war. The Jung were defeated and retired to Tsagulow. The Chinese retired to Kuanhsien leaving the territory in between vacant, so the Ch'iang came in and occupied it. At that time the Ch'iang herded sheep and goats and raised wheat, but not corn. Later under Ch'ien-lung (A. D. 1737-1795) the Wa Ssu came from Wu Ssu Tsang in Tibet and helped the Chinese in a war that lasted twelve years. There was a great battle at Wei Kuan (維關), where a person can go from the top of the mountain to the river without being seen by the enemy. The Ch'iang were defeated, and the Wa Ssu were given the territory they now occupy, between the Ch'iang and the Chinese.

There is probably both history and tradition in this legend. Since there are several tribes in Burma that have the tradition of a lost book, we can assume that this part of the story is legendary.

2. The Country.

The Ch'iang, at least that part of the Ch'iang people that we are studying, inhabit a region along the T'o and the Min Rivers, approximately between the 31st and 32nd degrees longitude and the 103rd and 104th degrees latitude, from T'ieh Ch'i 鐵奇 on the north to So Ch'iao which is twenty li down the Min River from Wen Ch'uan and from points east of Mou Chow and Wei Chow to about twenty li up the river from Li Fan. Formerly they extended southward as far as Yueh Hsi and northward into Kansu and Shansi. The rivers and valleys are very narrow, and the mountainsides generally very steep. The main cities are Wen Ch'uan, Wei Chow, Li Fan, and Mou Chow. The rivers are from four to seven thousand feet above sea level. The surrounding mountains rise in some places to an altitude of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet. The 131 133

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133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farm lands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of
132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Tuh Hua and the Heh Shui, two
136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jia Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

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III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph 20
lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those 487
written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read 482
them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by [203]
word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various 491
neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow 502
and Yin Shiu Wan 陰秀灣 and between Wei Chow and Tsugulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter 436
part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

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432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the orrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

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the scenery. The rear wall projects a few feet higher than the 342
shed, and in the center is a shrine on which is placed the sacred white stone and in front of which the family worships.

To build a roof, first large timbers are put into place, and thick boards over the timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Often thorns are added to discourage the rats. Finally dirt is thrown on top and pounded hard. There is a slight slope to the roof so that rain runs off instead of leaking through. There are a few round or square holes in the roof to let out smoke and to let in light. The windows of the houses are small, so that there is insufficient light inside, and since there are no chimneys the houses are filled with smoke while food is being prepared. The walls and ceilings of the houses, as well as the furniture, are blackened with smoke.

The main door of the house opens inwards. At the left is a lock composed of three pieces of wood about three feet from the ground. A large piece of wood about eight by ten inches goes through the wall next to the door. To the left of this is a hole through which the hand can be inserted. A smaller piece penetrates the larger piece at right angles, and lengthwise through this second piece is a hole into which the wooden key is inserted. When all the family is away, the door is locked and the key carried away, and nobody can enter, for no two keys are alike.

In the villages the houses are very close together. Some of 361
them are wall-to-wall. The streets are narrow alleys approximately 349
six to twelve feet wide, and on both sides rise the high stone walls of the houses. Nearly every village has one or more watch towers built of stone which are about eighteen feet square and become smaller towards the top. Some are over a hundred feet high. They were built in for times for defence. In time of war the women and children and the most valuable possessions were taken inside for safety, while from the top arrows and rifle bullets were shot at the enemy. Towards the upper slope the top wall was built higher so as to protect the defenders from arrows and bullets shot from a higher elevation. Often the villages are on cliffs or promontories that make protection easier and the stone walls of the houses and gardens may be supplemented so that the village is a fortress. Nearly all Ch'iang villages are called Chai Tzu or fortresses.

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4. Occupations.

463 All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers
[423] have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses,
and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the
[462] members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing,
for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women
cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing,
winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

5. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in the valleys. 241 231 262 [243]

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten. Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit, vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet. 262 252

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Sou. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees. 291

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a woman is lower behind, reaching almost to the

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291 ankles. The gown of a man is shorter behind, about the same length as in front. In the winter time there may be worn a long gown woven of dark brown wool, or a goatskin coat. In cold weather the hair of this coat is turned inside, and in rainy weather it is turned outside. This skin coat is sleeveless. Both men and women wear instead of hats turbans of white cotton cloth bought in the markets, those of the men and the women are folded differently.

[164] Poor people who have insufficient clothes suffer from the cold in winter time. Bad colds are frequent, and sometimes colds develop into pneumonia

The puttees are made of white wool. In the vicinity of Lung Ch'i Chai women wear red bands around the puttees about half way between the ankles and the knees. In the region of Ts'a To a dark band is worn.

The best linen gowns of the men and the women have borders of blue cloth around the neck and down to the waist on which flowers are embroidered in white.

Woven belts are worn. Generally these are of white hemp cloth, but near Wen Ch'uan and Li Fan the woven belts are varicolored [171] and ornamented with beautiful geometric patterns The designs for these belts have apparently been borrowed from the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu, for in other parts of the Ch'iang region they occur rarely if at all, and they are very common among the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu.

7. Tools, Implements and Utensils.

412 Most of the tools and implements closely resemble those of the Chinese. The hoe is wide flat, and thick, and its handle is about four feet long. A very useful implement is the thick iron sickle which serves to cut both wood and grass. Their axes are heavier and clumsier than foreign axes. As has been stated before, the loom consists of several pieces of wood, and the spindle is simply a stick of wood around which the thread or yarn has been wound.

The plow differs from that of the Chinese. The handle is shorter so that the plowman stoops over and pushes down when he plows, lifting the plow out of the ground when he turns around. The long beam is tied to the yoke, which is little more than a pole and is tied to the shoulders of two cows or oxen. The plowman sings

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as he plows, and it is asserted that the animals cease pulling when the plowman stops singing. 412

In every home there is a square hole in the ground filled with dirt and ashes. This is a very simple stove, and probably has been used for centuries. Similar stoves are found in the temples in or near the sacred groves. In this square there is often an iron stove that consists of a circle about three feet in diameter resting on three iron legs equal distances apart. There are three iron pieces extending from these three legs towards the center, but not meeting. These three pieces hold the cooking vessel above the fire. The writer has seen similar iron stoves among the Lolos of the Ningyuan valley. Probably the ancient form of this stove was three pieces of stone chipped into triangles so that if placed equal distances apart one part of each stone can serve as a leg, and the other in the center hold up the cooking vessel. The stoves in the temples in and near the sacred groves consist of three such stones each. In many homes there are now typical Chinese stoves made of stones, lime, and clay, with two or three fire-holes over which iron kos or cooking vessels can be placed. There are no chimneys, and the smoke goes back out of the stove into the room. In the ko food is boiled fried, and baked. Large wooden dippers are used to pour in and dip out water and other liquids, and iron dippers and ladels are used to stir the hot food, turn it over, or dip it out. [252]

Ladders are generally trees in which large notches have been cut, a type of ladder that is widely used in the highlands of west China. 417

The walls of the Ch'iang homes are innocent of any pictures that might beautify them, and are blackened with smoke from incense, candles, lamps, and fires. [532]

IV. Social Customs.

1. Social Life

The Ch'iang lead a simple social life. There are no theatricals excepting those given in the Chinese cities and villages. There are no social dances excepting near Chiu Tzu T'un. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance at any other time. One is tempted to conclude that the Ch'iang do not know how to play. The playthings of the children are often pebbles or broken tiles. When at leisure the 517

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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives
[525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they
[562] may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is considerable freedom between the sexes—that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by
171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet. While singing each line each person turned around com-
[415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs" or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married. In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained.

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

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refusal is not expected, and approval is not asked. A primary consideration is the value of the girl or woman as a worker to the family of the groom. For this reason wives are often older than their husbands. The writer heard of one boy who at twelve was married to a woman of twenty-six. She was a fine worker. To carry through an engagement and a marriage generally costs over a thousand dollars, and often the groom's family has to borrow. Naturally every man wants a wife and every woman wants a husband, so every person gets married sooner or later. 584 [581]

In 1933 the writer was told that the custom near Tung Men Wai and Mu Shang Chai was that the groom's family should give the family of the bride a pig's head, a couple of small jugs of wine, some pork, shoes, stockings, etc. At Ts'a To in 1941 he was told that the gift to the bride's parents should be a piece of pork, three jugs of about thirty-five catties of wine, two large pieces of white bread, incense, candles, etc. At Ta Ho P'in Chai near Wen Ch'uan he was told that the groom's family should give eight rolls of cloth, black or blue but not white, twenty-four catties of pork, two large wheat biscuits, three jars of wine, one large wheat cake called in Chinese a Ko kw'ei, one pair of earrings, ten feet of brass wire, and one pair of puttees. There is variation in the different localities and the objects, the amount, and the value varies with every family according to the ability of the groom's family to give

The horoscope is sometimes but not always used. If it indicates that the marriage would be unlucky, the engagement is not consummated. [787]

3. Marriage.

A lucky day is chosen for the wedding. Near Mu Shang Chai and Lung Ch'i Chai in 1933 the writer was told that sometimes the "flowery chair" or bridal sedan chair was used to take the bride to the groom's home, but if not she rode a horse, that on arrival two persons helped the bride out of the chair into the house, and that the bride and the groom kowtowed to the housegod, to the go-betweens, and to the friends. 585

At Ta Ho P'in Chai in 1941 it was stated that the bride rides in a sedan chair (not in a "flowery" or decorated sedan chair as formerly), escorted by her brothers and sisters but not by her

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585 paternal uncles. The groom's family sends two boys ten-odd years old to escort her, and also two young girls. The bride and the groom bow to the house-god, to the parents and grandparents of the groom, to the groom's uncles, to the female relatives, then to all other friends, relatives, and guests. Then in the main room they drink tea.

On the day after the wedding the bride returns to her home. If it is near, she returns the same day. If it is far, she stays over night and returns the following day.

584 Sometimes two families who have both sons and daughters trade daughters and give with the daughters two boxes, bedding, and a few other articles. This saves a great deal of money.

597 If a family has daughters and no sons to continue the family name, it often adopts a son who is married to a daughter. He takes the name of the bride's family, and his children after him. The writer heard of a family in which this occurred for three generations.

587 Sometimes when an older brother dies leaving a widow, a younger brother marries the widow and the children born are reckoned as the children of the older brother. An older brother can not marry the widow of a younger brother.

A widow may take a husband who comes and lives in the family home. The children are considered the children of the first husband, and take his family name.

585 The priest is sometimes invited to perform a religious ceremony as a part of the wedding ceremonies. Burning cedar twigs as incense and chanting his liturgies, he informs the great gods, before the sacred white stone on the housetops, of the marriage and invokes the blessing of the gods, especially of Mu Byn Sei, upon the young couple.

4. Birth.

844 At Tsin To we were told that when a child is born the mother's parents give her a peck of rice, one hundred eggs, ten catties of pork, a bowl of *chiu mi* or wine rice, and clothing, a hat, and shoes for the baby. This custom also varies greatly with different families. A mid-wife helps the mother at childbirth. After the child is born the mother must not leave the house for thirty some-

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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies, 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanitation. 751
On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

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764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the
349 outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
995 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

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to a crossroads and the jar is buried upside down. The jar is covered by paper, and priests have told the writer that the paper moves because the demon is jumping about inside. During cremation, in some villages, two wooden birds are placed on the coffin. They are rescued and carried away to the homes of the rescuers. 766 775

When a person dies there is present a poisonous breath called *sa ch'i* 煞氣. To offset its effects and to keep away demons a cockerel is sometimes killed and its blood sprinkled on the door-posts.

V. *Religion.*

1. The Future Life.

The Ch'iang have not a very definite idea of the future life. Some say that hades is below and that it is a dark and shadowy place. They have heard the Christian teaching about heaven and hell, and that of the Buddhists and Taoists about hell and Western Paradice. Their idea of the soul does not seem to be very clear. There are few if any memorial customs excepting those that were influenced by the Chinese. They say that they love and revere their ancestors, living and dead. Said one, "If we offer food or burn spirit money, what good does it do? If we offer food or wine, they cannot eat or drink it. Spirit money when burnt turns into smoke." Some believe in reincarnation. Many commemorate their ancestors on the fifth day of the fifth moon or the fifteenth day of the seventh moon. Some worship their ancestors in their homes on the first, fifteenth, and thirtieth of each lunar month. 775

2. The World View.

These people live on the sides and tops of high mountains, or in narrow valleys. The climate is cool and comparatively dry. Near them live the powerful Jia Rung, the Wa Ssu, the Hei Fan, and the fierce Heh Shui, Luh Hua, and Bolotzu. Wild animals live in the forests and attack human beings, the crops, and the domestic animals. There are floods and droughts. People fall over the cliffs or drown in the streams. Lightning strikes trees and houses, and sometimes kills people or animals. Earthquakes shake down houses, rolling stones kill or injure people, and pestilences sweep the country killing men and domestic animals. The Ch'iang are not 789

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789 educated or scientifically trained, and they assume that they see in these events the working of mysterious forces that may do good or harm. The priests, the gods, the ceremonies and the sacred implements are surcharged with mysterious power with which he seeks to control events, warding off calamities and enabling him to enjoy a successful and satisfying life, in which the basal needs of food, sex, clothing to protect from the cold, shelter from the forces of nature and protection from enemies, numerous descendants etc. are satisfied, and one can enjoy a successful and happy life.

3. The Gods.

776 The Ch'iang are not monotheists, and there is no certain evidence that they ever have been. The priest at Mu Shang Chai, who is a relative of the deceased Christian pastor Kou P'in-shan, stated that in his ceremonies he worshipped besides the greatest god twelve other gods. At Lung Ch'i Chai we saw two different shrines on housetops where the large white stone was surrounded by twelve smaller stones. In the sacred grove at Lung Ch'i Chai there are four different shrines to four different gods. By persistent enquiry we learned that in some of the villages the Ch'iang have five major gods and twelve minor gods, not counting a goodly number of Chinese gods that are found in Ch'iang homes, in wayside shrines, and in Chinese temples. In addition to making enquiries in several different localities, we have translated, as well as possible considering our very limited knowledge of the language, enough of the chants of two different priests to assure ourselves that they worship a number of gods. In one of the chants the different gods are named in order as we will give them below, and called upon to come and assist the priest. While we must make allowance for variations in different localities, we can be sure that they are not monotheists and worship more than one deity.

[177] The supreme god is called Mu Byei Sei (m.v bjei sei), Mu Bya Sei, M Ta Bei, M Bya, Sei, Ma Byei Ch'i, and at least at Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai and Mu Shang Chai where Christian influence has been strong he is often called Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei. Abba means father and it may be applied to any god. On the other hand a number of Ch'iang have asserted that Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei is properly used only to designate Chinese gods in Chinese temples. The first two syllables, Ma bei, mu bya, or m bya, mean sky and sei

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or ch'i means god. Literally it means sky god. This idea is closely related to that of T'ien 天, meaning sky, God of the Sky or Heaven, of the Chou dynasty Chinese, and it must be remembered that the Ch'iang lived close enough to the Chou about 1121 B. C. to unite with them in the conquest of the Shang.[1] At present many of the Ch'iang identify Mu Bya Sei with Yu Huang Shang Ti 玉皇上帝, the highest god of the Taoists, and also with the Christian God. Mu Bya Sei is the greatest of all gods, is righteous and pure, controls everything everywhere in heaven and on earth, requires righteousness among men, protects men and domestic animals, gives rain and good crops, and helps people secure children and a numerous posterity. 776

The supreme god is worshipped near sacred white quartz stones, called in different localities lu sha, lu ts'a, lo pi etc. Its whiteness symbolizes the purity and righteousness of the god. The white stone is sacred and holy, and near it communion with the god is natural and easy. Not every white quartz stone is sacred. It must be the right shape, somewhat pointed at the top and with a wide base on which it can stand upright. The sacred white stone has superhuman power, and for this reason it is placed on top of graves, and on walls in front of doors to keep demons from entering the house. Generally the sacred white stone is not identified with Mu Bya Sei, but we have met some individuals who have affirmed that the white stone is Mu Bya Sei. The use of sacred white stones is widespread in Si K'ang, eastern Tibet, and among the tribespeople of western Szechwan. 778 776 823

The sacred white stone is used as a place of worship on the top of every house, at the rear and in the center, on the highest point of the back wall. Below it is a small platform and a hole for burning incense. Here Mu Bya Sei is worshipped by the men of the household. Another sacred white stone is found in the temple in or near the sacred grove, and still another on the shrine near the sacred tree or trees in the sacred grove.

A second god is Abba Mula(a· ba· ma la·), mo lo sei (mo· lo· sei) or abba mo lo sei. Near Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, and Mu Shang Chai he is sometimes called Ndjei Tsu or Nyei Su. No priest is without this god, for without it he would be powerless. It is his patron or guardian deity and instructor. This god consists of the skull of a goldenhaired monkey wrapped into a round bundle in sheets of white paper. Inside are also dried pieces of a golden- 776

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776 haired monkey's lungs, liver, intestines, lips, and finger-nails. Its eyes are often old cowry shells. It is so wrapped that the face of the skull is visible at one end. The priest will not allow another person to touch his Abba Mula or sometimes even to see it, and he will not take it down from its shrine without first worshipping it and burning incense. Abba Mula has a permanent place in the hearts of the Ch'iang. One priest said to the writer with disapproval that "Mr. Torrance said that this was a temporary god until Jesus came."

354 776 We have noted the fact that one form of the Ch'iang stove has three legs. These are sacred and must not be touched. One often has a hole in it, and in this hole is a ring. This leg is the fire god, Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bu Sei. He controls the fire in the home and prevents it from burning the house. The second leg is Abba Sei. This is not the supreme god, but the male ancestor of the Ch'iang, who is worshipped and revered. The third is Ata Sei who is the female ancestor of the Ch'iang and is worshipped as such. This is the triad of the Ch'iang.

776 There is a group of five greatest gods. They are

1. Mu Byu Sei, who is supreme.

2. Ru Be Sei, the earth god. He controls the earth, causes rain and good crops, protects people from illness and other calamities, and helps them.

3. Lolo Sei He controls the snow mountains and the shrubs and herbs that grow only a foot or two high near the snow line.

4. P'i Ru Sei. He controls the forests and large trees on the high mountains.

5. Su Mu Sei who also controls forests, and governs wild animals and fowls.

All these five are worshipped on the housetops and in the sacred groves, at least in some localities, at the same time that the highest god is worshipped.

There is a second group of twelve lesser gods.

1. Ji Gwe Sei, the family or house god who protects the home and its inhabitants.

2. Stu Ja Sei who controls and protects domestic animals, pigs, cows, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks, etc.

3. Ndzi Ju Sei. He is a god of wealth controlling the finances of the home, gold, silver, money, etc.

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4. Yi Mu Sei, She gives sons, protects women when they have conceived and during childbirth, and protects children. 776

5. Mya Wei Sei who protects men and boys.

6. Sti P'r Sei who protects women and girls in matters not connected with childbirth.

7. Do Dzu Sei a door god who is on the right side and keeps demons out of the homes.

8. Nu Nga Sei a door god on the left side who helps keep out demons.

9. Sbe Pri Sei, the god of the bin who controls the five grains after they have been harvested and are in the house or in the bin.

10. Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bo Sei, the fire god who controls the fire in the home lest it burn up the house.

11. Abba Sei, the male ancestor.

12. Ata Sei, The female ancestor.

These are regarded as so distinctly Ch'iang gods that they are put into a different category than the Chinese gods whose images are worshipped in shrines, in homes and in temples. The pronunciation of the names of the gods as given above is that which was given us at Ta Ho P'in Chai, near Wen Ch'uan.

The above Ch'iang gods have no images.

There may be other gods that are regarded as Ch'iang, but at present we can not affirm it with certainty. Many Chinese gods, however, are commonly worshipped by the Ch'iang. Among them are the Pearly Emperor, Ch'uan Chu 川主, the Lord of Szechwan, Wang yeh 王爺 who is elsewhere the god of boatmen. The housegod 天地君親師位 meaning Heaven, Earth, Rulers, Relatives, Scholars, the T'ai Shan Shih Kan Tang 泰山石敢當, the T'u Ti 土地, Kuanyin, and many others. They are regarded by the Ch'iang as real, living deities.

4. The Priesthood.

The Ch'iang are a very reverent and devout people, and their religious ceremonies and rituals are considered to be very important. They must be performed with exactness and fitting decorum. Some of them are long. Since they have no written language their chants or songs, which they regard as the equivalents of sacred 793 538

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books, are taught by word of mouth, memorized and passed down from generation to generation, from father to son or from teacher to pupil. In Tung Men Wai and at P'u Wa the line has ceased and there is now no Ch'iang priest. There must be no incorrectness in the performances or in the repetitions. There is therefore a special priesthood who, however, are also farmers and have wives and children. They are important persons, highly respected in their communities, but they have no distinctive dress.

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The priest officiates in all important ceremonies. At least that is the ancient custom. In localities where there are no priests, as at Tung Men Wai, the local people sometimes officiate, or a Taoist priest may be called to perform funeral ceremonies or to exorcise demons, since the Ch'iang priests are more expensive.

In most of the ceremonies performed to Mu Bya Sei on the housetops, the head of the house officiates. On special or most important occasions the Ch'iang priest is called in. Since he is an important person, whenever he officiates in such a ceremony he must be boarded and lodged, given meat or some other commodity, and there must be a special feast. Sometimes he must be paid money also. Since the priest has no special costume, he wears the white homespun garments such as are worn by all Ch'iang worshippers.

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Priests are responsible for conducting sacred ceremonies that bring contact with and assistance from the gods. They have superhuman potency without which their work and ceremonials would not be efficacious. In 1933 a priest told the writer his ceremonial implements and stated that the reason he sold them and no longer acted as priest was that he had lost his efficacy.

When a priest has finished his course of instruction and is ready to begin his work as a priest, an ordination ceremony takes place. His face is ceremoniously washed with sacred water for purposes of purification. Incense, candles, and cedar twigs are burnt and a white cockerel is killed. After the ceremony, which takes place in the sacred grove, he takes his full responsibility as priest.

The priest, who in different localities is called bi bu (bi- bu-), bi bo or bi mu performs the following ceremonies:—

1. He conducts the worship of the great god or gods in the sacred grove on the first day of the sixth moon, or the first day of

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5 He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

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778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

534 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side
778 only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired
778 monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan Kung*.

[177] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

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11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has 778
a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug 755
into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised.

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's 778
ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons.

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are 796
performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be [562]
impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies.

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widesprsad practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrificial animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign fevor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 782 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep then from ente ring the house.

796 776 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves three times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month, but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 778 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

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the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died. 796 778

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most 174 114

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174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Isaac Whitehearl in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[776] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

[771] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

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walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons. 174 177

5. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months. 174

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B. C. 1121. 174 171

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork. 174

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information. 105

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

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105 war, government, trade, and intermarriage, and they have been influenced by the Chinese more than by any other cultural group. The establishment of more friendly relations and the opening of primary schools in recent years have accelerated this influence.

Physically the Ch'iang are of the yellow race, possibly of the Tibetan-Burman racial group, with dark eyes, black and straight hair, and a brown complexion.

The Ch'iang have a supreme god whom they call Mu Bya Sei or Sky God, to whom they look primarily for help in their quest for a satisfying life. He closely resembles T'ien the god whom the Chou people worshipped as a supreme god in 1121 B. C. when the Ch'iang assisted the Chou in the war that put an end to the Shang Dynasty. The Ch'iang are not monotheists, for they have numerous gods which they have probably worshipped for many years, besides the Chinese gods whom they have learned to worship in recent times.

They have no written language, and the chants and rituals have been handed down by word of mouth from one priest to another. There are elaborate rituals with sacrifices for worship on the housetops and in the sacred groves. These rituals are most carefully and reverently performed. The gods and the priests have, it is believed, superhuman power made available through the ceremonies and through charms and incantations. The white stone is symbolic of the purity of the god, or gods, and near it communion can be had with the deities, who are actually present. The white stone possesses superhuman potency in common with charms, sacred implements, cowries, etc., and it is sometimes used as a means of protecting the homes from demons.

The Ch'iang are a strong and industrious people whose morals on the whole are good. They should be treated with sympathy and respect. With the cooperation and friendship of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, and with better schools and religious contacts, they can make a valuable contribution morally, commercially, and it may be culturally to the future of the western highlands and of China.

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11. 史記 周本紀第四 司馬遷著
12. 尚書 牧誓篇
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14. 明史 第三百一十卷 四川土司一百九十九
15. 松潘廳志 邊防 民國十六年
16. 前漢書 第九十五卷 西南夷列傳 西光傳六十五
17. 後漢書 第八十七卷 西南夷列傳 西光傳七十七
18. 茂州志 卷三 邊防 道光十一年
19. 唐書 卷二百二十一上 西域列傳 一百四十六上
20. 康熙字典 未集中 羊部
21. 瑪番廳全志 卷一 同治五年
22. 華陽國志 嘉泰甲子
23. 達光人通信論遺愿本末 木上素苟聘三著
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000 25. 舊唐書 卷一 一百九十八 列傳第一百四十八西戎
26. 酉陽 下册末 商務印書館
27. 魏書 一百零一 列傳八十九氐羌
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Meow

H. Stübel

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THE MEWU FANTZU OF CH'INGHAI
(Die Mewu Fan-tse von Ch'inghai)

(an unpublished manuscript, 1954)

[Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze
Human Relations Area Files, 1955]

[p. i]

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Mouri

PREFACE

The present account is based on notes which I took on a journey through Kansu in the summer and fall of 1936. The purpose of my trip was to become better acquainted with a Tibetan nomad tribe. Unfortunately, difficulties arose on the trip which I could not foresee. I was obliged to break off my work prematurely, for while I was in the Tibetan grasslands Mao Tse-tung's army invaded southern Kansu on its famous great march to the North. (1) I was in danger of

1. from Kiangsi through South China to Yünnan, thence through the western border region of China to Kansu, and finally to Yen-an in Shensi.

being cut off from the capital, Lanchow. This march to the north was a portent of the troubled times which began with the Sino-Japanese War and which were followed by the Second World War and the Communist revolution in China. In the tumult of this period I lost first my ethnological collection in China, which I had gathered on the trip, and in the end also a large amount of photographic material that I had accumulated. Thus the illustrations which I planned as an essential part of this work are lacking, and without the objects I collected it was impossible for me to give as detailed an account as I should have liked of the material culture of the tribe I visited. I therefore wish to refer the reader first of all to the illustrations and the excellent brief description which W. W. Rockhill (2) has given

2. Rockhill 1).

of his collection in the US National Museum in Washington. For the landscape the best illustrations are found in A. Tafel's (3) book on

3. Tafel 2).

his Tibetan journey, and for ethnic types and folk costumes the reader is referred primarily to the illustrations of M. Hermanns. (1)

1. Hermanns 3).

/2/ In the meantime our knowledge of the nomads of northeastern Tibet (or Kansu) has increased tremendously. In this

114 connection I should like to mention above all the comprehensive work of Father M. Hermanns (2): Die Nomaden von Tibet, and the

2. Hermanns 3).

excellent portrayal by R. B. Ekvall (3) of the sociological and eco-

3. Ekvall 4).

nomic conditions of the region I visited. The book by Hermanns gives a wide survey of the culture of the Tibetan nomads; the work by Ekvall is rich in factual material and discusses the cultural relationships between Chinese, Mohammedans, and sedentary and nomadic Tibetans. This is extremely interesting for the ethno-sociologist.

The authors of these two books had the advantage of living for many years among the Tibetans and of speaking their language. I can present only a modest supplement to their work by setting forth
124 my observations of a single tent camp. Besides my assistant Mr. Wu Hsin-wei, an experienced ethnological field worker, I was fortunate enough to have as traveling companions an excellent interpreter for Tibetan and a reliable Tibetan stableman who spoke Chinese. My interpreter was a Chinese trader who lived in He-tso, the Chinese and Mohammedan settlement of some size nearest the area I visited. As a young man he had been forced into the region of the Tibetan nomads, following a Mohammedan uprising, and he lived and traded among these people for many years. He was particularly friendly with a few of the Tibetans in the camp I visited. He was a keen observer and was apparently himself interested in the life of the nomads. He was always willing to answer my questions as objectively as was possible for a simple trader, to arrange introductions /2a/ with Tibetan informants, and to interpret patiently.

133 The landscape and climate of the Tibetan steppes have often been depicted by more competent persons, so that a description will not be necessary. For the author, the weeks he spent in a small tent adjoining the camp of the Mewu-Fantzu were not only a period of ethnological field work, but also an inspiring experience of nature. In the height of summer the steppe is a gay carpet of flowers, especially edelweiss, luminous blue gentian, yellow and red pedicularis. On the heights between the shallow, narrow valleys there is a limitless vista on all sides, when it is not broken by individual steep, light-colored limestone massifs rising up more than 5,000 meters, their peaks often covered with freshly fallen

McWV

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, 133
a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on 136
horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a row of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the 177
borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course 167
of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan 311
settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
241 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf. Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

mewu

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

Mewu

of this valley trough there stood 23 black Tibetan tents in a long row. /123
I had good introductions from the new Mewu monastery, as well as a Chinese interpreter who had lived many years as a trader among these Tibetans, so that I soon gained somewhat closer contact with the inhabitants of these tents. (3)

3. For the place of these traders in the social life of the Tibetan nomads, see Ekvall 4), page 48ff.

Anthropologically the Mewu-Fantzu are by no means a uniform /142
type. On the contrary, one is struck by the diversity of types. (1)

1. In this connection, compare the rich selection of illustrations of ethnic types in Hermanns 3). According to Ekvall 4), page 9, the Fantzu of this region have "all characteristics of a mongrel physical type."

The men are tall to medium-height, measuring about 160 to 180 centimeters; the women are on the average about 20 centimeters shorter. The skin of the exposed parts of their bodies is dark brown, their hair is deep black. Their beard and arm-pit hair is sparse. They do not always have pronounced Mongoloid lids. Some of these Tibetans with their relatively long faces, slightly slanting eyes, somewhat prominent cheek bones and long, flat to concave noses, cannot be distinguished from typical North Chinese. Others, with rounder, flatter faces, more prominent cheek bones, concave noses and slanting eyes with very pronounced Mongoloid folds, look more like Mongolians. Still other types with squarer faces, prominent cheek bones and more prominent, rather narrow upper jaws, sometimes remind one of a Japanese type. However, one also sees types that resemble more the Turkish inhabitants of Sinkiang or even Europeans, more often with straight noses (especially in the types /9/ resembling Europeans), less prominent cheek bones, straight eyes with eyebrows slanting downward at the outer edge, without the Mongoloid fold. By contrast there are, however, also types which occur more often farther south in Hsik'ang, according to my observation, who have very prominent aquiline noses and high cheek bones and remind one of the North American Indian type with their aquiline noses. There are others with narrow faces, delicate aquiline noses and graceful bodies, resembling East Indians and gypsies. All this simply shows that these Fantzu are not a uniform race, and that there must have been a great deal of miscegenation.

164 The Tibetans are a very strong race of men; I did not see a single asthenic type among the Mewsu-Fantzu. Their health, apart from infectious diseases, is good. The most frequent complaints of patients who came to me were of rheumatism and stomach disorders. The latter often seemed to indicate chronic catarrh of the stomach and also stomach ulcers. There is a very frequent incidence of conjunctivitis, probably often trachoma. Smallpox is very prominent among the infectious diseases, and syphilis among the chronic ones. I did not observe any cases of tuberculosis, but there is leprosy, infrequent, in spite of the fact that lepers are not segregated. All the more ravaging are the effects of syphilis which here goes hand in hand with deterioration of the skin, mucous membranes and bones.

164 853 Infant mortality is extraordinarily high. Most families have only one or two children, although women often give birth to as many as ten. The reason for this may be in the strange way babies are fed. People prefer to give their children yak milk rather than mother's milk, because they say mother's milk makes them stupid. Although yak milk is richer than cow's milk, the children get the boiled milk undiluted, /10/ often with added butter and roasted barley flour (tsamba).

Men's Dress

291 We shall touch only briefly on the dress (1) of the Mewu-Fantzu

1. Compare Rockhill 1), page 684 ff. His illustrations and descriptions give a good general idea, although they are not specifically of the Mewu-Fantzu, and despite the fact that each tribe has definite characteristics of costume, ornament and hair style.

because it is the common dress of Tibetans in general. The chief article of clothing is a large sheep fur. It has very long sleeves that extend far over the hands. They prefer to put only their left arm into the sleeve and leave the right arm and shoulder free. The fur of the nomads is usually bordered at the neck with a band of leopard skin about 10 centimeters wide. The coat has a hem at the bottom of black woolen material. Poor people omit the leopard skin trimming or replace it with a border of pulu. This is a Tibetan woolen material. It is not made by the western Tibetans themselves, but is imported from the highlands of Inner Tibet. The leopard skin trimming is obtained ready-made from Chinese traders; the grassland

itself does not supply enough skins for this purpose. Most of the 291
leopard skins come from the forest regions of the Min-shan, where they are sold to Chinese traders by the Fantzu who live there. Ordinarily the Fantzu wear extremely dirty furs, especially in summer, because during the warm season they prefer worn skins with shorter hair. In winter and on festive occasions they sometimes also wear a jacket under the fur. This may be of silk, pulu or simple Chinese cotton, depending on the wealth of the wearer. This jacket /11/ is cut in the old Chinese style with a side closing trimmed with a colored band about 3 centimeters wide. It has a high stand-up cloth collar different in color on the inside and outside, for example, red inside and green outside. The color combination of the jacket (collar and bottom hem) can vary a great deal. In former times no pants were worn in summer, but gradually the men are getting used to the Chinese trousers made of thin dark-blue cotton. In winter they wear trousers of fleece or perhaps only leggings, just like the Northern Chinese. The fur is worn inside on the bare skin and they wear no drawers. In winter and on festive occasions a coat of pulu or silk (tuan, satin) is worn over the fur. The color of this coat varies and may be purple, blue, red, green or black, but not white. The lower part of this coat is sewn with several gay borders of varicolored silk, to give the impression of many coats, one on top of the other. In rainy weather coats of white wool with long sleeves are worn, less frequently capes of the same material. The woolen coat, like the one of fur, is not fastened with buttons but simply tied together over the hips. Ordinarily a coarse rope of braided yak hair is used for this purpose, but festive garb requires a red sash of Szechuan silk. All articles of clothing are made by the men, not the women. The men can also make Chinese trousers themselves. Boys' clothing is the same as men's.

Their shoes (1) are made of a leather foot, and a leg that may be 292

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 2.

made of pulu or simple wool. The foot part is often only a very simple piece of white yak leather cut to size and then turned up all around, very much like the Indian mocassin or the opanke of the Balkan peoples. The leg shaft is set onto this foot part and reaches to the /12/ knees. The favorite material is red Russia leather imported from the Chinese in Kalgan, or bright-colored pulu cloth with a pattern in the form of a cross.

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292 Many different kinds of head coverings (2) are worn. The most

2. Rockhill 1), Plate 4.

popular is a round fur cap with a tassel of cloth usually dyed red. They prefer fox fur; sheepskin caps are cheaper. For the latter the fur of lambs one month old is used. The fur cap is indispensable for the festive costume. In summer it is often replaced by headgear consisting of a strip of gaily colored pulu cloth, usually yellow and blue striped. Felt hats are also worn, either a simple, cone-shaped hat without brim, made of thick, soft, unbleached sheep wool felt, or a hat of stiff sheep wool felt in the form of a truncated cone, with a wide flat brim.

Women's Dress

291 Women's dress is even less influenced by the Chinese than men's. In summer it usually consists of a sheep fur; in winter a coat is worn over this. The fur is cut like that of the men, and is likewise held together by a coarse cord around the hips. In summer the women like to work with the upper part of their body free, so they slip out of the fur and let it hang down over the cord. The women's fur is distinguished from the men's in that it has only a cloth band around the neck, never a leopard skin; on the other hand, the lower hem of the women's fur is trimmed with a wide, gaily colored band of cotton, or, in the case of wealthy women, of silk. The women do not wear trousers. When it rains the women wear woolen cloaks or more often woolen pelerines closed in front, with a hole for /13/ the head, like the South American poncho. The pelerines often have a pointed hood. In the summer women wear worn-out furs with short hair; in the winter, newer ones with long hair and over them a pulu coat. Festive dress does not differ much from everyday garb, except that the clothes are new and that a colored coat of cloth or silk is worn over the fur coat.

292 At work and around the house the women go barefoot in summer. For the rest they wear the same kind of high boots as the men. Only elegant women are seen wearing Chinese shoes on festive occasions. The women do not wear pulu caps. In the rain they wear the same soft felt hats that the men wear when they go out to the pastures. A stiff felt hat is part of the festive garb of the women. It has the same truncated cone shape as that of the men, but the cone is smaller in diameter and thus looks more elegant. On top the hat has a copper

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ornament and a silk tassel. (1) Their jewelry they buy from the 292

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 33, 34.

Chinese.

Hair Style

The Fantzu wear their hair cut short; it is only at the parting 302
that many men still wear a small, thin braid that looks like a rat tail. Their method of cutting hair is still very primitive. They use an old sickle that is no longer good for cutting grass, and they sharpen it after a fashion on suitable stones found in the field. In contrast to the Chinese, the Fantzu, oddly enough, cut their hair from the top down. Only the sorcerers (bön-bu) wear long hair, which they wrap in a head scarf. Their beards they pluck out, like the Chinese, with brass tweezers which they carry on their rosaries or on a chain around their necks. Only lamas occasionally wear beards. /14/

The women wear a very complicated coiffure. Little girls of six or seven have their hair dressed for the first time. The style consists of three rather thick braids that hang down from the parting and many smaller, thin braids on the sides, held together above the ears with a special ornament. The coiffure of the women is the same, except that they wear many more braids that hang far down and are held together with a complicated ornament. (1) Beside the two

1. A similar ornament of another nomad tribe is shown in Hermanns 3), illustration 51.

center braids, the woman wears 80 to 100 thin braids on either side. These braids must reach to the knees. Since a woman's hair is often not long enough or thick enough for this type of coiffure, she buys switches from Chinese traders.

For the rest, the Tibetans do not know very much about caring 515
for their bodies. They do not wash, and their bodies are covered with a black film of dirt. Since they also do not wash their furs, conditions are ideal for the propagation of body lice. The Fantzu wash only their mouth, face and hands, with cold water. They do not use a wash basin for this, but take a mouthful of water from a pottery jug, rinse out their mouths, then spit out the water into their hands and use it to wash their face and hands. After washing, they rub butter into their face. After eating, too, if they have

515 remnants of butter on their fingers, they rub it into their faces, and it forms a protection against the strong mountain sun.

Ornaments and Weapons

301 Men and women lay much more stress on ornament than on bodily hygiene. The men wear one earring (1), either on the right or the

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 6.

left ear. It is made of silver and is usually set with a large red coral. The tent nomads also /15/ occasionally wear a large, ring-shaped ornament of silver set with corals, above one ear. This is not, however, characteristic of their costume, but belongs to the sedentary Fantzu who live farther south in the region of Labrang. Less frequently the men wear simple silver finger rings as earrings. A rosary is
788 301 usually worn around the neck as a chain. It is made of thick black disks of fragrant wood, or, what is simpler and cheaper, of small wooden beads. Sometimes they also wear their rosary (2) at their

2. Rockhill 1), Plates 35, 36.

belt or on the rope around their hips. The black chain around their necks is called tsä-nga in Tibetan, or su-chu in Chinese. On this chain hangs in front either a round disk resembling a Chinese chess figure or a large round amber or lacquered ball. On their thin rosaries they wear a square or circular silver box containing some kind of sacred relics, mostly pieces of cloth, amulets and often a Buddha picture, usually that of the Dalai-Lama or the Panchan-Lama. (3). The front of this box is always decorated with a coral

3. Rockhill 1), Plate 5.

in the center. The length of the sides or the diameter of this small amulet box can vary a great deal, but averages about 6 to 9 centimeters and 4 to 6 centimeters respectively. It is about 1 to 2 centimeters deep.

411 Apart from these actual ornaments, however, the men set great store by the decoration of their weapons. They always carry their weapons with them when they go any distance from their tents, even in peaceful times. Their weapons consist of a gun, a sword and a dagger. Until recently old-fashioned guns (1) were generally used,

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 23.

with the customary fork and with a stock that often has a beautiful 411
silver mounting. These old-fashioned guns are still being made in Ho-chou. Within the last four years, however, many comparatively modern guns have been sold to the Fantzu by escaped Chinese soldiers who were racked with hunger. /16/ These modern weapons often still have forks which are chiefly made in Labrang.

Their swords (2) are about one meter long. They are not worn

2. Rockhill, Plate 22.

on a sword belt, but are stuck through the belt or the hip cord in front, so that they rest almost horizontally. The haft and scabbard are usually richly decorated with silver mountings set with corals.

A knife about 30 centimeters long hangs at their side, its handle and sheath consisting of brass or silver.

The women wear large silver ear pendants, richly set with corals 301
and turquoises. Little girls at the age of 7 or 8 get their first ear- 302
rings, mostly of simple brass. Finger rings (3) of silver or copper,

3. Rockhill, Plate 5.

also set with corals and turquoises, are worn on the left hand. Neck rings or necklaces are not worn. Special emphasis is put on hair ornaments. When the young girls get their first hairdo, the side braids are, as we have said, held together by a special ornament. This consists of cloth which the women themselves sew and trim with corals. (4)

4. For a description of women's hairdo compare Rockhill, page 690.

An important tool of the women, which has at the same time 301
developed into an ornament, is an anchor-shaped double hook of 234
brass, known in Tibetan as sao-sou (Chinese: nai-k'o, "milking 413
hook"). (1) It is usually set with a few corals. It is always worn

1. Illustrated in Futterer 6), Vol. I, page 34.

at the belt and is used by the women to hold the pail when milking. Sometimes their belt or hip cord is also ornamented with strips of red cloth and tassels.

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

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his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1. 30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1. 80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

342 Cloth strips about 1 1/2 meters wide are sewed onto the sides of the horizontal tent roof. These are fastened to shorter poles (in front about 1.80 meters, on the sides and in the rear about 1 meter) outside the tent walls in such a way that they slant outward like eaves. In this way the entire space enclosed by the tent wall is covered. Around the tent a number of longer and shorter poles and stakes are hewn into the ground in order to stretch the large horizontal middle section of the tent roof and the slanting sides. These posts are fastened to the cloth of the roof with strong ropes made of yak hair. The horizontal roof consists of two symmetrical halves that converge in a line at the center of the two longitudinal sides. These two halves of the tent roof can be pulled apart slightly to permit the smoke from the fireplace below to escape.

354 The fireplace is always in the exact center of the tent and divides
342 it into two equal halves. It consists of a very primitive rectangular hearth made of loam, on the left side wall of which, as seen from the entrance, there are three fire holes. There are three corresponding round holes on top into which the cooking pots are set. The hearth does not extend from the front to the rear of one side; toward the rear it joins the place /20/ where the fuel is stored. The fuel consists of dried yak dung. In front of the hearth is the entrance to the tent. This is separated from the hearth by a wall about 2 meters wide, made of a piece of cloth stretched between special rods. Thus when one enters the tent one does not come directly into the main room but into a sort of anteroom formed by the cloth wall stretched out in front of the hearth. The person who enters is thus forced to turn right or left and therewith enters the left or right half of the tent, the two halves being sharply separated by the hearth and the adjacent area where the fuel is kept.

342 The side of the tent to the right of the entrance may be used only
562 by the men, the left side by the women. It is strictly forbidden to step across the hearth or the place where the fuel is stored. It is also considered very impolite to step over a person lying on the floor of the tent. Strangers, whether women or men, may under no circumstances enter the side not permissible to them. The residents of the tent may themselves set foot on the forbidden half only if they are alone in the tent and are obliged to fetch something from the other side. The woman, however, may not be seated in the right half. The man goes over to the left side to sleep.

352 In the section to the right is the hearth with a type of very primitive "k'ang" (1), that is to say, two short tubular passages are

1. The living room of the North Chinese house has

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 352
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two 342
meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

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342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make
[294] their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

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The women of the tent nomads do not go out to work like the 462
wives of the sedentary Fantzu. Year in and year out their whole time is taken up by caring for the animals.

The children are put to work early tending the animals. The 857
girls must, in addition, also gather dung, but the boys do not help in this occupation. The girls start to milk when they are 12 or 13 years old.

Animal Husbandry

The Mewu-Fantzu live exclusively from the products of their 231
livestock. They keep yaks, cattle, sheep and horses, also dogs, of course. The most important animal is the yak. The yaks of the Mewu region are generally pure black, occasionally /24/ spotted with white. There are yaks with and without horns. Lack of horns seems to be a recessive hereditary characteristic. There are wealthy families who own more than 100 yaks; but the average number is much less. The 20 tents in the community where I lived together owned 700 yaks, which means an average of 35 per family. The highest number of yaks per family in this community was 70, the lowest 7. It can also happen that poor people do not own any yaks at all, but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows.

Not all families have bulls, but the owner of a bull does not get paid for covering. A cow drops her first calf when she is 2 to 3 years old. The gestation period of the yak is 9 months. Most calves are born in the third or fourth month. In the seventh or eighth month the cows are again covered. Good cows are allowed to grow very old; they are alsughtered only when they are 17 or 18 years old. The calf is gradually weaned, but the amount of milk it gets is reduced very soon after birth. When it is one or two months old the calf gets a nose plug, to prevent it from sucking. The adult yak gets a nose ring made of a bent length of a sturdy withe. Calves and young bulls are often driven to pasture in pairs with their fore-legs tied together, so that they cannot stray too far away.

The oxen are used as pack animals when they are three years old. At the age of 15 or 16 they are fattened and killed. The yaks graze all the year round; only when there is deep snow, which may happen every year in January and February, do they get some green cut oats. The yaks are never given any salt, and therefore always show a definite hunger for it. Milking is done exclusively by the 234
women and girls. The yak cow will let itself be milked only when her calf is tethered near by. A very good milch cow gives a bucket

234 of milk three times a day; an average cow gives two bucketfuls for the day. A milk bucket holds an average of /25/ 2 1/2 liters. The [415] buckets are made and repaired by Chinese. Good buckets are made of pine wood, first-class ones of cypress. Osiers are used as hoops.

The milk is drunk boiled or eaten as clabber. But most of the milk is used to make butter. Casein is derived from the buttermilk, and is filtered through a coarse bag, whereupon it is dried, stored in the form of coarse powder, and eaten. The whey is fed to the dogs. The butter is stored in mutton or yak maws, often for a long time, "up to more than 10 years." This old butter which gets very rancid is chiefly used in the lamaseries to feed guests at the festivals or to make Buddha images. Surplus butter is sent to the temple in which the son of the family is a lama. Lamas also often come to the tents and beg for butter, which is always willingly given to them. The price for old and new butter is the same. It comes to $0.50 per chin. (1) At home as well as in the temples old butter is made into

1. Chin, the Chinese pound, equals 605 grams.

lard in order to clarify it. This lard is used only as fuel for the sacrificial lamps.

236 The long yak hair from the animal's belly, back, and legs is plucked once a year in the fifth or sixth month. This is done by tying down the yak and winding the hair around a stick of wood and thus pulling it out in tufts. Yak hair is used to make cloth for the tent and for ropes. The latter are used to pull the tent widths taut, and as halters and hobbles for horses.

231 A four-year-old milch cow costs $15 to $20, an old ox ready 435 to be slaughtered, $12 to $13. Calves are not sold. Yaks are slaughtered mostly in September and October. Some of the fresh meat is eaten, most of it is hung up to dry. The dried meat is either hung in the tent or is packed in leather. In this packed state it is often given to a temple for /26/ safekeeping. A yak skin costs $1 to $4; a good yak tail costs 10 cents, a white one, 20 to 30 cents. Yak horns are used as snuff containers, rarely as drinking horns. They also serve as milk bottles for babies.

232 Cattle are raised only by the sedentary Fantzu, not by the tent nomads. But the tent nomads buy individual bulls for breeding, because they like very much to use crossbreeds between beef cattle and yaks. A cross between a male beef and a female yak is particularly valued (Chinese: pien-niu). The pien-niu grows larger than a yak and has somewhat shorter and more curly hair than the

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yak. Its tail is thick and bushy but, unlike the yak, is clearly de- 232
fined at the root. It has larger horns than the yak. The pien-niu gets to be over 20 years old, that is, older than the yak. Male pien-niu are always castrated and used as pack oxen. The pien-niu is valued because of its greater strength, its longer life and better milk production; it also withstands the warmer climate of lower altitudes better than the yak. For the yak breeder, therefore, the pien-niu has a similar position as the mule has for the horse breeder.

The pien-niu cow drops her first calf after 3 to 4 years. The 231
price of a milch cow fluctuates between $40 and $50, and is thus 435
twice as high as that of a yak cow. A yak maw full of butter is the annual rent for a good pien-niu. A maw contains about 18 chin. The cross between a male yak and a female beef cow is called szu-pien-niu in Chinese. It is not regarded as valuable as the pien-niu, although it also lives to be 20 years old. The szu-pien-niu has a bushy tail, smaller horns and above all weaker legs than the pien-niu. The price of a szu-pien-niu is $30 to $40. The cross between the yak bull and the pien-niu cow (chia-pien-niu) is valued even less. It has the same fur as beef cattle, but is larger. This cross-breed lives to be only 10 years old. It costs about $30. A cross between /27/ a bull and a female pien-niu is called ga-ba. It lives to be no more than 7 or 8 years old. A ga-ba calf is immediately slaughtered, and the mother is then milked.

After yaks, sheep (1) are the most important domestic animals. 231

1. With regard to breeds, see Hermanns 3), page 87.

One family seldom owns more than 700 sheep; but there are also families that have no sheep at all. In the community made up of 20 tents where I lived there were seven families who had no sheep. The total number of sheep in this community came to more than 9,000, which means an average of 700 per herd owner. Sheep are not leased. One figures 40 to 50 ewes to one ram. The sheep drop their first young at two years; it drops only one lamb. A good ewe is allowed to die a natural death; otherwise sheep are slaughtered when they are two or three years old. Wethers are slaughtered at three or four years. A good sheep costs $3 to $3.50, a fat wether [436] $9.

Like the yaks, the sheep are driven to pasture early in the morn 233
ing and back to the tents at night. Some herd owners have simple, circular sheepfolds made of wooden beams next to their tents, into which they drive their sheep at night.

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236 The sheep are sheared once a year in May or June. Neighbors
[476] help each other in this task without charge. It takes an average of two days to shear the herd of one family. A wether gives 1 chin of wool annually, a ewe, 1/2 chin. A chin of fleece costs 20 to 50 cents. At the time of my visit the demand for wool was so great
237 that the highest price was paid. A sheepskin costs $0.60 to $1.
435 However, skins of unborn lambs cost $2 to $4. A sheep gut is sold for $0.20 to $0.30; in He-tso, the nearest large town, the price goes
262 up to $0.40 when it is resold. More mutton than yak meat is eaten. Lambs are eaten only if they have died of some disease. The Fantzu do not drink sheep milk, but they use it for butter if they do not have enough yak milk.

231 /28/ The sheep often suffer from paralysis of both forelegs, and many die of this disease. Most of the animals die of starvation in February or March, especially if there has been much snow during
[476] the winter. If a family loses all its animals, everybody helps out by giving them others. The tent nomads do not often keep goats, but the sedentary Fantzu often do, and they also drink goat's milk.

Every family has at least one horse. The Mewu-Fantzu have a small breed of horses that measures about 130 centimeters at the withers. These Tibetan ponies are somewhat smaller and lighter than the Mongolian ponies or those from the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. They are closer to the tarpan (Equus gmelini) than the Przewalski type (1). These horses have a great deal of endurance

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 164 ff.

and are especially adapted for use in mountainous terrain. They
232 have hard hoofs which are not shoed in the steppes. Good stallions
135 are selected for breeding, the rest are castrated at four years. These horses live an average of 10 years; the men break them in at 3 years. The average price of a riding horse is $40 to $50; the highest price is $100. No horses are imported, but horse traders come from T'ao-chou and He-tso, and the Mewu-Fantzu sell them horses. Mules are not used by the tent nomads; asses cannot stand the high altitude.

492 The simple horse bridles of leather with brass mountings are made and sold by the Chinese, likewise the iron snaffles and the stirrups which can be of iron or brass. The Mewu-Fantzu use Hungarian saddles /bocksattel/ the wooden frames of which are made by the sedentary Tebu-Fantzu on the northern slopes of the

mawu

Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231
a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231
only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411
carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231
from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak, a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243
As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The
222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to
313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds
[534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them
[415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

meuw

The ordinary meal consists of butter and tsamba, but more butter 252
is eaten than tsamba. This is the way it is done: they fill a wooden bowl with tea (1) and add a good clump of butter (about a heaping

1. Such a bowl is on an average 5 centimeters deep and has a diameter at the brim of 10 to 12 centimeters. Rock- [415]
hill 1), Plate 14, Figure 3.

tablespoonful in the European sense) which melts in the hot tea. As they drink the butter tea, they try to blow away as much of the butter floating on top as possible, until a certain amount of tea and butter remain in the bowl. Then they sprinkle a suitable amount of tsamba into the bowl and knead it, along with the remaining tea and butter, with their fingers. When they have shaped it into a ball, they eat it without adding any other ingredients. The casein powder is also soaked in tea. Meat - of yak and sheep - is not eaten every [262]
day. They eat the meat of animals that have been killed or that have died of some disease. Sheep and yaks /32/ are not slaughtered [253]
but strangled. Most of the sheep and yaks are killed in September and October after they have grown fat on summer pastures. Some of the meat is eaten fresh; most of it is dried. The fresh meat is always boiled in water, not roasted. Hunks of cooked meat are cut off with a knife and eaten with the fingers. The intestines are stuffed with tsamba or Chinese bread (mo-mo) and eaten. The large intestine is generally used for this purpose, since the nomads have found that they can profitably sell the small intestine. "Mo-mo" is bought from Chinese bakers who live in the Chinese settlements next to the monasteries. As a rule, a yak is killed by several families together. Pork is eaten only at New Year. For this occasion wealthy [527]
families buy one or two pigs from the sedentary Fantzu. Poorer people buy no more than one pig which they pay for in butter the following summer.

Besides pork which, according to Hermanns, (1) is not generally 262

1. Hermanns 3), page 58. According to Ekvall 4), page 78, only the nomads who live farther away from the Chinese eat no pork.

eaten by the Amdo-nomads, yak meat and mutton is, of course, also eaten for New Year and at feasts, along with butter and tsamba, baked goods made of unparched barley flour, or mo-mo which is usually fried in rape-seed oil. Besides this, the nomads also buy

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in
[262] various ways, preferably boiled until it is soft, with sugar added.

263 Garlic and paprika are the chief condiments, also hua-chiao
273 (Zanthoxylum piperitum D.C.). Salt comes from the Kokonor.
733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.

276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 17, Figures 2 - 4.

264 The nomads eat three meals a day. Breakfast is rather late, after the livestock has been milked and driven out to pasture. The midday meal is eaten when the sun is at its height, the evening meal rather late, after dark. The food - mainly tsamba and butter - is the same at all meals. Guests are also offered food three times a day. Men and women eat the same food, but they are not permitted to eat together in the tent. The men eat in the right-hand section of the tent, the women in the left. The food must be handed from one section to the other around the hearth; it is considered very impolite to hand it over the hearth. (2)

2. so as not to offend the spirit of the hearth: Hermanns 3), page 48.

252 The cooking pots are large kettles made of brass about 80
415 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high. They are

mewu

made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags. Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only carefully clarified lard is burned in them.

We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and

439 yak tails, skins of sheep, of lambs and unborn lambs, of dogs, foxes
237 and groundhogs, more rarely skins of goats, gazelles and wolves. After New Year, for which pigs were slaughtered, they also sell pig bristles. Finally, they sell musk, field mushrooms, the chüo-ma root (Potentilla anserina) and hsiao-hsiang, a plant used in making incense candles.

439 The Chinese sell to the Fantzu: dress goods (silk and cotton), leopard skins for the men's fur coats, ornaments, weapons, kitchen utensils, especially cooking pots, needles, thread, matches, bridles with snaffle and stirrup. Tsamba is purchased from the sedentary Fantzu, often also wood. Woodenware, especially saddles, eating bowls and spoons come chiefly from the sedentary Fantzu who live in southern Kansu and northern Szechuan.

201 Bargaining is carried on very cautiously. The Tibetans do not
439 come out with the price immediately, but /37/ according to a custom also widespread in China, the two parties shake hands under their long sleeves, and the price demanded of the buyer is indicated by stretching out the fingers. They keep a dead-pan expression, so that they will not betray toward one another their real feelings about the transaction. Often such a transaction in sign language is carried on not by the two partners alone; bystanders act as go-betweens or lend support to one of the two parties, but likewise only in sign language under their sleeves.

439 The Mohammedan and Chinese traders come to the tent camps of the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) But the Fantzu also often go to the

1. For details see Ekvall 4).

Chinese settlements next to the temples on the caravan road from Ho-chou to Labrang, or to the nearest Chinese cities. An important trading station for the Mewu-Fantzu is the Chinese-Mohammedan settlement next to the large monastery of He-tso; somewhat farther away and less important is the trading station near the monastery of Ka-chia-chiu-szu; a large trading center still farther away is the one near the large temple city of Labrang. The more sizeable Chinese cities visited by the Mewu-Fantzu are the district cities of T'ao-chou (the old part of the city), Ho-chou and Ning-hou. In T'ao-chou they buy chiefly metalware, for example, copper and brass kettles. Frequently the nomads bring wood with their yaks from the sedentary Fantzu of the lower areas to Ho-chou and Ning-hou, and buy goods with the money they have thus earned. The nomads

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade; but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
792 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I. 1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II. 1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

III. 1. The arrow is fitted into the bow, the needles are in the case, we can sew silk well with them. 533

2. It is much better if I can meet my Chinese friend on the slope of the mountain, near the huts (this means: it is more convenient for the Tibetan girl to have a rendezvous with a Chinese than to work in her tent camp).

IV. 1. I shall now climb up the mountain; tell me whether there is a Fu-yeh (Living Buddha) there, and whether he will bless me (touch me with his hand).

2. I shall now climb down into the valley; is there peace there now so that I can do my trading?

3. I shall visit my friends in the village, will the villagers then think ill of me? Is my friend at home?

/41/ Religion

In the religious field conditions among the Tibetans are similar 771 to those of the Chinese, that is to say, a more highly developed religious system was superimposed on an ancient primitive folk religion which nevertheless remained alive in the heart of the people. Just as the vulgar form of Taoism developed essentially from Chinese popular religion, so the Bon religion developed from Tibetan folk religion. Superimposed upon this in China is Confucianism and the specifically Chinese form of Buddhism, while in Tibet Lamaism represents the specifically Tibetan form of Buddhism. (1) However, 771 184

1. Compare in this connection Rockhill, page 730: "Primitive Lamaism may be defined as a priestly mixture of Shivaic mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by the thinnest veneer of Mahayana Buddhism." (Compare Wadell 7), page 17) - and Schröder 8), page 258: "The 'faith' of the Tujen combines into a common stratum which as Lamaistic folk religion covers the entire field of the Yellow church... Shamanism - Bon religion - cult of Heaven.... popular Lamaism."

the role of Buddhism in China cannot compare in importance with

771 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief
184 reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory descrip-
114 tion of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal
771 conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course,
124 difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, 186
and take up the thread another time or with another person. In 771
many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ 124
knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned
a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that
case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and
would not have learned what were the most important things in the re-
ligious life of the laymen.

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In 771
both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits, nature
demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important re-
ligious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere,
and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in
spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions,
combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other
superstitions.

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: 776
djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to 753
the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of
man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which
in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene
(he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of
Lamaism.

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are
feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with
some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe
in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As
among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei,
and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven
him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station
himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night,
and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into
the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the
transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said,
if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits,
earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and
correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is
called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley,
usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

776 themselves by bringing sickness. If someone is suddenly seized with
753 violent internal pains, it is feared above all that the earth spirits have been offended. You can offend them by scratching up the earth, a belief which is strongly reminiscent of Chinese conceptions regarding feng-shui (geomancy).

778 I did not hear anything among the Mewu-Fantzu about water spirits, but in Labrang there is a sacred spring. Once as I was riding by, I saw four lamas slowly encircle this spring, amid song and drumbeat, a ceremony which is performed when the weather is unfavorable, particularly when it is too wet or too dry.

776 There is also a cult of tree spirits among the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu who live below the timber line.

Of the earth spirits in the narrower sense, we must distinguish mountain spirits. In Tibet, as in China, there are mountains whose spirits or gods are the objects of special veneration. The most notable among these is the Amne Machin range in the northeastern reaches of Tibet, about which little is known. /45 In the large lamasery of He-tso which lies between Labrang and the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu, a friendly lama, one of the lamasery artists, made for me a beautiful picture of Amne Ma chin as a mounted male god surrounded by numerous other gods. (The picture was unfortunately lost in the chaos of war.)

In the more restricted area of the Mewu-Fantzu the mountain spirits known as "ami" who are pictured as living in the "obo," (1)

1. In re "obo" and "ami" see Rockhill, page 734. "obo" is a Mongolian word.

are the most venerated. It took me a long time and required many conversations before I was able to understand the whole complex of ideas surrounding the obo and its ami.

778 Every mountain on which there stands an obo (Tibetan: lab-dza) is particularly sacred. The obo of the nomadic Mewu-Fantzu consists of a wooden structure into which, year by year, sacrificial wooden darts are stuck, so that the obo looks like a bundle or bouquet of darts often more than two meters high. Twigs of bushes are also stuck into this bundle of darts. The darts vary in size, and may be a meter or more long. Every Fantzu visits the obo at least once a year and takes with him a wooden dart or the branch of a shrub as an offering. The t'ou-mu (chieftain) has the privilege of giving especially long darts. Tufts of sheep wool and khadaks are also stuck into the obo.

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 776
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 777
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewu

177 178 obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

178 The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of

177 fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship

178 between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei,

176 i. e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought

176 of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

353 Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the en-

176 tire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

corner of the /48/ tent, which is the home of Yu-la. The fur of all 353
kinds of domestic animals is used, and a tuft of hair is plucked out 776
of each animal for this purpose before it is sold or slaughtered. Thus the bundle constantly increases in size. After a meal, tea, butter, and milk are smeared on the bundle of hair for the house god.

On the altar which is found in every tent stand small statues made of bronze or brass of the Lamaistic deities. The god that seems to be most popular here is called Dzam-la. He corresponds, allegedly, to Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth (2) of the Chinese popular re-

2. Compare Wadell, page 370.

ligion; in accordance with Lamaistic custom, water is regularly offered to this god. Another god much venerated is one that is thought of as dwelling in hell and judging the souls of the dead. He corresponds to the Chinese Yen-lo-wang. The "horse god" (Chinese: Ma-wang-yeh, Tibetan: dam-dzen) who is also worshiped in the Lamaistic temples is offered sacrifices by the sorcerers, especially when there is threat of war. He has three heads and is represented in union with its Cakti (female principle). Ts'ai-shen and Chia-shen are worshiped by men and women alike.

I did not learn anything about a worship of the heavens among 787
the Fantzu, nor of the sun, moon and stars.

After death the soul of the deceased can turn into an evil spirit. 775
It can descend into hell (Tibetan: nal-wa), where it is adjudicated by the judge of hell (Yen-lo-wang, Yama). But just as in China, there is a parallel belief in Buddhistic transmigration of souls, and no one is aware of any inconsistency. If a person has led a good life, he can be reborn as an incarnation (fu-yeh), if he has been bad, he becomes a woman or an animal (bovine, horse, ox, sheep). Here the belief in the transmigration of souls is sometimes confused with the belief in evil spirits into which the souls of persons who have died a violent death are transformed.

/49/ A characteristic incident had just occurred among the 682
Mewu-Fantzu: 775

The t'ou-mu of the Mewu-Fantzu had a younger brother with whom he had quarreled seven or eight years before about the rule of a group of Fantzu. He had had the brother treacherously killed one day when the latter was riding across the steppes. A short time afterwards, groundhogs dug a passage behind the t'ou-mu's house with an opening inside the enclosure of his property. This was a surprising

682 and unusual thing, considering the shy nature of groundhogs. The
775 chief immediately feared that his brother might be among these groundhogs, and proclaimed a general law against groundhog hunting. This law was still enforced, although the sale of groundhog pelts brings in quite a bit of money. It probably means that the Fantzu shared or at least understood the fear of their chieftain. On the other hand, according to primitive ideas of justice, the assassination was in no way avenged, since this would have been exclusively a matter that concerned the family of the victim.

769 Ancestor worship is different from that of the Chinese. There are no ancestral tablets. In the Mewu-Fantzu dialect the ancestors are called xõŭ. After the father or mother has died, he or she is venerated by daily sacrifices in front of the tent. Later this sacrifice is made only on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of the month, and then it is gradually abandoned.

791 Just as Taoist and Buddhist priests take part in exorcism, the propitiation of offended spirits and the casting out of evil ones, so Tibetan sorcerers and lamas are enlisted for this purpose. The sorcerer corresponding to the Taoist (tao-shih) or exorcist (kan-kuei-hsien-sheng) of the Chinese popular religion is called no-hua by the Tibetans and "böm-bu" (local pronunciation) by the Chinese. Thus he is a priest of the Bon religion. He wears his hair /50/ long, and is adorned with a special head scarf. (1) There are no different kinds

1. Compare Hoffmann 9), page 137 (names), page 197 (relations to shamanism).

of böm-bu. Not every tent community has a böm-bu, and unfortunately there was none in the community I visited. The böm-bu is married and his profession - the art of carrying out exorcistic rites and writing incantations to ward off spirits - is handed down from father to son, but not to daughter or son-in-law. The altar in the tent of the böm-bu contains the customary small statues of gods and bowls for the sacrificial water, as well as a large Chinese brush with which he writes his incantations, and a long row of copper coins. He always has prayer books, although the laymen say that many böm-bu cannot read their prayerbooks, but only leaf through them. On the other hand, I was told that the böm-bu are able to understand the sacred writings of the lamas, but that, conversely, fewer educated lamas understand the sacred writings of the böm-bu. In spite of the high esteem in which the lamas are

held, I gathered from the Mewu-Fantzu that the magic power of a 791
böm-bu is considered greater than that of the lama, although he does not enjoy special social privileges. In cases of illness, the nomads as a rule first consult a lama who can determine which spirit has caused the illness. They are sometimes in doubt whether in a certain case exorcism by a böm-bu or a lama would be more successful. The result is that, oddly enough, a lama is first consulted, and they let him decide, by throwing dice, which exorcism would be more effective, that of the lama or the böm-bu. This is a noteworthy indication of the tolerance Lamaism has for popular religion, and it also shows that the lamas for their part do not doubt the magic power of the böm-bu. Thus I was told that in cases of serious illness, the 791
böm-bu is generally preferred because the people believe he has 755
greater magic power, and that he is nevertheless no more expensive 789
than a lama.

/51/ The most common task of the böm-bu is to heal sickness with magic. The cause of the illness is assumed to be an offense against the spirits or possession by an evil spirit, and above all, enchantment by an enemy. However, sickness is not regarded as a punishment for sins. In our discussion of earth spirits, we pointed out that the Mewu-Fantzu believe that sudden illness can arise if one scratches up the ground and thus offends the earth spirits. In this case barley roasted in a kettle is sacrificed. Half of it is roasted until it is black, the other half is less thoroughly done. Both halves are then mixed and strewn on the ground. At the same time cypress wood is burned, and sacred writings are read aloud. The reading aloud of sacred writings is an essential part of the ritual of exorcism, just as it is among Chinese exorcists. The böm-bu can read the sacred writings in the tent of the sick person, but he also reads them in his own tent, on the one hand, in order to learn them, and on the other, to bring good luck to other people who have delegated him to do the reading. For a three-day treatment of an illness the böm-bu is given a sheep or $3 - $4. For reading sacred writings in his own tent throughout a forenoon, he gets about 20 cents. A lama receives the same amount for treating sickness with prayer.

As an exorcist, the böm-bu's duty is to drive out evil spirits and if possible destroy them. He can catch the evil spirits. To do this he reads the sacred writings aloud and uses a whip made of yak leather. A man stands in front of the böm-bu and holds open a bag of yak leather into which the böm-bu charms the evil spirit. A great many people stand behind the bag, threatening the evil spirit

791 with all kinds of weapons - muskets, bows and arrows, swords and
765 knives - and driving the spirit into the bag. When the spirit is
789 captured, the bag is carried outside, opened up over a fire of /52/ yak dung and symbolically emptied. The escaping evil spirit is threatened with the weapons carried by the men who accompany the bag, and this is supposed to drive the spirit into the fire where he is consumed. This burning of the spirit always takes place at a crossroad, which is why crossroads are avoided in the evening, since one never knows whether or not the burning has been successful. This type of exorcism is practiced only in cases of illness.

791 In special cases exorcistic rites are carried on simultaneously
789 by a considerable number of böm-bu. Thus before a war 10 to 20 böm-bu gather in order to curse the enemy and ask for good luck. In this case the böm-bu invoke a special god, the horse god (Ma-wang-yeh). They can also, like the lamas, invoke the mountain spirits which bring luck.

791 The böm-bu surpass the lamas in their exclusive ability to
754 practice black magic. However, they must be paid more for this than for ordinary exorcism. A böm-bu can be induced to bring sickness or a cattle epidemic down upon an enemy, but for this he must be paid with a yak or a horse, whether or not he is successful.

When black magic is practiced with the help of a böm-bu, a dog is killed and its blood used. The name of the person to be bewitched is written on a slip of paper, along with a magic formula. Then the paper is dipped in the blood of the dog and buried near the person who is being bewitched. (1) Meanwhile /53/ the böm-

1. In China we also find that cursed objects intended to bring ill luck through black magic are buried. For example, if a woman does not wish her neighbor well, she tries to gain possession of a few of her neighbor's hairs which she brings to an old woman versed in black magic and making a business of it. With the help of incantations, the old woman can make the hairs work an evil spell, for example, produce trachoma or boils. However, in order to be effective, the hairs must be secretly placed under the chamber pot (ma-t'ung) of the victim.

bu is reading aloud from the sacred books in his tent. It is not possible, however, by means of magic to turn men into animals
and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China. 000

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bömbu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic. [792] 754 627

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1) 186

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

186 Kuangtung, where my guide, a Chinese from the neighborhood, was heartily reproached for having brought the rain-bringing stranger. The poor man was soundly thrashed even by his Chinese fellow citizens after he returned to his own village.

751 The customs observed to ward off or eliminate misfortune or invoke good fortune are a hodgepodge of ideas taken from popular religion and Lamaism. Both religions exist side by side in the religious world of the people, just as the böm-bu have taken over Lamaistic customs and vice versa.

Such customs may be magic practices in the widest sense, linked with all kinds of superstition; they can be prayers, sacrifices or oracles. Amulets are favorite magic symbols; they are preferably made by lamas and consecrated by magic formulas spoken over them. When we described the ornaments of the Fantzu we spoke of the rosaries and the small, square or round boxes worn on the chest and containing sacred objects of the Lamaist. These are worn throughout a lifetime, especially when there are unusual dangers, as for example, war. They are often presented to the laymen by lamas.

/55/ Small strips of silk tied around the throat are worn as amulets. The amulet boxes worn on the chest contain, for example, magic writings of an incarnation, bits of clothing, nail parings, hair or remnants of sacrifice of an incarnation, even his excrement; also pills which are made by the incarnation and which are given as a present if one kowtows to the incarnation. These pills may also be kept in the tent in front of the family altar. It is believed that after a month or more small pills originate from the initial large one, and that these can protect the body from all kinds of diseases. Small scraps of clothing of an incarnation are known as nam-sa, the pills, mani-je-la.

I was unable to get any information about special superstitions relating to unerring marksmanship or imperviousness to bullets. However, I learned of a symbolic act of magic to ward off the threat of war or bring about victory. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu (late summer of 1936) they were very much afraid of the Communist army which was at that time on its famous march to the north. In the large lamasery of He-tso I observed that hundreds of small figures were being made of a mixture of water, barley flour and butter and that these were painted red.

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are / 56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by böm-bu [782]
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1. Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
782 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

> In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide, imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782 224

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a böm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same 782
formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers.

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the 764
strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery 177
there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately /61/ following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

764 the corpse, /62/ attendants cut it up with a knife, severing the limbs
177 at the joints. Any kind of knife is used for this purpose; afterwards it is washed off a bit and used for other things. The various parts of the corpse are thrown in all directions so that they will be devoured by the vultures. The bones, such as skull, jaws, upper thigh bones, are left at the burial place. Many bones are disposed of by vultures.

While this is going on at the burial place, the relatives and lamas (usually only two of the latter) gather in the tent of mourning. Here the lamas read prayers. The family of the deceased prepares a large meal of which the lamas partake. The food consists of tsamba, butter, mo-mo and meat cooked with rice. After the meal tsamba and butter are divided among the relatives. The lamas get the better clothing of the deceased and they in turn give them to their relatives. The lamas continue to read prayers from breakfast until noon and even while people eat. Sometime after the death has occurred, the family gives butter, barley flour and money to the lamasery to which the lamas belong. Wealthy people give each lama $14, a pound (chin) of butter and a bushel (tou) of barley flour. Poor people give each lama only 10 cents; very poor ones give nothing.

Five or six years after the day of mourning the same ceremonies are performed. This custom is perhaps based on the same ideas that underlie the widespread second burial in South China. No special mourning clothes are worn. The Fantzu do not join in official loud weeping as the Chinese do at their funerals; it is only at the funeral feast that they weep softly now and then "to be polite and to show one's sympathy."

A child's funeral does not differ from that of an adult.

If someone has died a violent death, no special customs are observed. Nor is there any difference in the case of suicide. However, this form of death seems to be rare. /63/ My interpreter knew of only two cases of suicides by hanging among the Mewu-Fantzu.

After a death has occurred the Fantzu request an incarnation (fu-yeh) to carry out a ceremony to insure the rebirth of the soul in a human being, not an animal ("scatter flowers rice," tsou hua mi). The fu-yeh strews grains of barley all over the tent to form flower-like figures (Tibetan: dzam-na). A pointed trivet is made of tsamba and is a symbol of the dead. It is also strewn with barley corn by the fu-yeh. A member of the family or a neighbor carries the symbol of the dead out of the tent and throws it away not far

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 964 177

In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-do-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some 792

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tso farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

792 Let us summarize what we have said about the function of the lamas in the everyday religious life of the nomads: the lamas exorcise the evil spirits, above all the wicked souls of the dead who bring sickness to man and beast. People come to the lamas to receive amulets as a protection against diseases of men and animals, and prayer flags to protect the tent. Lamas are also requested to exorcise unfavorable weather by reading prayers aloud. Only the lamas can judge feng-shui, i.e., the magical influence of the various aspects of landscape on the life of man. As far as I could ascertain, feng-shui does not count as much among the Fantzu as it does among the Chinese.

At festivals, some of which are celebrated by individual families in their tents, others in the lamaseries, the lamas must recite prayers; likewise on other occasions, for example, to fend off threats of war. The lamas are also consulted when a child is given a name one or two months after birth. But first and foremost the lamas are asked to help in sickness in order to determine by casting dice whether it would be more advantageous to have a lama or a böm-bu exorcise the evil spirit. They are paid a small sum of money for carrying out such exorcisms. If one wants to apprehend a criminal, a lama is asked to prophesy whether the crime can be discovered and when, and in what direction one must travel in order to capture the criminal. A lama is also consulted if it is believed that an illness was caused by magic. The lama prophesies who has cast the spell.

Aside from all these "religious" functions, a lama's aid is also sought in everyday life when /65/ on any occasion a layman's education is not adequate. Thus if a man closes an important business deal, he asks a lama to help him make out the bill. Most important of all, the scholarly lamas calculate the Chinese calendar for the people, and post it on the lamasery gate.

The incarnations have a special significance in the religious life of a lamasery. In Chinese they are known as Huo-fu (Living Buddha), in Kansu mostly fu-yeh, in Tibetan (Mewu-Fantzu) A-le-ha. (1) In Mewu-chiu-szu and Lao-do-ma there are two

1. Compare L. A. Wadell 7), page 229 ff. on incarnations.

fu-yeh, in Mewu-hsin-szu, one. The fu-yeh are sent from Labrang to these temples. They need not come originally from the region of the Mewu-Fantzu. My interpreter could not remember that there was ever a fu-yeh found among the Mewu-Fantzu. He

maintained that origin was not important in the selection of a fu-yeh, and that the fu-yeh were not predominantly chosen from the families of tribal chieftains or other influential families. In his opinion, the fu-yeh were honestly chosen. The common people have the following to say on the subject: Shortly before his death the fu-yeh tells his confidant (kuan-chia) in what region he will be reborn. If he does not mention a specific region or says that he will be reborn only after a few years, the kuan-chia consults the great incarnation at Labrang who figures out when and where the fu-yeh will be reborn. The kuan-chia takes the deceased fu-yeh's horse-whip and his wooden tsamba bowl edged with silver, and betakes himself into the region indicated by the deceased himself or by the incarnation in Labrang, in order to find the child in which the deceased is reborn. He gives the bowl and the whip to a number of children who he thinks may be the incarnation. If a child accepts the objects, it is the true incarnation who then is presented with khadaks (silk scarfs) and pulu (Tibetan woolen material) by the kuan-chia. The child is usually 4 to 8 years old. The kuan-chia then negotiates about the price to be paid the parents of the fu-yeh for /66/ the child. It amounts to several hundred dollars, a few horses and yaks. Often, however, the parents forgo compensation because they consider it an honor to have a fu-yeh in their family. The inhabitants of the region in which the fu-yeh was found form a cortege which accompanies him to the lamasery he is to enter, and the lamas from there come to meet him. A fu-yeh is never dismissed because he proves unsuitable. No one doubts the divinatory discovery of the fu-yeh.

The great importance of the fu-yeh for the lamasery itself as well as for the religious life of the layman is evident if we consider the fact mentioned above that each lamasery has a corresponding obo on a sacred mountain, and that the spirit (ami) dwelling in the obo is thought of as mystically connected with one of the lamasery incarnations who, in turn, corresponds to a Buddha or Bodhisattva.

The high esteem which the fu-yeh enjoys among the people gives him a special place in judicial matters: a convicted thief must pay a lama two or three times the indemnity that a layman can command, but a fu-yeh must be paid nine times the amount if he is robbed. At New Year, offerings are made to the ami at the obo, and on the fourth day of the year a festival is held at the lamaseries, which the laymen attend and at which fireworks are set off in honor of the former fu-yeh. The Tibetan regards it as a special reward for a sinless life to be reborn as a fu-yeh some day, although he

792 does not realize that this view contradicts the essential nature of an incamation. As we said above, people like to give butter to the fu-yeh if he rides to the tent encampment personally to request food for the lamasery. We have also mentioned the fact that when death occurs in a family the fu-yeh must conduct a special rite in the tent of the deceased so that he will not be reborn as an animal but as a human being.

796 /67/ All festivals of the Tibetans, except weddings and part of the New Year's festival, are religious. There are four yearly festivals in the lamaseries: from the 1st to the 15th of the first month, from the 15th to the 25th of the fifth month, from the 1st to the 15th of the eighth month, and from the 15th to the 25th of the tenth month, according to the Chinese calendar. There are no other religious festivals, with the exception of the festival known as "speaking and sitting still." No religious festivals are celebrated in the tents. However, while the lamasery festivals are going on or shortly thereafter, people invite friends and relatives to their tent. The laymen bring meat, wine and money to the festivals as gifts for the lamasery; no gifts are brought when people are invited into the tents. The wine is drunk only by the laymen, never by lamas. At the New Year festival, which as a rule lasts a fortnight, feasts are usually prepared in the tents, but only on the first three days. This festival was formerly more simple among the Fantzu, but has been influenced by the Chinese. On the morning of New Year's day they burn cypress wood as a sacrifice to the mountain spirits. On the fourth day of the year everybody from the tents goes to the lamasery, where a large feast is given - consisting mostly of mo-mo and butter - and fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased fu-yeh. At the same time a festival is held on the obo mountain to invoke the ami. Butter, tea, mutton and cypress wood are offered. At the New Year's feasts in the tents, beef, mutton and pork are eaten - in fact, pork is eaten only at New Year - as well as butter, a kind of bread made of unroasted barley flour, pastry baked in oil and tsamba. In addition they buy bean-flour noodles, carrots and cabbage in Ho-chou, the nearest large Mohammedan commercial city north of Labrang. If the family is wealthy they also eat pao-tzu (tarts) filled with garlic, similar to Italian ravioli, which are popular all over North China as well. Noodles and mo-mo (Chinese bread) are also served exclusively at New Year and on other festive occasions. If possible, they drink wine.

/67a/ Besides the above-described festivals, the niu-na festival 796 is held annually in summer, but only among the tent nomads of the Mewu tribe. The name of the festival means "sitting still and talking." The site of the festival, a shallow valley in the grasslands with steep, pointed limestone peaks in the background, is always the same. The time of the festival is determined each year by the Mewu-hsin-szu Lamasery. The festival honors the spirits to insure the health of livestock throughout the year; prayers are offered for favorable wind and sufficient rain. There is no special sacrifice offered. The festival lasts five days. At least one or two persons, usually more, from each family - men and women, old people and youngsters - participate. Each family is required to send at least one representative. If they fail to do so, they must pay a fine. Only about 20 to 30 people arrive on the first day to erect the tents for the participants which stand along the edge of the circular festival grounds. The area measures about 100 meters in diameter. There is also a beautiful rectangular temple tent in which the lamas say their prayers. It is decorated with a tri-colored cloth frieze and black ornaments. Inside hang Lamaistic images of saints; an altar has also been erected. Next to the temple tent there are two larger tents which serve as the community kitchen. The tents of most of the participants are made of the customary coarse black tent cloth. Only the wealthy people pitch small, white tents of the type the lamas use on their travels. Most of the participants arrive on the second day. They do not eat anything in the morning, only drink something. Toward noon as large a meal as possible is served: tsamba, butter, mo-mo, rice, sour milk; but no wine. The main dishes are mo-mo baked in oil and butter. The meal lasts one or two hours because enough must be eaten for two days. Mo-mo or flat, soft rolls about 30 centimeters in diameter are baked on a large common hearth. The ingredients for this, wheat flour and rape oil purchased in Labrang or Ho-chou, are collected from all the tents. The mo-mo are equally distributed among all the participants. When they /68/ eat, men and women sit on the ground in two rows facing each other. The inmates of one tent, 7 to 10 persons, sit together. After the meal they fast and are silent for the rest of the day. On the third day of the festival they do not eat and do not talk; only prayers are mumbled by men and women. On the fourth day there is again a large meal, but otherwise no one eats or converses. On the fifth day the conduct is the same as on the third: fasting, prayer, silence. On the sixth day the festival breaks up. I visited it on the

79% fourth day, and my impression was that the participants were in a very quiet, dull and somewhat sleepy mood. The festival is conducted by the lamas of the Mewu lamaseries, more than half of whom attend. The chieftain does not come regularly himself, but always sends members of his family. The participants arrive in their Sunday-best, their costumes often being magnificent. The women wear red silk tassels on their conical felt hats. You see a great many purple and scarlet silk jackets with gay collars; red, purple and figured pulu coats; rich hair ornaments of silver and gold. The middle section of the gala hair ornaments of the young girls is decorated with silvery bands of tin. The women's furs are often trimmed with a bias band of cloth that looks like a skirt and is edged with otter fur or colored cloth. Everyone brings along his best saddles and bridles, often mounted with silver. You see many showy weapons, guns with silver-mounted stocks and swords in choice sheaths. The women also wear beautiful knives in their belts.

/69/ Social Life

551 The Mewu-Fantzu are said to have surnames (hsing), a custom
553 which they have taken over from the Chinese, probably only a short time ago for it was not customary among the Fantzu, and the surname is not used in conversation. (1) According to an ancient

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 42, the Amdo-Tibetans have only given names; Rockhill 1), page 724, says the same.

custom, a child is given a name by a lama when it is one or two months old. This name-giving is not connected with a special festival. An adult is usually given a nickname by his friends, which refers to a special characteristic or event, for example, "imperfection," "deformed." I have no information about a change of name as a result of marriage. People with the same surname may marry, likewise relatives, all except brothers and sisters. Thus cousins may marry or a nephew may marry his aunt on either side of the family, or a son may marry the divorced wife of his father. Couples from the same neighborhood or from outlying areas are free to marry, but not those of special tent encampments or special families.

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

585 /71/ The wedding celebration varies according to whether the woman marries into the man's family or whether a son-in-law is adopted. In the former instance she rides to the tent of the man on the wedding day, wearing a new dark or light-blue cotton coat (seldom a red one) over her fur coat. She is accompanied by the go-between, her sisters, and young men and women from the neighborhood. When they arrive at the tent of the man, there are no particular ceremonies as in Chinese weddings, where fireworks are set off and musicians blow their horns. The bride is received in front of the tent by a neighbor of the bridegroom who does not himself come out of the tent. These people have not adopted any Chinese marriage ceremonies, such as kowtowing to the parents-in-law, to the ancestors, and to heaven and earth. The woman with her attendants enters the left (female) side of the tent, the male attendants enter the right side. After the bride has arrived, a sumptuous wedding feast begins, which lasts from morning to evening and is shared by the relatives of the bridegroom and those of the bride who have accompanied her. For the wedding feast the relatives of the bride bring wine and money. At this feast, the men, of course, again sit on the right side of the tent, the women on the left. During the feast they occasionally sing, but they do not play any instruments nor do they dance. The food consists chiefly of mo-mo baked in butter, meat and tsamba, with wine to drink. I did not learn of any other wedding customs. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to be present at a wedding.

When the bridegroom is adopted into the family of the bride, his future father-in-law fetches him from the tent of his family. The bridegroom's relatives accompany him to the tent of his adopted parents or parents-in-law. His father-in-law presents him with a gun, a horse and a pulu coat. /72/ The feast is the same as the one we described above, except that the relatives of the bride give no money or presents at the wedding feast.

846 Directly after the birth of a child, the woman goes to the nearest brook to fetch a tub of water which, as usual, she carries home on her back, in the belief that carrying a heavy burden is [844] beneficial to her health. She often does not have any kind of help during childbirth. The baby is not washed after birth. The mother may not eat sour milk or anything cold; she must drink sweet, warm milk and if possible eat only good cooked mutton. If the father has time, he helps his wife prepare meals during the first few days; otherwise he need not observe any particular customs.

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 862
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 573
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can-
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed- 586
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 438
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-mu = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the 648
highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend
assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu
in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a
certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-
ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the
Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather
marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ang, south
of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude
of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang
Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the
Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government,
especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-
Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-
ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they col-
lect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - 792
in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the adminis- 624
tration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu
lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The
territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a
higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads
are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between 643
He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different 624
from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in
each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with
them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest
son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the
right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the
t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor.
A definite number of families are under the administration of a
chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to
five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions with-
in the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must
see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances
pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has [563]
more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in
addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries.
They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task,
among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no
particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

576 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

Mewu

and calls them "thsuba." I give the pronunciation of my Chinese interpreter. 575

seems to be to provide legal protection. The ts'aowa of the Mewu nomads consists of four groups. There are 40 to 100 families or tents in one ts'aowa group. Each group chooses its own council. There are no rules about the length of time the council of a ts'aowa group is in office The t'ou-mu cannot influence the choice of such a ts'aowa council The individual ts'aowa groups are named /78/ after their councils. The power of each group within the tribe varies, and thus a certain family often strives to shift from a less influential group to a more influential one; they can do this by presenting the group council and several respected members of the group with a sheep and several chin of wine and inviting them to a meal. The group council, together with the entire group, is responsible for every crime committed by one of its members. It carries on negotiations with the council of another ts'aowa group if one of its members is obliged to pay a penalty to the members of another group for some crime, and the council must exact the penalty from the criminal and give it to the council of the other ts'aowa group. If a member of one ts'aowa group cannot pay the penalty demanded of him, the entire group guarantees to raise the fine. The condemned person must then gradually pay off the debt to the members of his group. The ts'aowa group can oust a criminal who they find is a burden to them, and the only thing left for him in that case is to join another group. I could not find out to what extent this is possible. Apparently there are never disagreements between the t'ou-mu and a ts'aowa group or its council about verdicts and penalties.

Legal matters. During my brief sojourn among the Mewu-Fantzu it was, of course, impossible for me, because of my ignorance of the language, to form a definite opinion about their character. This was all the more impossible because the Mewu-Fantzu, to begin with, have a grudging attitude toward a stranger. I had to spend considerable time talking to them on general topics before I could ask more detailed questions about their way of life, even though they knew my interpreter and did not dislike him. I should therefore like to insert here only a few statements of my interpreter who judged the Fantzu from the point of view of a simple, but intelligent Chinese /79/ trader, and who, of course, unwittingly made comparisons with the Chinese conditions of life under which he grew up. I did feel, however, that he made an effort to be neutral in his 624

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692a 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

theft among members of one's own group. Even very primitive peo- 685
ples like the pygmies of the Congo jungle are extremely honest among one another, whereas as soon as they come into contact with farming Negroes, they quickly develop into positively virtuoso thieves. (2) There are probably easy transitions from this stage to

2. Gusinde 13).

the abuse of travelers by the extortionist tourist industry in civilized countries, which is not regarded as criminal any more than the robbing of strangers among primitives.

If a thief is caught and confesses his crime at once, his only punishment consists in his being forced to return or replace the stolen goods, provided the victim of the theft does not belong to the same ts'aowa group. If the thief will not confess his crime, he can be brought before the court of the t'ou-mu and he can be tortured into confession. In this case, too, the punishment is no more severe. If the victim who was robbed belongs to the same ts'aowa group, the thief must pay him back two or three times the value of the goods stolen, just as though he were /81/ a lama, whereas, as mentioned before, a t'ou-mu or an incarnation must be repaid ninefold. (1)

1. Cf. the same conditions among the Bedouins; Musil 14); or wergild in medieval Europe.

Outside their tribal territory all Fantzu tend to rob, especially 685
travelers. However, robberies no longer occur as much among the 519
Mewu-Fantzu as among tribes living farther in the interior of Tibet, where robberies are the order of the day. According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not generally shoot or become violent in a sudden attack if one does not offer resistance. In that respect they would not act differently from Chinese robbers, although this is contrary to the experiences of many travelers. (2)

2. For example, a farmer from the province of Szechuan described such conduct of robbers to me as "polite" (k'e-ch'i), whereas it would be "impolite" in his opinion and contrary to good form if people who did not offer resistance were shot at (this does not mean warning shots), or if they were attacked in any other way.

682 Quarrels leading to murder happen more often, according to my interpreter, among the Mewu-Fantzu than among the neighboring Chinese. The Fantzu above all tend to become brutal when they are drunk. Murder also occurs. The motive for murder is either jealousy or covetousness (murder attended with robbery). It also happens that a man shoots another because he honestly believes he has been harmed by him through magic.

682 If a murder has been committed, the family of the victim does
628 not relax its efforts until it has revenged itself on the murderer, if possible by killing him. Blood revenge is taken also if murders have been committed in a state of intoxication or if a person suspected of black magic has been murdered. If /82/ blood revenge is not taken, one loses respect. However, blood revenge rarely occurs in actual fact, for the murderer usually flees beyond the borders of the tribal territory, seeking refuge with some other tribe. If the murderer is caught before the victim's family was able to carry out blood revenge, he is first of all soundly thrashed and held captive until he can pay a penalty of 80 yaks. Thereupon he is banished from the tribal territory for four years. There is no death penalty inflicted except by the clan of the blood avengers. The property of the murderer is seized if he was captured or if he escaped. Blood revenge is not considered murder and is not punished. The custom of blood revenge among the Mewu-Fantzu is thus already very much mitigated. It seems to be largely replaced by an indemnity in the form of yaks. For example, if a member of a ts'aowa group kills a member of another group, the two ts'aowa chieftains decide on the indemnity, which is usually a penalty of 80 yaks, at least 40 of which must be first-class, the rest can be less good. If the relatives of the murderer cannot meet the payment in full, the entire ts'aowa group to which the murderer belongs must make up the rest.

421 Foremost among the property rights of the nomads is, of course,
233 the question of the right to pasturelands. The pastureland is divided among the individual tent communities by the t'ou-mu. The land used for planting oats near the winter pastures is divided among the individual families. There is enough land for planting oats, and everyone can cultivate as much as he needs for his stock. The t'ou-mu divides the various families into tent communities. The lamaseries have their own pastures for yaks; they do not raise sheep. The boundaries of the pasturelands of individual tent communities must be respected just as strictly as those of the entire

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-
lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished
by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every
yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner
must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 224
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting
of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunt-
ing rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught
violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are
usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 563
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu.
Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted
directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official
by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge.
It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the
Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for
their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge.
They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago
(1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the
t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese.
However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer
acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man
slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral,
respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place with 692
in the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another
territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority
as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial
cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The
ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for per-
mission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work
together in such cases.

692 In legal disputes the t'ou-mu chooses a body of judges consisting of himself, the councils of the ts'aowa groups, the kuan-shih of the t'ou-mu or other older men who are known to be good speakers and fair in their judgment. The number of judges varies according to
695 the importance of the case. The choice of venue depends on the circumstances; usually the trial is held in a temple or a village of the sedentary Fantzu. Witnesses are examined, much as in a Chinese court. The parties must take the oath of telling the truth in front of a Buddha image. If the truth cannot be ascertained from witnesses, various methods of divine judgment are used. In less serious cases a box is produced in which there is a white stone and a black stone. The person who draws the white stone wins. In more serious cases one of two forms of divine judgment is used: the two parties must either touch a red-hot ax with their hands or they must dip their hands into boiling rape oil. The one whose hand is not burned is innocent. The boiling-oil test is most often used.

681 If an accused will not confess, /85/ he is tortured. There are nine different methods of torture: 1. a person is whipped on the back with a leather whip; 2. a person's hands are tied behind his back with a leather strap, whereupon he is suspended from a post by his hands; 3. both wrists are bound with a rope made of yak hair, whereupon eight men, four on either side pull the rope tight; 4. the body is stretched out at the four extremities and is suspended in the air; in this position the accused is lashed on the back with a whip; 5. back and legs are beaten with willow withes; 6. whipping with a leather whip. If after the sixth form of punishment the accused does not confess, he is acquitted and is rewarded with a horse. The third form of torture is the most dreaded. Three additional forms occur under certain circumstances: 7. the legs of the accused are tied together with a rope and he is dragged along the ground. The 8th and 9th methods of torture consist of whip lashes. The t'ou-mu orders the torture to take place after having consulted with the court. He can appoint anyone he likes to inflict the torture.

As we have said, there is no capital punishment, with the exception of blood revenge. There is also no punishment of imprisonment, but the t'ou-mu can imprison a criminal until the trial has taken place. Infractions of any kind are avenged by the payment of penalties in money, butter, sheep or yaks. If a convicted person cannot pay the penalty imposed upon him, the t'ou-mu has him taken into custody and soundly thrashed. The penalty which the condemned person cannot pay must be made

good by the ts'aowa group, as we have already mentioned, and the 681
accused must gradually pay off his debt to the group. The most severe punishment is probably expulsion from the ts'aowa group, which makes a man homeless.

Witnesses are not tortured. They are not /86/ examined in pub- 685
lic but in a separate room, so that they cannot be seen by the accused and thus be exposed to his revenge.

The t'ou-mu also has jurisdiction over members of another tribe 692
whom he can punish. The punishment is not, however, always recognized by the tribe to whom the convicted person belongs. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, for example, the t'ou-mu held a lama prisoner for stealing a gun. The lama belonged to the He-tso Lamasery outside Mewu territory. He had ordered the lama whipped. For this reason no male Mewu-Fantzu ventured into the region of He-tso, since he would have been in danger of being captured.

Disputes between inhabitants of various tents in the same tent 578
community are settled by the t'ou-mu or one of his kuan-shih; like 721
wise disputes between various tent communities. In such cases violence is seldom resorted to. Disputes between the tent Fantzu and the sedentary Fantzu of the Mewu tribe are very rare. They, too, are settled by the t'ou-mu. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between Fantzu of different tribes, sometimes leading to war.

In former times wars were frequent. But the Mewu-Fantzu fought 701
their last war about 30 years ago, that is, during imperial times. 721
On the other hand, a war was fought just a few years ago, about 100 li to the southwest. It lasted three years and ended only when the ruling feudal lord of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling" seized control. If a state of war arises the Huang-szu-ling calls his subordinate t'ou-mu to war. This happened, for example, during my stay when the region between T'ao-chou and Ho-chou, to which the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu and the lamaseries of Labrang and He-tso belong, was endangered by the "long march" of Mao Tse-tung's Communist Army to Shensi. The t'ou-mu recruit soldiers. Every tent must furnish at least one soldier, /87/ sometimes as many as two or three. Each man must bring his own weapons, ammunition and horses, just as in ancient times in the wars of the nomadic peoples, such as the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols. Families who cannot furnish a soldier must give weapons and guns, ammunition and a horse for those who are too poor to furnish their own equipment. The t'ou-mu decides how dangerous the situation is and how many recruits are to be called out.

563 The Mewu-Fantzu are already to a certain extent dependent on the Chinese, since they live relatively near them. This dependence is, however, still a rather indirect one, and is expressed through the secular Fantzu ruler of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling."

221 Wars between Fantzu and Chinese no longer occur, since the
563 Fantzu respect the superior military might of the Chinese. But it
648 often happens that Chinese are robbed by Fantzu. Such cases are, as a rule, brought before the court of the Huang-szu-ling who, according to my interpreter, wherever possible sides with the Fantzu. He arranges the payment of damages. The Fantzu are, however, not too friendly with the Chinese, first of all because they feel oppressed by the taxes which the Chinese government imposes on them, and, secondly, because the Chinese are pushing into their territory as colonists. However, the latter reason affects only the sedentary Fantzu to any practical extent.

563 The Fantzu have a different and closer relationship with the Chinese Mohammedans who play a special part in the political and social life of the country. (1) In language and material culture

1. Ekvall describes in detail the relationship between the Fantzu - nomadic and sedentary - and the Chinese and Mohammedans.

these Mohammedans do not differ from actual Chinese, but the latter regard them /88/ more or less as aliens. They are largely descendants of Turkish tribes, who in the course of time settled in Kansu and intermarried with the Chinese. In external appearance (they are a Turanian race rather than Sinic) (2) as well as in

2. Terms according to von Eickstedt 15).

character, they are often very different from the Chinese. The Mohammedans live in Kansu as farmers, merchants and innkeepers. As traders they have penetrated far into Fantzu territory and constitute the chief element of the population in the market towns which have arisen in the vicinity of the large lamaseries. If Mohammedans are robbed by Fantzu they are much more apt to follow their natural war-like bent and fight than are the Chinese. Thus Fantzu raids are sometimes followed by minor avenging expeditions on the part of the Mohammedans. Eleven years ago (about 1925) there was the last major warlike entanglement between Mohammedans
000 and Fantzu. The relationship of the Mohammedans to the Chinese

is much more tense. Until very recently there were often bloody Mohammedan uprisings against the Chinese government. The last of these took place only eight years ago (about 1928). In such times of unrest when the power of Chinese officials is not very far-reaching, there is a general feeling of great insecurity. The Fantzu often take this opportunity to plunder the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese who fled into the territory of the Fantzu during the last uprising were well treated by them. Since then, however, the favorable relationship between Fantzu and Chinese has deteriorated more and more (for the above-mentioned reasons), so that in 1936 my interpreter doubted whether the Fantzu would assist the Chinese in a Mohammedan uprising.

Key to diagrams on following page:

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w - wall, d - tent roof, r - smoke vent, f - fireplace, ew - wall in front of fireplace, e - entrance, a - family altar, b - fuel, pfl - stakes to fasten down tent roof, p - supports for the tent roof.

Mewv

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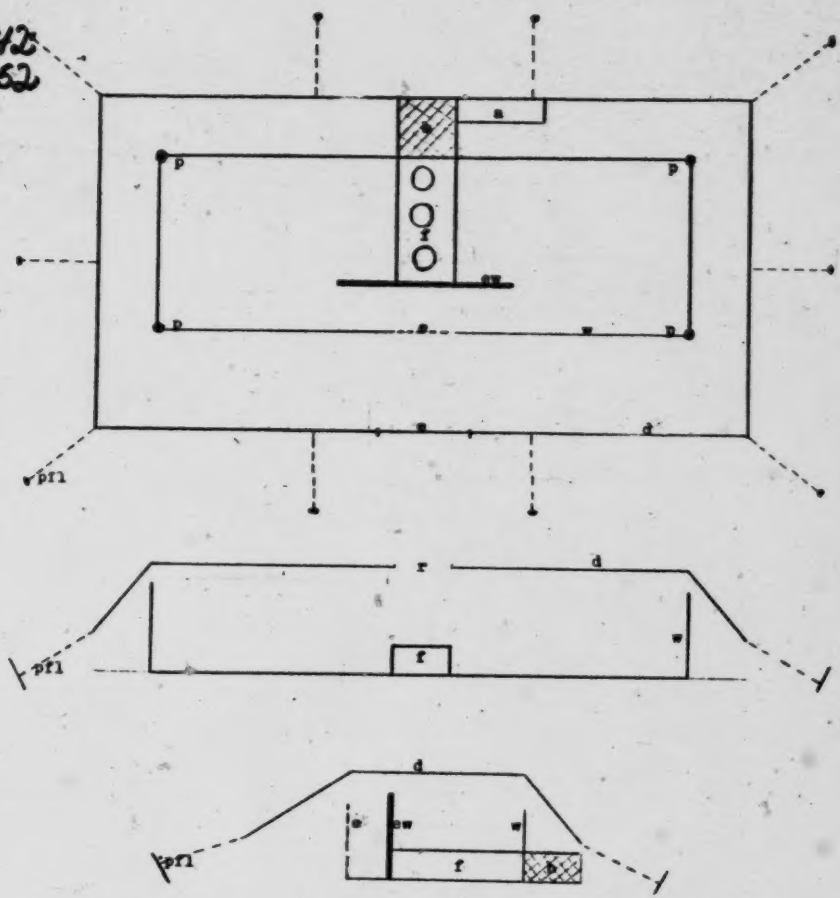

w = Wand, d = Zeltdach, r = Rauchabzug, f = Feuerstelle, ew = Wand vor der Feuerstelle, e = Eingang, a = Hausaltar, b = Brennmaterial, pfl = Pflöcke zur Befestigung des Zeltdaches, p = Stützpfähle für das Zeltdach.

[For an English translation of the caption, see p. 70]

6: Stübel--72 E-5 (1936) 1954 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Mewu

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7: Hu E-5 (1937) 1941 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Ch'iang

000 BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE CH'IANG TRIBESMEN

(Ch'iang-tsu chih hsin-yang yü hsi-wei)

By Hu Chien-min

/Translated from the Chinese for Human Relations Area Files by John T. Ma/

Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung /Frontier Studies/, Chengtu, 1941, pp. 9-33.

[Title page]

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Ch'iang

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE CH'IANG TRIBESMEN

By Hu Chien-min

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/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and
101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'-iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are
527 the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

776 accordance with their appearance, they may be the images we see in a dream, the shape of a particular thing, or without any shape at all. The corner of the clothes, the dirt on the human body, the air we exhale, insects, fallen leaves, any animal, or any man-made article can all represent gods. In a word, the Ch'iang beliefs remain in the stage of animsim and fetishism. Some say that the Ch'iang beliefs have reached the stage of monotheism. (1) This

1. T. Torrance, "The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Ch'iang," (Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1924). In this article, the author considers the Ch'iang as a monotheistic people like the Jews and denies that the Ch'iang have animism.

view is not correct. Moreover, the fact that the Ch'iang have sorcerers and sorcery fits into this kind of beliefs. If there were no such beliefs, the Ch'iang sorcerers and sorcery would have no reason for their existence. The so-called witchcraft religion is the general term for this kind of beliefs and sorcery. There are numerous examples like this among primitive peoples of the world.

1. The White Stone God and the Sacred Forest

[212] The Ch'iang tribesmen have only a spoken language but no
776 written one. Therefore, so far as their past is concerned, we have
773 to search for it among their folk songs, stories, and legends. The origin of the beliefs in the White Stone God and the Sacred Forest can also be found in their legends and folk songs. According to legends, the Ch'iang once had a great migration, in which they were scattered in all directions. A group of them, after having settled down, met a rival tribe called "Ko-jen" (2) who were dumb but

2. "Ko" is a phonetic transcription. The Ch'iang's victory over the Ko-jen was a crucial event in their national regeneration. So, up to now, the Ch'iang are still very happy to talk about it. It is said that the physiological traits of the Ko tribesmen are: big and hard bones; high eyebrow bones; a high forehead; teeth as big as a thumb; a very thick skull; a very short neck; hairs as

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dark and thick as a horse's mane; eyes always looking up and unable to look horizontally which can be done only by bowing the head; vertical eyes; and a tail which indicates the approaching of death by its gradual withering. From the social and cultural point of view, the Ko tribesmen raised no cattle; knew how to sow but were not good at reaping; ate fruits, grass and roots; took rain and dew for drink; did not know how to make fire by striking stones (they tried to learn it from the Ch'iang but failed); had no spirit of cooperation; lived in caves; and, after death, were buried in bottomless stone coffins. It is difficult to determine what race the Ko were. We can only preserve their legends and wait for the investigation later by scholars.

strong. The Ch'iang were afraid of them and were thinking of running away from them. Fortunately, in their dreams, the Ch'iang received from a god a revelation which showed them how to fight the war. The Ch'iang followed the god's direction and annihilated the Ko tribe. The method revealed by the god to defeat the Ko was quite simple, that is, first using hard clubs and then white stones. The Ko tribe was annihilated and the Ch'iang were then able to live happily in peace. So the people gave cheers such as "We are fine, we are happy, we are strong..." The leader of the Ch'iang was afraid that the people might fall into the abyss of "dying of peace and pleasure" and suggested to repay the god for his blessings so as to show their gratitude to the source of their happiness and also to warn the people of their danger. However, the people knew only that their ancestors received a revelation from the god. /11/ They did not know what god it was, nor did they know how the god looked like. So they said, "We call the god but the god cannot answer. What should we call the god?" Their leader asked, "What weapons did our ancestors use to defeat the Ko?" The people answered, "With hard clubs and white stones we beat the Ko." The leader said, "Since we beat the Ko with white stones, we should return our thanks to the white stones." All the people agreed and each brought back a white stone. The leader then said, "The white stone is our god. From now on whenever you have troubles or difficulties, you may pray to

776 the White Stone God. The god, to whom the Ch'iang wanted to
773 give thanks, was the one who directed them to defeat the Ko. Since the god had no concrete appearance, they used the white stone as a symbol. After all, the white stone was the weapon with which they defeated the enemies at the god's direction. Here we see that the Ch'iang worship of the white stone has a profound meaning and an historical basis.

776 The Ch'iang people now use the term "White Stone God," or rho-pi-tzé. It seems as if they regard the white stone as god. Actually, the white stone is only a symbol of god, and not a god by itself. What we should like to find out is what god it was who helped the Ch'iang defeat the Ko. The legends give no explanation of such a god. As the Ch'iang people, having met the god only in dreams, did not know while awake who the god was, so they said, "He is the protector; but who is he?" And they also said, "He is God." Here we see the people actually did not know what god he was. However, there is no doubt that the Ch'iang tribesmen have always regarded this god as their guardian deity ever since their victory over the Ko. (3) /The figure 3 for Note 3 is missing in the text. I presume this is

3. Now in Li-fan hsien, at Hou-yu-k'u-shang-san-li, among the nine gods on the roof of the Ch'iang, one is the god of directing war called Ta-la. According to what is said, this is the god who directed the victorious war against the Ko. This saying, this writer suspects, is a later addition, for different gods are worshiped on the roofs in different places but there is only one legend of the Ch'iang like this.

the logical place for it. -- translator's note. /

According to legends, the Ch'iang once abandoned their worship of the white stones. This was the period when "men did not worship gods and gods did not care for men." The Ch'iang then returned to their worship of the Forest God, or mei-be-tzé. (It is said that before they worshiped the White Stone God, the Ch'iang worshiped this god.)
[782] There was a definite code of ceremony--sacrificing a lamb, spreading its blood, but prohibiting the eating of its flesh which was either burned to ashes or thrown away in the wilderness. They also composed a standard version of benediction. Sacrifice was held in the Sacred Forest regardless of the weather. Later they built a public temple called wa-gi.

776 The Ch'iang legends consider this Forest God extremely potent. He must be worshiped with a lamb and a sacrificial service. He could make barren those lands where he was not worshiped, and he could make people sick. Therefore the Ch'iang everywhere worshipped the Forest God. Once he told the Ch'iang in a dream, explaining to them his position among gods. He said, "I am not the only god. Besides me, there is the God of Heaven, mei-da-be." People asked, "Who is the God of Heaven and where to worship him?" He answered, "The white stone you worshiped at the top of your house represents the God of Heaven." People asked, "We have known that the white stone represents the God of Heaven. But where should be the place of the white stone in the Sacred Grove?" He answered, "Behind the highest temple, erect a white stone on a stone seat to represent the God of Heaven. Inside the temple, in a niche in the wall, place a white stone to represent the God of Earth. (Different names are used in different places.) Behind the stove in the temple, erect a white stone to represent the God of Fire, mūn-kuei-tzé. During the service day, branches of cypress must be burned and a piece of fir wood is planted behind the God of Heaven....." This dialogue has now become the code of ceremony of the Ch'iang. At the same time, the passage explains that white stones may represent different kinds of gods. But the white stone at the top of the house represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang's perplexity about this white stone is now clarified.

From the aforesaid, we can see the meaning of the white stone in the Ch'iang beliefs. What the Ch'iang worship, however, are not the white stones themselves but the Gods of Heaven, Earth, Forest, and Fire. The Ch'iang perhaps have had this kind of belief for a considerably long period of time. One of the Ch'iang's ancient folk songs says: (4)

539 4. Words of the entire song are as follows:
"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
Next to them is the Sacred Forest;
Wild beasts beating stones on the cliff,
Fir trees and birch trees,
Grasses flourishing, lakes deep,
Mountains high, the land big,
Remember, remember! "
This is one of the songs sung by the Ch'iang at Shang-shui-li in Wen-ch'uan after sacrificing a

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every 776 [778] roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-rǔ-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bo-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-là	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

	legends, who first understood and represented the will of God to lead the Ch'iang to victory.
9) Hä-hä-be	God of Winter Preservation or God of the Completion of Four Seasons.

In some places, there are only three or four white stones on the roof, which of course, mean that there are only three or four gods. From the Ch'iang legends, we know the most important god on the roof is probably the white stone which represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang nowadays all recognize that the place to offer public sacrifice to the White Stone God is in the Sacred Forest and that the place for private sacrifice is on the roof. According to the aforesaid origin of the white stone cult, the white stones both on the roof and in the Sacred Forest represent the God of Heaven. Others occupy perhaps only secondary positions. Therefore, people in different villages may freely increase or reduce their number.

Inside their houses, the Ch'iang probably everywhere worship a total of twelve gods. But there are quite some differences in the names of those gods in different places as well as in the pronunciation of those names. For instance, according to the Great Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan, they are:

1) Bo-jé	The Ancestor of Mankind.
2) Yei-tzé	God of Fortune
3) Hi-tu-tzé	God of Sheep.
/13/ 4) Htié-to	God of Showing the Way to Heaven (or God of Revelation.)
5) Tchŭ-tso-péi-tchei	God of Eliminating Poison in the Water Jar.
6) Mó-kuei-tzé	God of Fire (Mo-kuei-tze, Wei-tze or Parents' Souls, and Lei-tze or God of Fuel are the three Gods who occupy a triangular position which is originally the simplest stove built with three

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	stones by the Ch'iang. Besides, there is a god called Ko-tchei-tze, or God of Shading the Fire, which means the wooden board above the stove used for shading the flame.)
7) Ü-mŭ	Ancestors (ancestors of the family.)
8) Tsee-tze	God of Mountains (guaranteeing against collapse or fall.)
9) Ngi-yu	God of the Central Pillar.
10) Lŭ-ngä	Door God.
11) Wei-ko-tzé	God of Cattle (God of the Ranch).
12) Rŭ-gee-tzé	God of Farm Boundary.

The Ch'iang in Wen-ch'uan also worship twelve gods. But at Lo-pu-chai there are, among the twelve gods, Yu-mo-tze, or God of Granary; H chu tchi, or God of Controlling Ghosts; Mie, a God Ruling over Men; and Si, a God Ruling over Women. (At Ts'u-t'u-chai in Wen-ch'uan, the God of Men is called Ti-pre and the God of Women, Mia-wei.) There are no Gods of Mountains, Farm Boundary, Cattle, and Eliminating Poison in the Water Jar. A few other points also deserve our attention. In many places where there is no God of Sheep, there is often a Buddha of the King of Cows. The housewife is in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. The Door God is believed to be Chiang Tzu-ya (just like Lord Kuan on the roof). In some places (such as western Mao-hsien) they have forgotten the twelve gods except the Ancestors, the Kitchen God, the Land God, the God of Fortune, and Lord Heaven. Those who are more Sinicized will place the spirit tablets of Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Parents and Teachers right inside the front door. The twelve gods in the house seem to represent the traditional beliefs of the Ch'iang particularly on the following four points:

(1) Apart from the family ancestors, there are ancestors of mankind.
(2) The God of Fire and those gods associated with him.
(3) The God of Men and the God of Women. (This may be transformed from either the guardian god of individuals or the sexual totem.)

776 (4) Women in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. (This may be considered as a custom derived from women's association with agriculture.)

3. Local Gods

We have mentioned before that in the old times each clan of the Ch'iang tribesmen lived in a village of their own. Nowadays a Ch'iang village is not necessarily confined to a clan. However, in each locality there are local gods, sorcerers and ceremonies. It is to be noted that the local gods can be classified into male and female deities, or good and evil spirits. Because of the threats and blessings of those gods, sorcerers become an indispensable profession. Based upon our survey, we select among the good and evil gods of different localities the following examples so as to give a general picture of them.

/14/ Examples of good gods:

La-hua-chai	Be-mée-tzé	God of the Master /of the House/.
Hua-peng-chai	Wa-ba-tzé	God of City Wall.
Wen-shan-chai	Ü-nga-tzé	God of Peacock.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Shǐ-gŭ-tzé	God of Iron Mountain.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai	Lü-wa-tzé	God of Communication.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Sha-bo-tzé	God of Piled Stones (stones piled together).
Jo-ta-chai	Mŭ-be-tzé	God of Pine Trees. (sacrifices held jointly with Chia-shan-chai and Hsi-shan-chai.)
Shui-t'ien-chai	H-kuei-dee-tze	God of the Carried-back Cock. (Joint sacrifice with Ch'i-li-chai.)
Kan-ch'i-chai	Ru-bou-tze	God of Deep Cliff.

776 Each local god has a legend of his origin. Take the following examples:

773 The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Shui-t'ien-chai and Ch'i-li-chai--A man from Shui-t'ien-chai and another from Ch'i-li-chai worked together as carriers. One day, passing Yu-ch'i (the Ch'iang call Yu-ch'i "Hunsh"), on their way home, the two felt their burden very heavy. As they were grumbling, they heard suddenly

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the crowing of a cock. They turned their heads and saw a white cock. But as they walked back to look at it closely, they found that it was a white stone. So they left it alone and went away. They did not get far before they heard again the crowing. So they turned back again, and again saw the white stone. Thus they walked back and forth several times. Finally, they prayed to the white stone, "White stone, if you are a god, please lighten our burden. We are willing to carry you back home." Then they carried the stone back and felt their burden very light indeed. When they reached the suspension rope /bridge/ at T'ung-hua-ch'ang (the Ch'iang call it Wa dee), they tried in vain several times to tie the stone on the rope. Suddenly, they saw the white stone turn into a cock that flew and alighted on the slope at Shui-t'ien-chai, and there became again a white stone. But, still it looked like a cock from a distance. The two told their fellow villagers about it. They were all surprised and so worshiped it as a god.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God at Chia-shan, Jo-ta, and Hsi-shan--In ancient times, in the land of "gi-da", there lived six or seven clans (rŭglülügo; rorobe; wǎgo, now Chia-shan; jio-da, now Jo-ta; yar-ba-da; thĭ-ru-be; i-zu̧-wǎ-be) in close neighborhood. Pine trees flourished there and people chopped down their branches at random. Therefore, the God of Pine Trees told the villagers in their dreams, "I am the God of Pine Trees. If you chop down pine trees carelessly, I will punish you." Having had this dream, the people found themselves in a predicament. They asked among themselves where their source of income would be if they did not chop down trees. There were so many pine trees, and they had no way to know which trees belonged to the God. Therefore, those who did not believe in the God still went to the mountains to chop down trees. But from time to time, unfortunate accidents happened to them. One year after the fall harvest, an old man was seen walking to and fro in the forest and then suddenly disappeared. People believed that the God of Trees had come. So they made a vow and asked the tuan-kung /priest/ to offer sacrifice in the temple of the Sacred Forest. During the sacrificial ceremony, while the programs were going on, a participant of the ceremony was suddenly seized with a frenzy and declared, "I am working for God. You do not know where the God's tree is, but I know it." Then he took a large flag and climbed up a big tree. He reached the top of the tree, planted the flag on the top, and came down safely to the ground. He also declared that from now on sacrifice to the God of Trees should be held every year so that their land

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773 would be safe and peaceful. Not long afterwards, the man's frenzy /15/ disappeared and he was himself again. People were in sympathy with him and gave him a lamb's kidney and a bottle of oil used in the sacrifice.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Kan-ch'i--Kan-ch'i-chai originally had a temple of the King of Chickens (Yu-i-nga). It was destroyed by mountain torrents and not restored because of the lack of funds. The Chicken King was therefore moved to the backyard of the Temple of King Yu at Wen-shan-chai in T'ung-hua. People in Kan-ch'i still went there to pray and sacrifice every year, but they felt that the Chicken King was no longer efficacious. A patient who also felt that the Chicken King no longer had protective power suggested that the sacrifice be stopped. However, a devoted worshiper insisted that the Chicken King was still effective. He went alone to the God of the Chicken King at Wen-shan and prayed for the above mentioned patient, saying: "You are our original local god. The patient in our village hopes that you will still protect him!" The night after his return from praying he and the patient received a revelation from the God of the Chicken King in their dreams. The god said, "I am now no longer your god. I can protect you temporarily. The name of your god is ru-bou-tze. He will arrive here on the mountain in the eighth month of the next year. Under a rock there is water. He will come out of the water." The next morning the two told each other of their dreams and went together to find the spot which evidently was there. Later, the patient recovered. The harvest that year was very rich. The two could not forget what the god had revealed to them in the dreams and often walked to and fro beside the water even before the coming of the eighth month in the hope of seeing the arrival of the god. For a long time they did not see anything. One day they again heard the god say to them in a dream, "Ru-bou-tze, your god, has been drifting on the water for half a month!" Waking up, they asked a waterside wood-cutter about it. The wood-cutter said, "There has been indeed a piece of wood floating on the water for a long time and I could not catch it." The next day the two got a piece of wood beside the river and suspected that it was the god. But the wood was rotten. Some spectators suggested to have it cut and burned, but the two said that since they had dreamed about it, it should not be treated carelessly. That night they got another dream from the god. The god said, "I am in the wood. Peel off the rotten wood outside and you will see my body." They did so the next day and got an image of the god. Now people in Kan-ch'i substitute this god for the Sacred Forest, and they no longer erect a white stone.

Examples of Evil Gods:

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Hsing-shang-na-wa ts'un	Li-zé-sié	God of Strange Vines in the Corners of a Farm.
Ah-t'i-hua	Kabre-po-sié	God of Bushes under the Rock.
Hua-peng and La-heh chai's	La-ge-po-sié	God of Strange Forests in the Corners of the Land.
Li-mu-chi and Chi-erh-wa chai's	Yi-ta-sié	God of a Strange Stone Resembling a Chicken Pecking Food.
Ma-peng-chai	Ba-ta-sié	Strange God above the Dam.
Mu-erh-ta	Dse-tche-ba-sié	God of Thorny Dam.
Chai-liu-chai	Hngi-gee-po-sié	God of Old Red Trees.
Mu-kung-chai	Dza-gee-kua-sié	Strange God of Broken House Foundation.
Chiu-tza-chai	Man-dio-sié	God of Cliff.
Li-fan (Pao-hsien)	Tsai-zé-tcha-ti sié	God of Drinking Wine and Eating Meat.
T'ung-hua	Tso-ge-po sié	God of Gleditschia Sinensis.
K'ung-ti-p'ing	Tcha-se ra-ku-cha sié	God of Stone Bridge and Rugged Cliff.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Sagta-lagbo sié	God of the Slope at the End of the Outpost.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai /16/	Tsa-tshi-po sié	God of Thorns.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Ko-bo-tsi-bo sié	God of Stone Piles and Forests.
Chu-erh-shan-chai	Dsu-be-da sié	God under a Mud Pit.

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Every year, from the middle of the first month to the end of the second month, the Ch'iang tribesmen asked the tuan-kung to exorcise the evil gods on the four days of the boar, dog, dragon, and horse. Mixing the flour of buckwheat or oats with the water used for washing the faces of the whole family, they make a plateful of images of ghosts and devils. Then mixing wheat flour with clean water, they make another plateful of sacrificial offerings to good gods. Wearing a monkey-skin hat, striking a spade, burning pine branches, and chanting the liturgies, the tuan-kung calls on good and bad spirits as he performs his exorcism. (Based upon the oral statements of Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai.)

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Since the Ch'iang have not yet passed the stage of animism, they believe there are ghosts and gods everywhere. Apart from what has been mentioned before, there are mountain peak gods at the tops of mountains, (pi-rü-tzé); gods of masculine and feminine mountains, (sü-pé-tzé); fortress gods on fortresses, (po-tzé); and local gods in every outpost. Yei-bo is the devil that causes all diseases. The Poison Devil is called is-dụ. One who has the Poison Devil in him or her is called Devil Old Woman (dụ-ma) if she is an old woman, Devil Girl (dụ-tchi) if a young girl, and Devil Man (dụ-tze) if he is a man. Besides, all tribal heroes and those who have done virtuous and meritorious deeds for the people are worshiped as gods. 774

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer--Tuan-kung

One who has relations with all ghosts and gods is the tuan-kung. He himself has his special guardian god. All magic instruments of the tuan-kung have active powers. If we want to have a deep understanding of the beliefs of the Ch'iang, it is necessary to study the tuan-kung. 791

According to their legends, the Ch'iang lost a considerable portion of their traditional culture during the period of exile. Even their original belief in the Sacred Forest was restored only after their victory over the Ko tribesmen. After the restoration of their belief in the Sacred Forest, sacrificial ceremonies were inaugurated by outstanding elders. Also, prayers were collected and edited. A committee of priests was organized with its members in charge of different aspects of the sacrifice. After many years, the rites of sacrifice were slightly changed, and the chief priest who read the prayer became tuan-kung. All religious services, exorcism, treatment of illness, delivery from poverty, as well as capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were done by the tuan-kung.

During the period when there were only priests, the clothing of the priests was the same as that of the common people. Since the advent of the tuan-kung, there were special attirement and various magic instruments. 791 292

The tuan-kung wears a white skirt (jar-pü), and his topcoat may be a sheep-skin vest or an ordinary garment. It is the same all over Wen-ch'uan and Li-fan. But in Mao-hsien, along Lo-ta-ku, Shui-mu-kou, Shen-ch'ien-san-kou, and, T'a-hua-san-chai, all tuan-kung wear leopard skin. Besides, in Li-fan there are some special clothes of other styles.

791 773 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tǎ), worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat: from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shǎr (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second 778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one 791 more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made or iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

with a flowery cloth or animal hair. It has the same function as the sacred wand. 778

The tuan-kung has another kind of magic instrument called sze-ge-rá in the Ch'iang language. Using an animal's horn as trunk, it has many things hanging around it such as the wild beasts' bones, paws, and teeth, and old coins. It is used in sacrifice to chase away dirty things. It is also used in summoning souls. Similar to this are two other magic instruments. One is what the Ch'iang call wa-shar, which strings together all the paws, teeth, and bones of the birds and beasts on a leather belt and is used in exorcism and curing diseases. The other is a bundle of twenty to thirty copper plates carved with the devils' images and hung on an animal horn. It is used by the tuan-kung to cure insanity. Finally, the tuan-kung has another instrument called je-tchu-ka-pi, meaning holy water vase, which looks like a dragon's head and is used to hold water. The tuan-kung uses it for curing diseases. 791

The tuan-kung may be called the spiritual leader of the Ch'-iang tribesmen. He remembers the Ch'iang history. He can communicate with ghosts and gods. He can control nature, summoning wind and rain, and multiplying cattle and grains. He is the physician who can cure all diseases. He also has the power to change even the vicissititudes of fortune. Such a person must have divine power. However, according to what is said, the tuan-kung nowadays is not as powerful as in the old days. Fifty to sixty years ago, the tuan-kung was still able to fly. Tying two wine cups on both sides of his chest, the tuan-kung could leap into the cloud and all his magic instruments would follow him and fly. It is said that once a tuan-kung forgot to take out his instruments in a flight. After his taking off, his sheepskin drum made big noises in the box. His home folks opened it, and out jumped the drum. As it did so, it knocked down a person and killed him. The drum and all the other instruments followed the tuan-kung to the destination. After the service, all the instruments flew back home except the drum. The tuan-kung knew there must have been some reason. He hurried back and investigated and found that an unfortunate accident had indeed happened. A strange thing like this is hard to believe when you first hear it. However, this is quite common in primitive theology. Didn't the Yukat people, who believed in sorcery, think that the sacred drum was the shaman's horse and that he could ride it to heaven? 791

The tuan-kung is a kind of magician. All magicians can

791 perform magic to kill people. The tuan-kung also has the same power. As the story goes, once upon a time there was a tuan-kung who after finishing his service, always had some ghosts carrying him back home in a sedan. But his home folks did not believe it. Once the tuan-kung was out performing a service and did not return while it was quite late. /18/ His two sons were sent to bring him home. Before they reached their destination, they learned that the tuan-kung was on his way home. So they turned back. But, trying to scare their father, they took the route to the top of the hill and threw dust and sand at him. The father thought he had met devils. So he picked a blade of grass and killed them. Arriving home, he found out that they were his two sons. He hurried back to try to find the blade but in vain. He looked around and found his two sons were actually cut in half. Such magic is called imitative magic in primitive theology.

The tuan-kung is produced by a teacher-disciple system. An old tuan-kung teaches a disciple. Upon his graduation, a ceremony for thanking the teacher, which the Ch'iang call pi-ge-tsa, will be held. Two items in the ceremony deserve our attention. One is the rite to thank the King of Poison. In curing diseases, the tuan-kung must worship the King of Poison, whom the Ch'iang call tze-gar-be. Its external form is only a leather bag, which is filled with various kinds of birds' feathers and animals' hairs. The bag was originally hung on a tree at P'i-tzu-chai. Later, the tuan-kung of Tiao-hua-san-chai moved this King of Poison into the fortress at Tiao-hua-chai to be kept by Tuan-kung Yu. Afterwards, there was once an earthquake. The fortress collapsed and the King of Poison was in distress. However, up to now, it is still kept in Tuan-kung Yu's place. In inviting the King of Poison, there are often dozens of tuan-kung chanting liturgies together. At that time, an echo is heard from the leather bag. A tuan-kung carries the bag on his back and the others all dance. As they reach the place of the ceremony, the tuan-kung chant the liturgies, burn pine branches, call on the gods of the various Ch'iang tribes, and then start to drink. They ask the Poison King to drink first, putting a bamboo stick into the mouth of the bag of the Poison King that actually can drink. After the performance of the rite, the people themselves then start to drink together. Another item in the program is a special performance by the tuan-kung's disciple. The hero of the teacher-honoring ceremony must thrust a knife through his right cheek into his mouth between the upper and lower teeth. Then, he uses a needle to pierce into the left cheek. On the needle

is hung a little flag made of fir wood. At the same time, disciples of other tuan-kung also participate in the performance. But they need only thrust the flag, not the knife /into the mouth/. Only the tuan-kung who has performed the teacher-honoring ceremony is qualified to wear the monkey-skin hat. 791

What is mentioned above gives a general idea of the origin of the tuan-kung, his attirements and instruments, and his magic power and instruction. As to the various functions of the Ch'iang tuan-kung, there are many and it takes a long time to enumerate them all. I shall discuss briefly a few cases in the following chapter dealing with examples of the Ch'iang practices, while a discussion of the details must wait until some other time.

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices

The Ch'iang tribesmen believe in ghosts and gods. They are sometimes lenient and sometimes severe. All diseases, poverty, famine, and other misfortunes have something to do with the attitude of those ghosts and gods. Whenever people meet such crises, they ask the tuan-kung for help. The tuan-kung is a person who, on the one hand, deals with ghosts and gods and, on the other hand, promotes the well-being of the people. He has the magic to cure diseases, to exorcise evil spirits, to eliminate plagues, to increase fecundity, and to do many other things. All the Ch'iang believe in such magic. The tuan-kung may also participate in capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. However, there are also many other important programs which have nothing to do with the tuan-kung. For instance, the act of praying for rain, which, it seems, ought to be a favorite job of the tuan-kung, is however entirely a practice of the people among the Ch'iang tribesmen. 776 791

Curing Diseases--People who believe in ghosts and gods consider all diseases as caused by their evil workings. Frazer, an English anthropologist, calls the disease which is caused by the evil influence of ghosts and gods "devil-disease." Even today in China there remains the habit of calling all diseases "devil-diseases." This is undoubtedly a custom handed down from ancient times. The Dyak people of Oceania say that diseases are caused by devils that possess the human body, by the attack of evil spirits, or by the capture of one's soul by the devil. The Savara people of India regard all diseases as the evil workings of their ancestors or other ghosts and gods. /19/ Besides, the Winnebago people of America, the 753

753 Uganda people of Africa, and many other primitive peoples are all of the same opinion. Like these peoples, the Ch'iang think that diseases are due to the evil influences of ghosts and gods. Since the source of illness is the ghosts and gods, it will be cured only if they are pacified. Therefore, it is unnecessary to take medicines. Deniker, a French anthropologist, remarks that since the primitive peoples believed that illness came from ghosts and gods, sorcerers and others like them were the earliest physicians. Only they could capture the devil inside the patient. (5) This exactly can also be said for the

5. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 285.

[756] [791] Ch'iang. Whenever a Ch'iang is sick, he asks a tuan-kung to perform a magic cure for him. The Ch'iang themselves agree that the major difference between the Ch'iang and the Han /Chinese/ is that the former, while ill, take no medicine.

All ghosts and gods can cause diseases, but each disease caused by them has its peculiar symptom.

The Poison Devil carries poison with finger nails or eyes. The Ch'iang call it mu-mi-kue-dze ku. Diseases caused by the Poison Devil are swelling of the stomach or stomach-ache, indigestion, discomfort of the whole body, and overeating without gaining weight.

Diseases caused by offending the good gods at home are all diseases in the upper part of the body -- head, eye, ear, nose, mouth, chest, back, shoulder, arm, and hand. They can be cured only by inviting a tuan-kung or by making a vow to pacify the god by the patient himself. Diseases caused by offending the Earth God --Hégni --are all diseases in the lower part of the body, such as paralyzed foot, swollen leg, or lameness. Light illness will disappear by itself. But, for serious illness, a tuan-kung must be invited.

Diseases caused by offending the Forest God are headache, thirst, fever, and chill. The patient must avoid eating and must kill no living things. Those taboos must be observed by the patient's whole family. Even their neighbors are not allowed to make noise with gong and drum. In this way, they believe the patient will recover. If the disease spreads to all family members, the whole family is not allowed to go outside to communicate with others. If they die, beggars will be hired to move them away.

Diseases caused by bad spirits have symptoms like languor, bad dreams, abnormal behavior, aching waist, ulcer, and nameless swelling. When a tuan-kung is invited to cure diseases, he uses a red cock and goes to the local god to perform a one-day service. Diseases

caused by the curse of other people can also be cured by asking the
753 tuan-kung to perform service before the local god.

Besides, the Ch'iang believe that strange dreams can too cause diseases. A cow that drinks water or a woman who does not
[844] avoid a shadow may also cause diseases. Born in an unlucky hour also can cause diseases (to the baby). If the source of the disease is unknown, the tuan-kung is requested to burn a sheep's thigh-bone with wormwood to discover it by divination. (The method of divination will be discussed elsewhere.)

The tuan-kung has different ways to cure diseases. The com-
755 monest is the method of supplication and sacrifice, called mǔ-tchi-shōō-tchi-sa-wōō, i.e., substituting sheep for human life. Make a human figure with straws and put on it the patient's hat, clothes and stockings. Take a little tea, flour, and beans; and put them into a paper bag. Next, send the straw man and a sheep together to the graveyard, where the sheep is killed and the straw man burned. Then the tuan-kung prays, saying that the sheep has died for the patient and that the straw man, representing the devil of disease, is riding the sheep to go far away. The patient's relatives are not allowed to eat the meat of this sheep. On his way back, the tuan-kung will call the soul for the patient. Putting a piece of paper on the ground, planting little flags on its corners to represent the ancestors, and placing beside the paper a few moon and sun cakes and in the middle, pine branches, buckwheat, oats, or other grains and lard, the tuan-kung chants the liturgy of calling the soul -- shōō-wo-dio-shuei -- and sees if there is any insect climbing onto the paper. If so, he considers that the soul has returned. (If there is no insect, he uses the lard to paste one on it.) Then, he wraps up the paper and puts it in a basket in which there are a hat, eggs, and other things. A relative of the patient carries the basket and follows the tuan-kung home. On his way back, the tuan-kung points at the hills and streams and calls the soul to return. Arriving at the door, the tuan-kung requests the Door God to open the door and asks, "Has the soul returned?" People inside answer, "Yes." Thus, three times he asks and three times, they answer. Then the tuan-kung sends the wrapped paper to the spirit tablet of the ancestors, /20/ as he beats the drum to declare the conclusion of the service. (If the patient is a female and a woman's long hair is found on the paper when the tuan-kung summons the soul, they regard it as the greatest success. And the patient is going to live several years more than his normal span of life.

755 Those families that are too poor to hire a tuan-kung may let the patient's own sons and daughters do the job of calling the soul. The method is simpler. Put an egg in a hat; take a bowl of rice; burn three sticks of incense and take also three unburnt sticks of incense. Planting the burnt sticks below the eaves from which water drops, the patient's sons and daughters would kneel down, call their parents, and pray, "Mountains are high, roads distant, and the source of water is far away. Soul, please come back, ..." They shout all the way through the door and go straight to the ancestral tablet. They then burn the incense and plant it in the stove. They ask the question "Has the soul returned?" the same way as the tuan-kung does. If the first attempt at calling the soul is not successful, they must call three times in a row at the second calling. If again there is no answer, they must call five times, or seven or nine times in a row. Before the calling becomes effective, the rice and egg cannot be touched and used. The egg represents the soul and must be respected. It must be hidden in the stove before the God of Fire and covered with ashes. After the calling is finished, the egg and rice will be given to the patient to eat.

If the disease is caused by the Poison Devil, the treatment is different. The Ch'iang call it mu-zee-ho-bu, meaning performing service by the tuan-kung at night, or inviting a night tuan-kung. For this, the tuan-kung must display his magic skill. During the evening, the tuan-kung sneaks into the house of the patient, sets up an altar, worships first the God of Curing Diseases (Si-mä), chants the liturgies, makes a straw man and a flag, and does all other preparations. At the same time, he builds a fire outdoors and cooks some food to attract animals. He asks a hunter to hide behind the house to see if there is any animal coming toward the fire. Ringing his magic bell, the tuan-kung carries the straw man and the flag outdoors and calls in all directions to warn the Poison Devil and the animals representing the Poison Devil. Finishing calling, he goes inside the house to perform service. He puts a rice pot, a spade, an iron chain, and a black and a white stone into the stove and burns them till they are red hot. He also prepares a bowl of clean water. He chants the liturgies and jumps over the pot. (He actually walks over the pot. But, because he walks so fast, it is called "jump.") The patient is also assisted to walk over the red pot twice. Then the tuan-kung winds the chain around the patient. He licks the spade with his tongue and holds in his mouth the two red-hot black and white stones. He throws each of the stones into the bowl of clean water and gives the water to the patient to drink. At this moment, if the hunter has seen an animal and has killed it, the tuan-kung will at once, while chanting the

755 liturgies, take the straw man and a sheep to the cross roads. He kills the sheep, spreads its blood on the straw man and the flag, and then burns them. This means that the straw man, representing the devil of illness, is sent away and that the sheep has died in the place of the patient. Everything in the belly of the sheep is thrown away. The tuan-kung takes the sheep's head, its hind legs, and its skin.

People do not invite a tuan-kung for a Poison Devil disease which is not very serious. They treat it only with the night-watching method called muzee-kue dze. The treatment begins by washing the patient's wound with water. Then, mix flour with that water to make a human figure. Cut a corner off the patient's clothes, take a head scarf and some hairs, and put them all on a plate. Build a fire outdoors and put the plate beside the fire. Also ask a hunter to wait behind the house to shoot the animal that happens to approach the fire. Even a valuable domesticated animal is not to be spared. An animal that has been shot must be traced and brought back, and must not be left to die in front of some other person's house. If no animal comes after long waiting, shooting the flour man or a whirlwind can also be effective.

783 777 Expelling Bad Luck--When the Ch'iang of Li-fan have bad luck and do not know what to do, they invite a tuan-kung to perform magic for them so as to expel the bad luck. This method is called "pil-wara" in the Ch'iang language. It begins with the host preparing two pints of buckwheat flour. The tuan-kung first mixes the flour with water to make various images of gods, which are kept at home; he then makes five mountains with flour and three double-leaf flags with paper. He takes the host's hat, a belt and a sun cake, and puts them into a basket. /21/ Besides, he also takes the host's accounting book, farming tools, and other important things, and with his helpers, moves them several miles away from the house. Finding a proper place where he can see mountains and streams, the tuan-kung sits cross-legged on the ground. He takes the flour mountains out of the basket and arranges them in a row on a paper. Then he builds a fire, burning pine branches. He now starts his magic performance, chanting liturgies, beating the drum, ringing the bell, inviting his old Master, calling the names of the gods of the five mountains, and reading aloud the host's age, name, and misfortunes. If the magic is effective, the weather will change at this moment, -- the wind may blow or a rain may fall. The tuan-kung watches the paper on which the five flour mountains are placed to see what (besides living things) has fallen on it. No matter whether it be an

783 inanimate fallen leaf or some dust gathering there, he takes it,
777 wraps it up, and puts it into the host's hat. He also picks some stones or mud from that place to fill up the host's belt. Beating the drum, the tuan-kung returns home. As he reaches the door, the host purposely closes it and refuses to let him in. The tuan-kung will ask, "I am the richest and most honored. Now I have come. Why don't you open the door?" Inside the house, an eloquent person, who is called pil-kuai-tchuai, has been chosen and he will converse with the tuan-kung through a hole in the door. He will ask, "The host is in need of a certain thing. Have you brought that with you?" The tuan-kung will answer, "Yes, I have it here. Moreover, I have brought even better ones." Thus they ask and answer dozens of times. Each time when a certain thing is mentioned, it is handed in through the hole. At last, the tuan-kung will ask, "Have you finished?" The person inside will say, "Yes." Then the tuan-kung enters the door and, chanting liturgies, bows to all the gods inside the house. Later he burns a pine branch before the altar of the Old Master. He takes out four wool threads. First, he has them smoked over the burning pine branches; then he rings the host's neck with three threads, which means that, from now on, the host will be no longer at a loss to make up his mind. The remaining thread is bound on the host's left wrist, which means that, from now on, the host's limbs will be steady and will not fumble. When the service is done, relatives and neighbors will send gifts to congratulate the host who will entertain them with the gifts. For three days, the host will not spend anything of his own. (Everything comes in and nothing goes out.) And the tuan-kung stays three days with him.

Things like difficulties in breeding pigs, trouble in raising chickens, poor taste of the home-brewed wine, poor flavor of the preserved vegetable, fallen ears of grains, and frequent robbery and burglary are regarded as the bad luck of women. The tuan-kung can also be invited to expel such bad luck. In the Ch'iang language this is called i-dé-wara. (I-dé means the food in storage under women's care; wara means calling.) The rites are the same as for men, only that the tuan-kung will not go up to the mountain to perform the rites but stay in the farm. On his return, he delivers things to the store-room. Women often object to the performance of such rites because they consider it a disgrace to them. (6) /The number

6. Various relationships between women and agriculture can be seen from this rite. We will analyze it later when we discuss the social system of the Ch'iang.

783 is missing in the text. I presume this is the appropriate place for
777 Note 6. --translator's note. /

Exorcism and Fecundity Rites-- These two rites are held continuously. The term "fecundity rites" is not current in Chinese usage, and is adapted by this writer from the French term "Les rites de fécondité." For example, in India the Farming Festival during the spring
783 (7) is a fecundity rite of the agricultural people. The Intichiuma in

7. See Briffault, Sex in Religion.

Australia is a fecundity rite of the hunting tribes. (8) The Ch'iang

8. See R. Kréglinger, L'evolution religieuse de l'humanité, 1926, p. 59-60.

have a similar rite, which is called yu-si (redeeming the chicken's vow) in the Ch'iang language. It is held once every three years. The major part of the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow is also the ceremony of private sacrifice to the White Stone God in every family. As to the rites of exorcism, they are regarded as a preparation for the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow, that is, before the ceremony starts, the house must first be cleaned and unlucky things in the family removed. This rite which the Ch'iang call yu̇-li bu̇-de, also has its basis in theology. (9)

9. This kind of rite is called "Les rites preliminaires." (See R. Bastide, Elements de sociologie religieuse, Collection Armond Colin, pp. 85-90.)

These two ceremonies are both conducted by the tuan-kung. Exorcism is held any day after the 15th day of the eighth month. On that day the tuan-kung prepares a sheet of white paper, several sheets of five-colored paper, and a pint of buckwheat. He also makes a big piece of bread, binds a bunch of grass (representing the ancestral ghosts capable of making trouble), carves a piece of wood, and puts all of them on the food. While the tuan-kung is chanting liturgies, the host fries the buckwheat, kills a sheep, spreads its blood on the bunch of grass, /22/ cooks the mutton on the stove and invites his relatives to come to eat and drink with him. Having finished his chanting, the tuan-kung, carrying a drum, goes up the roof. He is followed by his clansmen, each carrying a weapon (rifle, gun, stone, thorn stick, etc.) The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants exorcising liturgies called mä̈-nä̈. At

783 the end of each passage of the liturgies, he shoots once with the gun. Having finished chanting, he dances down the roof. All the people strike aimlessly with their weapons and yell as they come down the roof. When the tuan-kung passes by the cattle ranch, he chants the ranch code (dǎ-ti). Then beating the drum and ringing the bell, he reaches the cremation ground. He piles together the bunch of grass stained with the sheep's blood, the piece of wood and the fried buckwheat, and burns them. He cuts one half of the bread and scatters it in different places to feed hungry ghosts. Returning home, everyone washes his hands with clean water before the door. The tuan-kung pacifies all the gods (All the Ch'iang gods must be invited) and begins to drink. He orders that from now on, unclean persons (those include the mourning sons, persons who have a child died or born recently in their families, etc.) will not be allowed to go up the roof and he fixes the date for redeeming the chicken's vow.

One day before the date for redeeming the vow, the tuan-kung comes to the house of the host to select a chicken for sacrifice and has paper, bamboo, fir wood and so on ready. In the afternoon, he climbs up the roof to plant the fir wood, sets up a sacred table, arranges the offerings, and puts four cups in front of the table. One cup is for worshiping the monkey-headed Old Master. Of the remaining three, one filled with sheep's dung represents cattle-raising; one filled with dust from eaves represents an old house; and one filled with clean water represents cleanness. As the tuan-kung is beating the drum and chanting the liturgies, one man shakes eze-ge ra and, in turn, overturns the clean water, the eave dust, the sheep's dung, the meat, and the bread. When he is overturning the meat and the bread, the people present all throw out the grains they have been holding in their hands. Then they divide the bread among themselves and eat it. After eating, they follow the tuan-kung and take a young female sheep up to the roof. The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants liturgies. Then, using a burning pine branch, he burns part of the wool off the sheep's head, tail, and back. After that, the tuan-kung prays, "From now on men will prosper and so will cattle. One produces ten and ten a hundred." The sheep is renamed hitu-tze-mu. And then both men and sheep come down from the roof. When they get outdoors, the tuan-kung, beating the drum and chanting the liturgies, cuts the skin of a sheep's ear and spreads the blood on a prepared bunch of grass and flags. He plants the flags on both sides of the door; the bunch of grass is also planted beside the door. The sheep is not to be killed, sold, or made a sacrifice, but to enjoy a natural

death. Having completed the ceremony and returned home, the tuan-kung washes his hands outdoors. Then he enters the house, sits beside the fireplace, and has his meal. After the meal, he begins 783
to make flags and cuts paper flowers. Flags are planted on a bushel. The monkey head and offerings are put in place. Chanting liturgies, the tuan-kung takes the flags and plants them in front of a straw mattress. He wraps the chicken's feather in paper and hangs it on the top of a flag; on the top of another flag, he also hangs the chicken's feather, the bow, arrows, and other things. Having done all these, the tuan-kung, chanting prayers, begins to offer sacrifice for redeeming the vow. All people gather and drink. Then they make offerings to the God of Wealth, the Sheep God, the Door God, and the ancestors. The chicken offered to the Door God can be killed and its blood is spread on the flag. The chicken offered to the God of Wealth and the Sheep God must be crushed to death. Before dawn, the host carrying the chickens, incense, candles, etc., follows the tuan-kung as he dances from the fireplace up to the roof. Up on the roof, first a gun-shot is fired. Then the host strangles the chickens. After finishing his chanting of prayers, the tuan-kung gets ready the offerings to the White Stone God, hangs a flag on a piece of fir wood, and pastes the chicken feathers on the wood. After three days, the wood is moved and planted on a good farm. The chicken feathers used in the sacrifice are thrown on the farm.

The above-mentioned practice has probably had a long history. 539
The Ch'iang have an old folk song as follows:

"The Ch'iang people worship god, and to make the sheep and chicken vows, they hire a tuan-kung:
The sheep vow to clean the house, the chicken vow to clean the house and the cattle ranch.
As dirt is cleaned out, all is purified and the water is clean:
The God of Heaven, the God of Earth, come all to enjoy!"

/23/ Divination-- The Ch'iang practice divination with sheep's 787
thigh-bone, egg, or white dog. First, the sheep's thigh-bone divination:

Foretelling with the sheep's thigh-bone is called tchi-pü-sze in the Ch'iang language. Very few tuan-kung know the method of divination. Nowadays only the tuan-kung around P'u-ch'i-kou in Li-fan can still teach it. However, only one out of four or five disciples may have the opportunity to be instructed. All the magic words will not be taught even to the most reliable disciple until he holds his

787 teacher-honoring ceremony. The sheep's thigh-bone used in divination must come from the sheep sacrificed to the Sacred Forest in the tuan-kung's own territory or from the sheep privately sacrificed to the White Stone God by his fellow clansmen. There is a definite time to take the bone. The proper time is after the sheep has been used as a sacrifice but before it is put into a pot to cook. After the thigh-bone is taken out, it is then wrapped up and carried away by the tuan-kung to be placed beside his god. The mutton is then cooked to treat guests for the sake of publicity.

The sheep's thigh-bone can be used to divine the cause of a disease, to predict fortunes, or to reveal a traveler's well-being and whereabouts. The one who requests divination holds a bunch of oats in his hand. If it is for discovering the cause of a disease, the patient is asked to blow at the oats. (If it is for a traveler, one of his parents is to do the blowing on his behalf.) He burns pine branches before the God of Fire. After praying, he goes to the home of the tuan-kung and explains to the tuan-kung the purpose of his visit. Having received the visitor, the tuan-kung first burns pine branches before his god. Then he asks his client to put his oats on the pine-branches and burn them. Murmuring prayers, the tuan-kung takes a wormwood leaf (be-ru), nips it into small pieces, and burns them on the sheep's thigh-bone. The number of the wormwood pieces is fixed at three, five, seven, or nine. After they are burned into lines and marks, the tuan-kung investigates the pattern and he will learn from it the cause of the disease as well as fortunes or misfortunes in the future. He can also decide immediately whether or not treatment or supplication is needed.

Divination with egg is called, in the Ch'iang language, yué-te-tzee̅-tiè (opening the egg and see). This method is also performed by the tuan-kung to discover the cause of diseases. The patient first takes a raw egg, blows on it once, and puts it into his pocket for a while. Later, he boils it and blows on it once more. Then he states his birth time and says, "My disease will show in the egg." (If the patient is seriously ill and has to delegate someone to do it on his behalf, his delegate will speak in his own words.) Next, the egg is buried in ashes before the Fire God. After a while, it is taken out and sent to the tuan-kung, to whom the patient's condition and birth time are described. Chanting prayers, the tuan-kung takes a bowl of clean water and with three fingers, puts the egg into water. He turns the egg and watches its movement to get a general idea of the cause of the disease. Then he takes out the egg, shells it, and using

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a long hair, cuts it open. By the color and shape of the egg and the amount of water in it, the cause of the disease is determined. The tuan-kung also decides how to cure the disease.

Divination with wool threads-- This method has nothing to do with the tuan-kung. It is done by another kind of sorcerer called tzee-pa-me-ru (old diviner). He has another set of witchcraft and magic words. The most important instruments are wool threads and a leather bag. The wool threads are made of lamb's wool, more than a foot long, eighty-eight in all and tied together in a bundle. Hanging under them are strips of colored cloth called be-lee-getu. The leather of the leather bag, ki-tso-wa, must be taken from the skin of the cow used in the rites of redeeming a vow. It was even stricter in old days when it had to come from Pai-k'ung-ke, the holy land of the Ch'iang. After the death of the cow used as a sacrifice to the God of Liberation in the rites of redeeming a vow, its skin is used for making a leather bag into which many things are put: grains, animal teeth and bones, carved farming tools of the Ch'iang, broken pieces of bowls, bracelets, woodcuts, wood ruler, woman's thread board, etc., each of which has a special name. Both diseases and fortunes can be divined. There is no definite time for people who ask about their diseases. The preliminary steps in this kind of divination are the same as those in the sheep's thigh-bone divination. But there is a definite time for fortune-telling. Usually it is done between the middle of the first month and the second month, and often for the whole family. Therefore, they used to invite the old diviner to their homes to do it. At the beginning, he chants loudly his magic words on the stove and displays his gods (White Stone God, Fortress God, /24/ bronze Tibetan buddha, etc.). Having set up a sacred table and having honored the gods with wine, he pours the miscellaneous articles from his leather bag into a sieve. Making knots with wool threads, he keeps on murmuring magic words. Then he unties the knots and examines the shape of the wool threads. Afterwards, he studies the relative positions of the miscellaneous articles piling upon one another or lying side by side in the sieve in order to determine the fortune or misfortune.

Hanging a White Dog to Foretell Harvest-- At Jen-ts'un in Yun-tseng-kou, along the eastern route of Mao-hsien, the custom of hanging a white dog to foretell harvest is still preserved. It is held every year during the first ten days of the first month. This is originally a part of the festival at the Tu-hsiung Temple in memory of the tribal hero of the Ch'iang in eastern Mao-hsien. People often use their

787 earnings from the festival to buy a white dog and go to the Tu-hsiung Temple at Jen-ts'un to hold a dog-hanging meeting. The dog is hanged upside down on a branch of a tree in front of the temple. Food is placed below the dog's head but the dog cannot reach it because of the distance. The dog is left to die like that. If it does not die after seven days, a rich harvest is predicted, otherwise, a poor crop.

Special Programs in the Ch'iang Capping Ceremony and Funeral Ceremony--Practices concerning the Ch'iang capping and funeral ceremonies are very complicated. However, analysis shows that they include probably only two kinds of material: one is the material related to social systems and another to religious beliefs. I will mention here only a few important points in the programs of the capping and funeral ceremonies that have religious significance. This may help us understand more clearly the entire Ch'iang beliefs.

885 Capping ceremony (or adulthood ceremony) is called ye-boo-dei-sawoo in the Ch'iang language. This is a large-scale celebration. A tuan-kung is invited as early as the eighth month to cleanse the house and expel misfortunes so as to prepare for the capping ceremony which is to be held in the tenth month or as late as the twelfth month. The length of time from beginning to end is not shorter than the capping ceremony of the Australian aborigines. When the time for the ceremony comes, there are other complicated preparations to make. All sacrifices have to go through purification. We have no time to describe those details here, but one important program of the ceremony must be described. With his relatives sitting around a fire, the one to be capped always wears new clothes. A tuan-kung kneels and holds in his hand a fir stick, on the top of which is a paper image of the ancestor of mankind. The one to be capped kneels before the ancestor of mankind as another tuan-kung, holding some mo-ngi (white he-goat wool threads strung with stripes of colored cloth) which represent gifts from the ancestor of mankind, circles it around his neck. Then, the tuan-kung all kneel down and pray, saying briefly, "Since the very beginning of the earth, there has been the ancestor who created all things and men. Although his age is unknown, he is forever existing like the big fir trees on the rock beyond the reach of axes. His descendants should also receive his protection and live as long as heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, and enjoy good fortune, longevity, and peace...

After the praying, gifts of the ancestor are distributed among the children of all the relatives present, regardless of sex, each receiving a gift. All are happy and the capping ceremony then begins. On the one hand, the clan chief tells the history of their ancestors. On the

other, the tuan-kung chants liturgies as he sacrifices to all the gods
895 in the house. In the sacrifice to the Sheep God, there is a special program. A chicken and a living she-goat are used during the sacrifice to the Sheep God. The tuan-kung must regard the sheep as a person and giving it a portion of the ancestor's gifts, wishes it prolific in production. After the sacrifice, the sheep must be fed until its natural death and must not be killed or sold. Special food (dry cabbage) is used to feed the sheep which is called "Sacred Sheep," or hitu-tzé-sawoo. Among other programs, the sacrifice to the God of Granary must be given by the mother of the youth to be capped. In the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof, the heart of the white sheep must be taken out and the black sheep must be killed. These all have their specific meanings which will be discussed in the conclusion.

The funeral ceremony of the Ch'iang is also very complicated.
764 We will discuss here only one of its most characteristic scenes. After the death of a Ch'iang tribesman, a goat is often killed /25/ to guide the dead man. It is called la-par-sar-ma-tchi, or the guiding goat. The man who kills the goat must be a senior of the deceased. If the deceased is a male, a he-goat will be killed; if a female, a she-goat. The place for killing the goat is right in front of the corpse. At that moment, a prayer must first be said: "The goat is guiding you. What disease you died of will be shown on the body of the goat." After the prayer, the goat is killed. The first gush of blood is received in a bowl. Wheat straws are dipped into the blood. The goat's blood is spread on the palm of the corpse (left hand for male and right hand for female) to let the deceased know that the goat will act as his guide. Then the body of the goat is dissected to discover the cause of his death. The disease found in the goat signifies a corresponding disease in the man that causes his death. After the disease is confirmed, relatives begin to cry sorrowfully and regret that they have not known its cause earlier and have not given him the right treatment. The relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this goat.

Although this scene is quite strange, it is not unique. Among the Tchuktchi tribe in Siberia, who practices funeral by exposure (discard), the corpse is cut open in the shape of a cross before the funeral to examine the cause of its death. If cremation is adopted, the corpse does not have to be cut open but the throat must be cut. (10) The Azande (or niam-niam) people in Africa believe that if a

764 10. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 142.

person's death is caused by the attack of an evil spirit, the source of his disease can be found by dissecting and examining the corpse (11)

11. Levy-Brühl, Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, p. 184.

Anthropologists call this practice "autopsia." Some other places in Africa, such as Libreville, Pahonius and Ngounie, have similar practices. (12) These tribes, however, directly dissect the corpse while

12. "Un enterrement chez les Ishagos," p. 138-9 (Bulletin de la société de recherches Congolaise, No. 8, 1928.)

the Ch'iang substitute the goat for the corpse. Whether the substitution of the goat for the corpse has a specific meaning or not will be discussed in the conclusion.

782 Praying for Rain-- The Ch'iang live in mountains where geographical environment is perilous and difficult. In ancient times a traveler once said, "It worries even birds to pass through them. How can men do it!" Farms are along both sides of the stream or on slopes. Farming under such circumstances, as we can imagine, relies heavily upon rainfall. A summer without rain often makes the harvest hopeless. So praying for rain becomes a very serious business. It would take too much space to describe the various legends and stories about the drought and the rites of praying for rain in all places. Here we will introduce to our readers only one or two programs related to religious beliefs. The Ch'iang custom of praying for rain along the Tsa-ku-nao River in Li-fan is most interesting. For instance, whenever they have a long period of dry weather, the Ch'iang at Hsing-shang-liu-chai, Tseng-t'ou-san-chai and Chu-erh-san-chai as well as those at Niu-shan, Lo-shan, Kan-ch'i, Wen-shan, Chia-shan, Jo-ta and Hsi-shan must go to search the mountains, which they call ho-mu-mo-gee-sar-lir-rahge. The so-called "mountain search" is to prohibit the digging of medical herbs and the trapping of animals. The Ch'iang believe that the digging of angelica and other medical herbs destroys the treasure of the land and violates the law of regeneration. As to the prohibition of trapping animals, it is because the Fork God or horn-mo-tze (the God of Hunting symbolized by a fork) worshiped by hunters is a symbol of slaughter. He should be excluded during the days of difficulties so as to follow the will of Heaven. Once the order of "mountain searching" is published, each village will send several persons to

782 join in the search. If a man is found violating the prohibition, he will be beaten, according to the rules, until he is bleeding because they believe otherwise there will be no rain. This psychology is very similar to the psychology of the Australian aborigines. (13)

13. Besson, Le totémisme.

/26/ If, after searching the mountains, there is still no rain, a praying-for-rain organization of a larger scale will be formed. The people at Hsia-san-chai /three lower villages/ in Hsing-shang would ask the people at Shang-san-chai /three upper villages/ to pray for rain. The Shang-san-chai people would then send a delegation to the Ch'iang's Sheng-shan /Holy Mountain/ called be-ko-ga. (14)

14. This mountain is located at Shang-san-chai of Hsing-shang-liu-chai on the northern bank of the Tsa-ku-nao River. The place is very high and extremely cold even in summer. The valley casts forth clouds and fogs in the evening. The peaks of the mountains are above the clouds and fogs. Wandering and resting among them is like being a fairy. A temple has now been built to worship three holy stones, pai-ang-ang, pai-lan-lan, and pai-hsi-hsi.

There they would vow to the god and ask for permission to take a carved tablet to call together the people. This carved tablet is kept in a cave at San-chien-shan (the Ch'iang call it tchi-rŭ-ga), four li from the Holy Mountain. Having taken the carved tablet and returned to the Holy Mountain, they leave one half of the tally before the god (as a talisman) and take the other half down the mountain to be carried from village to village. Wherever the tablet goes, every family must send someone to participate in the reception. Otherwise, the family will not only be blamed by all but also punished. Participants are usually married women, and only in very few cases, men and boys. The number of people grows as they go from one village to another. (However, aside from the delegation, no one from Shang-san-chai in Hsing-shang participates.) Each village brings a jar of wine which is used for honoring the god. On arriving at the peak of the Holy Mountain, all bow to the god, complain about the horror of drought, burn incense, and honor the god with libation. The delegation of Shang-san-chai returns one half of the carved tablet, puts it together with the other half, and then says, "All people are here. The drought is true. You may enjoy the incense. You must make the people prosperous. Your talisman is here..." Then a newly

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

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Praying-for-rain Song

782 539 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which is as follows:

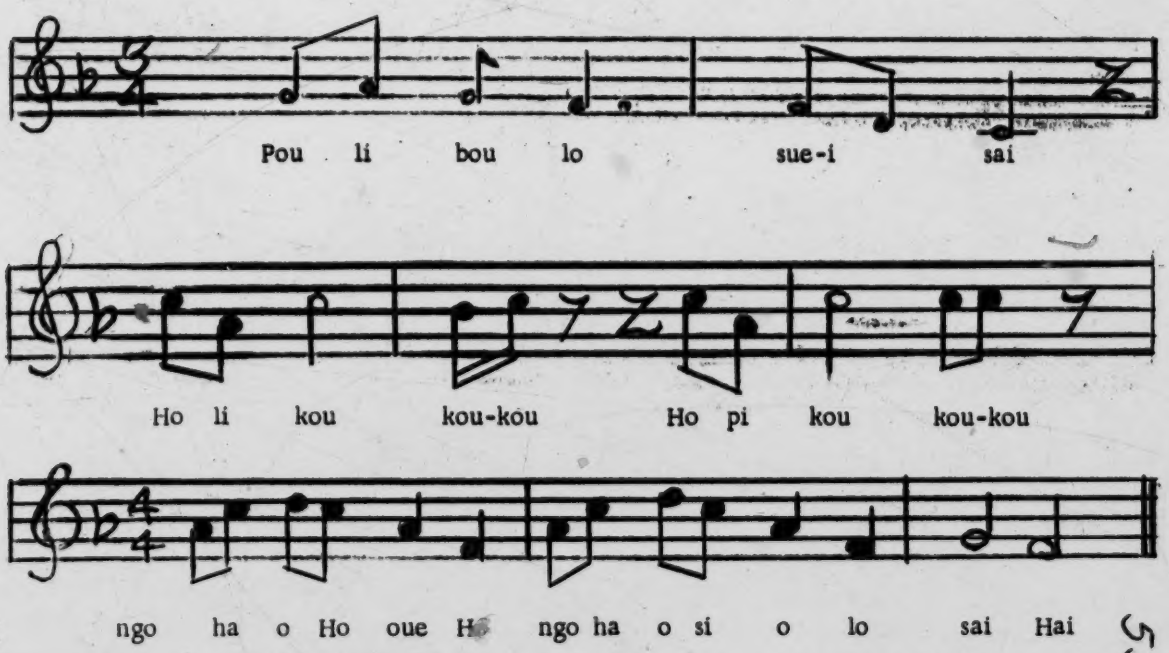
Man's _____ often looks for woman's_____ very hungry, very thirsty!
Playing_____, ku-ku-ku; playing_____ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 533 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

Words and music in the Ch'iang song.



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782 533 two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

771 774 In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

771 This statement is right to the point. But the nature of ghosts and
774 gods is quite complicated. Deniker says that the so-called animism recognizes not only that a human being has a soul that can temporarily leave his body, but also that all animals, plants, minerals, and even artificial man-made products consist of two elements, the material and the spiritual. Things like dream, shadow, and imagination further strengthen the primitive people's belief in the existence of ghosts and gods. Furthermore they believe that ghosts and gods can be divided into the good and bad ones, and that sometimes they give blessing and other times trouble. (17) The variety and nature

17. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 269, 272.

of the gods worshiped by the Ch'iang, as discussed above, coincides exactly with Deniker's statement. There is no doubt that the Ch'iang beliefs belong to animism.

Souls do not necessarily have shapes, but all objects have souls. Therefore, it appears that to worship the soul is to worship the object. And so Deniker regards fetishism as a kind of animism. S. Reinarch says, "The object inhabited by a spirit or soul is a fetish. In the early period of the Roman Empire, there was fetishism but no idol. The earliest God of War is represented by a spear and the God of Heaven a piece of flint." (18) In the same way the Ch'iang use

18. Oeuvres, pp. 143-4.

white stones to represent the various gods, a leather bag to represent the Poison King, and a fork to represent the Hunting God. The Ch'iang have no idolatry. Although there are now some temples with idols, yet this is the result of the Chinese influence. For instance, on the top of the Holy Mountain, "pai-k'ung-ke," at Hsing-shang-chai there were originally only three holy stones. But now there is a sculptured image of god behind the three holy stones. Some Chinese monks also live in the temple. Another example is that the Ch'iang at P'u-ch'i-shih-chai even give up their old tradition of redeeming vows in the Sacred Forest and instead they come to redeem vows at the Sinicized Chiu-lung Temple where there are images of gods like the Mountain King, the Cow King, the Ancestor of River, and the Mother of Earth, but no longer any white stone.

771 We have mentioned above that the tuan-kung is a Ch'iang
791 sorcerer. This is a Chinese term whereas in the Ch'iang language the tuan-kung is called pi. There is no question about the fact that

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the tuan-kung is a sorcerer. However, there are several kinds of sorcerers. The ancient Slavic people called those in charge of sacrifice to the deity priests and those practicing incantation and witchcraft magicians. (19) However, the tuan-kung of the Ch'iang possesses

19. Ibid. p. 260.

the double personality of priest and magician. He is the one who offers sacrifice to gods; he is also the one who exorcises devils and evil spirits. This kind of person has the same status as the Shaman who is prevalent among the peoples in the Frigid and the Sub-frigid Zones of eastern Asia. Montandon says that the Shaman is both priest and sorcerer. (20) Shirokogoroff says that in the language of the

20. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 145.

Tungus, the word "Shaman" means the man or woman who can control ghosts and gods. He is the one who can utilize ghosts and gods to help himself and can, particularly, help those patients under the attack of devils. He has a way to communicate with devils and gods. (21)

21. Shirokogoroff, Psychomental complex of the Tungus, p. 269.

Such being the case, /29/ Shaman is not only a priest and magician, but he also possesses the qualification of a medicine man. However, since he is a magician, he is also automatically a medicine man because to cure diseases by magic is a general method among the primitive people. In ancient China, there was also the saying: "Sorcerer P'eng practises medicine." (22) Evidently, during the period of

22. Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu /Lü's Annals/.

sorcery, the medicine men must have also been sorcerers. This is probably an invariable principle. The Ch'iang practices only add another evidence to this principle. As to the observation that the Shaman possesses the double personality of priest and magician, the question is which personality, from the point of view of religious history, precedes the other? On this point Deniker says that as society progresses, magicians must also become priests. However, it often happens that after the priest class is born, the original sorcery remains.

(23) According to Deniker's theory, both the Ch'iang tuan-kung 771

23. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, pp.278-9. 791

and all the Shaman represent the last stage of sorcery and the first stage of priesthood.

In the aforesaid practices of the Ch'iang, we see that most of the magic rites performed by the Ch'iang tuan-kung is of the nature of imitative magic, which is based upon the mentality of the primitive people. Since the primitive people "regard similarity as reality," (24) Therefore they firmly believe in imitative magic and the

24. Ch. Blondel, La mentalite primitive, (Collection nouvelles culture).

effectiveness of incantation and gesture given by the magicians. All the practical activities of the primitive people often require the assistance of such magic as may be given to fishing, hunting and agriculture, to raising cattle, or to such human work as ship-building and house construction. (25) The Ch'iang rites of expelling

25. Thurnwald, Economics in Primitive Communities, p. 210.

bad luck are imitative magic extended to human work. They think, after such rites, the clumsy will become skillful and the poor rich. In the Ch'iang practice of praying for rain, the act of intercourse between the two sexes symbolizes clouds and rains in the sky, just like the agricultural festival in India which encourages promiscuity in the hope that the propagation behavior of human beings might influence the propagation of the grains in the field. The Bantus and the French Algerians in Africa, the Dayaks of northern British Bornea in Oceania, and the present Dutch and German farmers all have similar practices. The Ch'iang's killing white chickens and white dogs to pray for fine weather, their searching the mountains to pray for rain, the substitution of goats to die for men, as well as the tuan-kung's breaking a blade of grass to kill a person, all these practices also seek responsive influences through affinitive behaviors. They belong naturally to imitative magic.

The most important act in the Ch'iang rites of fecundity is the sprinkling of blood. The meaning of blood-spreading, according to the recent study by W. Schmidt, an Austrian anthropologist of the 771

771 geo-historical school, is that: "Blood is the source of vitality. Therefore, during the magic rites of fecundity, blood is used as a symbol. From killing an animal to take out its heart to hunting human heads for sacrifice, all such practices are customs produced from this fundamental concept." (26) As to killing an animal by taking out its

26. W. Schmidt, Origin et l'évolution de la religion, p. 353.

heart, the white sheep, used by the Ch'iang in the capping ceremony at the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof top, receives exactly this king of heart operation. Besides, the yak used by the Ch'iang in the rites of redeeming vows before the White Stone God at the "pei-k'ung-ke" Holy Mountain must also have its heart taken out without being allowed to be killed by any other ordinary method. Although the Ch'iang nowadays do not have the custom of sacrificing human beings, still we can find it in history in the legends of Lin-chün concerning the barbarians in Pa-chün and Nan-chün. It is further evidenced by the facts that in ancient India human beings were used as sacrifice in spring and fall services and that the K'a-wa tribesmen on the Yunnan-Burma borders hunt human heads in order to protect farms, so it is beyond doubt that there is a relationship between bleeding and the rites of agricultural fecundity. Apart from this, the Poison Devil of the Ch'iang can transmit poison by eye, which is called "evil eye" in anthropology. This is an example of wish-magic. (27).

27. Kirkpatrick, Religion in Human Affairs, p. 131.

In the Ch'iang legends and practices, there are still many programs which contain special meanings. To explain them, it seems necessary to refer to the principles of totemism. Some Chinese scholars who have made studies of the Ch'iang tribesmen have mentioned that the Ch'iang have totemism. But they have merely pointed out the fact that the Ch'iang name their tribes after animals, without developing it further. /30/ There is indeed no way to develop it if we rely only upon the material available in history books. Based upon the material gathered from my investigation, I would like to interpret totemism as follows:

Generally speaking, a totemic people, whenever they come across an important occasion in life such as capping, wedding, or funeral, often hold a totemic identification rite or a rite imitating totem. (28)

28. Besson, Le totémisme.

This identification rite is an extremely important point in totemism. (29) Facts concerning this are quite abundant in the Ch'iang culture. 791

29. Besson, the French writer, says that a group of totemistic tribesmen gather together because of the belief that their ancestors came from a common totem. But, actually, totemism contains less sense of blood relationship than group relationship. The tottoos of Australian aborigines all imitate totemic animals. The American Indians do the same thing. The tortoise tribesmen of the Omahas cut their hair in the shape of a tortoise. When marrying, they rub the bodies of the bride and bridegroom with the skin of the totemic animal. In ancient Greece, during the bear service, all women in Athens wore bear-skin and called themselves female bears. Durkheim also says that the basic principle of totemism is consubstantiality.

In legends about their origin, the god of the Ch'iang revealed to them in a dream the way to defeat the Ko people by advising them to hang wool threads around their necks as marks when they met the Ko in the battlefield. When the battle was joined, the Ch'iang did as they were told and thus defeated the Ko to earn a position of "the survival of the fittest." The Ch'iang consider this war as a turning point in their regeneration. Even now, whenever they hold an important ceremony, they must tell this glorious history. In sacrifices to the gods, and in redeeming their vows, the tuan-kung would also read this history which is called bi-gu-ngew in the Ch'iang language. Before they defeated the Ko, the Ch'iang called themselves "dze-gai-be", meaning "people". After they defeated the Ko, they started to call themselves "rmee" (This is the dialect of the Hei-shui valley west of Mao-hsien. In the dialect of the Tsa-ku-nao-ho valley in Li-fan, it is pronounced as rmà.) The Ch'iang said that the Ko were an inhumane and beastlike race but the 'rmee' were shepherds who, more civilized than the Ko, were capable of speech, farming, and raising cattle, and who knew esprit de corps. The Ch'iang, being shepherds (30),

30. Tung Tso-pin says: "The word 'ch'iang' comes from the words 'sheep' and 'man', meaning therefore a shepherd. (Sometimes the Ch'iang carry strings, indicating the

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carrying of sheep.) The words 'ch'iang' and 'yang' (sheep) have a similar sound and are interchangeable."

called themselves "rmee". The best transliteration is, of course, the word 羊 (pronounced mi, meaning the bleating of sheep). To hang wool threads around the neck is to imitate the appearance of a sheep. This is a behavior produced by the principle of totemic identification. After they had defeated their enemies, these "shepherds," recalling their debt of gratitude to their totem, and wishing to identify themsleves more closely with it, went further to imitate the voice of the animal, calling themselves "rmee." This is probably the reason why the Ch'iang changed the name of their tribe. Strellow, an authority on the ethnology of Australian peoples, says that among the customs of the Australian tribes, there is, it can be said, not a single kind of rites which does not imitate the shape or the voice of some totemic animal. (31) With this as a related evidence, the theory that the

31. "Die Arunda und Loritja stämme in Central-Australian," 1908, quoted from Besson, Le totémisme.

"shepherds" called themselves "rmee" cannot be regarded as mere imagination.

The above-mentioned facts are derived from the Ch'iang legends. Nobody can deny the value of legends in anthropology. As for the Ch'iang and their totemic identification rites, there is, however, evidence of facts which can still be seen today and which are more dependable than legends. In the aforesaid Ch'iang practice of expelling bad luck and capping ceremony, there is the identification rite of circling the neck with wool threads. The act in the ceremony of expelling bad luck is very simple. But in the capping ceremony, there are additional programs which are to be noted. For instance, the act of the one to be capped kneeling before the image of the fir stick ancestor is similar to the embracing of the nurtunja (holy stick) in the adulthood ceremony of the Australian totemic tribes. This is also regarded in Australia as the hiding place of the ancestral soul. According to legends, every tent occupied by their ancestors erected a nurtunja on the top of which was a waninga (holy rod). Besides, there is a special program in the Ch'iang capping ceremony. In sacrificing to the Sheep God, the tuan-kung wraps wool threads around a living sheep that is not allowed to be killed. The wool threads represent gifts from ancestors. The fact that sheep and men are

equally qualified to receive such gifts shows obviously that sheep and men are equal and both totemic animals and men are descendants of totemic ancestors. A concept like this exists only in a totemistic society. 771

In funeral, the Ch'iang have the custom of autopsia. However, they do not directly cut and examine the corpse of the deceased but use a sheep as substitute. /31/ This practice can also be explained by the principle of totemism. In accordance with the principle of identification, men and sheep are equal. Therefore, what happens in the human body naturally will also show in the body of the sheep. So, in order to find out the cause of illness, we do not have to directly anatomize the human body and instead can discover it by examining the sheep's body. Moreover, the anatomized sheep serves as a guide to the deceased and is called the "Guiding Sheep." This also has totemic significance. The Omahas in America use the buffalo as a totem. After a man's death, his corpse is wrapped in buffalo skin, and an image of the buffalo is painted on the back of his head. Then the sorcerer prays: "Since you came from the animal world, please return to the animal world! Go straight ahead and do not come back!" (32) That the Ch'iang use sheep as guide probably contains also the

32. See Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, I. p. 35, quoted by Vinogradoff, Historical Jurisprudence, Vol. I., p. 205.

meaning of "coming from the animal world and returning to the animal world." That the relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this sheep has also a totemic significance.

To interpret a part of the Ch'iang practice by totemistic principle, of course, can only be regarded as an experiment. We know that totemistic principles should not be applied lightly and loosely, especially after the criticism by Goldenweiser and Lowie, American scholars of the cultural school. However, the repeated facts in the Ch'iang culture compel us to make such an experiment, although we cannot thus assert that the Ch'iang have passed through a stage of totemism, nor can we recognize that the Ch'iang are now practising totemism, for a complete totemistic system will require various other conditions. (33) Therefore, we believe that even if the Ch'iang have totemism,

33. Goldenweiser, A. A., Totemism, an Analytical Study, in the making of man, edited by Calverton.

771 it must be only an immature totemism. This is a common phenomenon among the tribal peoples in northern Asia. For instance, the Tazes among the Yakut people believe that unless a woman has sexual relation with a bear, she will not be pregnant; the Kirghiz consider themselves descendants of dogs, and the Bouriate call swans their ancestors. Likewise, the organization of the Altai tribes resembles that of the totemistic tribes. All these can only be regarded as immature totemism. The Ch'iang are one of the northern Asiatic races. Their culture naturally mingles with and fits into this cultural sphere. Moreover, not only the totemism in the Ch'iang culture fits into the pattern of the same cultural area, but also things like Shaman religion, bone divination, funeral rites, farming and pasturing, etc., are all in uniformity with this cultural area.

In view of the aforesaid, it seems that there is a logical relationship in the system of the Ch'iang beliefs. Fetishism comes from animism, while Shaman religion and animism are inseparably related with each other. As to the question whether or not totemism is in harmony with these beliefs, our answer is affirmative. We can prove by facts that in the totemistic areas people have, at the same time, sorcery and the belief in ghosts and gods. For example, the totemic system in central Australia is associated with the belief in ghosts and gods. Australian aborigines believe that the problem of the totemic affiliation of their children must be decided by the place where the ancestral ghosts enter mothers' wombs or where women discover their pregnancy. (34) As to the prevalence of sorcery and sorcerous medi-

34. "Notes on some native tribes of Australia," in the Journal and Proceedings of Royal Society of New South Wales, XL, 1906, quoted by Vinogradoff, Historical Jurisprudence, pp. 205-6.

cine in Australia, it is universally recognized by all investigators. From the standpoint of academic theories, Schmidt believes that sorcery of passive nature originated in the primitive matriarchic society and sorcery of active nature is the product of totemistic culture. (35)

35. W. Schmidt, op. cit.

Furthermore, although some anthropologists regard totemism as religion, (36) yet the recent trend generally considers totemism as a social

36. For example, E. Durkheim (see his Elementary Forms of Religious Life.) 771

system, not religion. (37) If totemism is not religion, then it can-

37. For instance, W. Schmidt, A. A. Goldenweiser, etc.

not be in conflict with animism and sorcery and its co-existence with the latter is possible.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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PREFACE

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The debt of pupil to teacher, so well understood in China, is due to Professor B. Malinowski, under whom I studied anthropology before venturing into the field.

[p. vii] [pp. iv, v, vi, are blank]

2:T'ao--1 E-5 (no date) 1945 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

Some Creation Stories

Told by Tribal Peoples of The Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan

By T'ao Yün-k'uei

The following is a record of sixteen stories about the origin of /2/ mankind, elves, insects and fishes, rice and grains, tobacco and wines. These were written down as told by the natives in the borderland of Yunnan in the year 1936 when an investigation was made of the tribal peoples there. (See map of the distribution of aborigines in Yunnan, Page 2.)

Myths and stories, in a simple society, are not merely after dinner talks or subject matters for pastime, but they are recognized as things which actually took place in the past. They look upon the myths in the same way the Chinese believe in the Golden Era of San-huang-wu-ti (three monarchs and five emperors). Their myths live in their everyday life; and thus, from myths, it is not difficult for us to have a glimpse of their mass beliefs, morals and the principles of conformity in social behaviors. In these myths, there are many intricate scenes, winding perspectives, attractive descriptions, numerous love affairs and adventures. And this is no less the reason that it has become one of the indispensable subject matter of pastime for the monotonous living in simple societies. Even we, upon hearing these tales, would feel their vivid persuasiveness, and be thus enlivened by them. From the viewpoint of comparative anthropology, to study the problems of cultural propagation, evolution, and the near and distant relations among various racial groups, myths are also a paramount object for research. Owing to the lack of comparative data, this essay will be limited to a narration of the original tales to serve as a reference for future study.

/3/ I. Moso (who call themselves Nashi)

1. Li-chiang hsien

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge had become calamities 773 which drowned out all mankind. The only survival was a man by 539 the name Zungtzerliri, who, by hiding himself in a drum, narrowly escaped. As the Deluge gradually rose, the drum ascended with it. When the roars of the water had ceased, he broke out from the drum

17. Review of Tibeto-Burman

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The present section has been written with a two-fold view in mind, viz. a provisional reconstruction of the archaic Tibeto-Burman kinship nomenclature and a synthesis of material bearing on the general problem of the factors that have produced changes in this archaic system. It is of course impossible to realize either of these goals in any complete sense. The reconstruction of a set of kinship terms differs very little from the reconstruction of any other group of terms, e.g. those for animals. In each case certain phonetic generalizations must be followed, and in each case original meanings must be assigned to roots on the basis of a series of fluctuating connotations. The difficult problem of "partial equations", in which a given root has a limited distribution, arises here precisely as in any other linguistic field (for a good recent discussion, vide Scherer, 1941). A distinction between the two types of reconstruction can be drawn, however, in the fact that kinship terms constitute a definite system whereas those for animals, parts of the body, or the like, do not constitute such a system. It is fairly evident that, within kinship nomenclature, a semantic shift at one point is likely to be reflected at another, or, in sociological terms, a single factor, e.g. cross-cousin marriage, is likely to produce a series of interrelated changes, whereas this in general does not hold true within other linguistic spheres. In this respect a kinship nomenclature might be compared with

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a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the task of investigating each element of that system, both independently and correlatively.

In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendants, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements [illegible] based largely on "pa[illegible]al equations" and must thus be [illegible] reserve until a basic framework has been set up. [illegible] roots, eight of which are applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete Tibeto-Burman series as [illegible]alled from the foregoing review. These roots constitute the following system:

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SA 601 ST 601 group with xC marriage and a type of bachelor's house with their immediate neighbors, the Tibetans, who practise polyandry rather than xC marriage (traces of the latter persist) and have nothing suggesting a bachelor's house. The same type of contrast is presented by the primitive Arakanese with xC marriage and premarital sexual freedom (Hutchinson, p. 113) and the sophisticated Burmese, who lack xC marriage and whose courtship pattern had become highly formalized even in medieval times (vide the interesting account by Kin). It is not suggested that xC marriage and premarital sexual laxity are necessarily correlated in any way, but, in the area under consideration, both appear to belong to the same general cultural stratum.

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SA [121] ST [121] The present study is of limited scope and comparative material has therefore been eliminated. The parallelism between the Kuki Omaha pattern and that found among the BaThonga and Nama Hottentot of South Africa, however, is too attractive to be omitted. The Nama Hottentot (Schapera, pp. 230 and ff.) employ the terms //náob gF,MB; //náos gM,MBW (but MB is now called omeb < Dutch oom "uncle", and MBW is now called mugis < Dutch mookie "little mother"); //núrib xCe,SiS(ms),gS; //núris xCi,SiD(ms),gD. This system can be converted into the Kuki type by limiting //núrib and //núris to FSiCh and applying //náob and //náos to MBCh. Schapera describes xC marriage of bilateral type, but notes that among

23:Benedict E-5 (no date)1941 ALl Southeast Asia
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Karen AP7

SECTION B

KAREN AND CHINESE

1. Introduction

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Having completed a review of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, the writer now proposes to discuss in summary fashion the salient points of the Karen and Chinese nomenclatures. Karen and Tibeto-Burman together constitute the western branch of the Sino-Tibetan stock, the eastern branch of which is represented by Chinese (Sinitic) and the Sinitic element in Thai. The term "Indo-Chinese" has been employed in a somewhat broader sense to include Thai itself, and the latter family is commonly coupled with Chinese in contrast to Tibeto-Burman. This view has been developed in a masterly study by Wulff and is shared by Maspero, a pioneer in Thai linguistics. The writer himself was originally partial toward this view, but more intensive investigations of the Thai languages have led to the conviction that a wholly distinct substratum is involved here, and that the Sinitic elements constitute little more than a veneer, albeit an ancient one. A rapprochement with Indonesian has been initiated, largely on the basis of a newly discovered linguistic group in southern China, northern Tonkin, and the island of Hainan. This newly recognized group, consisting of Kelao (southern China), Laqua (northern Tonkin), and Dai or Loi (Hainan), has been named "Kadai". Kadai is notable for its retention

3. Chinese

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In the present section the writer proposes to examine the Chinese system of nomenclature with reference to the basic Tibeto-Burman system reconstructed above. Our interest naturally lies in the early Chinese system rather than in the later developments, for it is here that significant points of resemblance can be expected to appear. We shall devote our attention, therefore, to "Ancient Chinese" rather than to "Chinese" in general.

Our analysis has been made possible by the definitive work by Feng, to whom the anthropological world owes a lasting debt of gratitude. Just how great a debt this is can be realized only after a comparison has been made with the early crude account by Morgan (based on material supplied by Hart, an English customs official), the not-so-early but equally inadequate description by Hu, and even the more recent work by Chen and Shryock, which suffers from a grievous want of historical perspective. Feng has provided us with a detailed account of Chinese kinship nomenclature from the earliest period down to the present, based on carefully checked sources which are handled in the competent manner seldom attained even by our foremost European sinologues. A fair proportion of illustrative material is incorporated, and Chinese characters are cited. It is from this excellent source that the writer has drawn most of the material cited in this study.

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Feng's work is incomplete only with respect to the modern dialects of China. Dialectical vocative terms are cited, and the developments behind some of the modern terms [illegible] brought to light, but the treatment is essentially [illegible]rary throughout. For the modern dialects as much we must turn to isolated descriptions of individual dialectical patterns, e.g. May's account of Cantonese nomenclature. The single exception here is furnished by Fei's analysis of the kinship terms employed in the dialects of Wukiang (Kiangsu), Shanghai, Hangchow (Chekiang), Tungchow (Hopei), Quemoy (Fukien), and Lanchow (Kansu), representing three major dialectical groups (Mandarin, Shanghai, Fukien). Fei devotes most of his attention to the vocative terms, which he regards as "more directly connected with the social organization" (p. 128).

From the present point of view, the main defect in Feng's work lies in the almost entire absence of linguistic treatment. Feng refers to his own method of approach as "primarily historical and linguistic" (p. 147), but from his footnote to this page we can see that he employs the term 'linguistic' in a greatly generalized sense. A truly linguistic approach calls for the use of archaic forms rather than of the phonetically degenerate Mandarin forms of the present day, and for an attempt, at least, to point out the affinities of these terms, both within and without Chinese. The employment of archaic forms, even in a

121 601 normalized orthography, would have removed the confusion produced by (modern) languages such as fu < b'in (父) F, fu < pin (夫) H, fu < b'i u (婦) SW; cf. Schuster's uncertainty on this point in his analysis of the material presented by Chen and Shryock (p. 152).

601 [121] The writer has attempted to supply the linguistic treatment lacking in Feng's work. The forms cited are those of Ancient Chinese, as reconstructed for approximately A. D. 600. The still earlier Archaic Chinese language of the first millenium B. C. has also been reconstructed in part, but our authorities in this field (notably Karlgren, Simon, Li Fang-kuei, and Chao Yüan-jen) disagree on many important points. The problems of a purely linguistic nature in this connection are manifold and cannot be entered upon in the present review, though occasional points are discussed below. The Ancient Chinese forms cited are slightly normalized variants of those found in Karlgren's well known Analytic Dictionary. In Karlgren's orthography, adopted here in the interest of uniformity, F represents the vowel of Eng. 'but', and a the vowel of Eng. 'all'.

The ancient system of nomenclature is that recorded in the Êrh Ya and the early ritual works (Li Chi), supplemented by occasional glossings from other classical works such as the Tso Chuan and Analects. Our data on this ancient system are not complete, but enough of it is known to provide a good basis for discussion. In the tabulation below only the more significant terms are included. Modern Mandarin forms are cited within parentheses.

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PREFACE

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[p. vii] [pp. iv, v, vi, are blank]

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
241 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf. Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

Mewu

of this valley trough there stood 23 black Tibetan tents in a long row. /23 I had good introductions from the new Mewu monastery, as well as a Chinese interpreter who had lived many years as a trader among these Tibetans, so that I soon gained somewhat closer contact with the inhabitants of these tents. (3)

3. For the place of these traders in the social life of the Tibetan nomads, see Ekvall 4), page 48ff.

Anthropologically the Mewu-Fantzu are by no means a uniform /42 type. On the contrary, one is struck by the diversity of types. (1)

1. In this connection, compare the rich selection of illustrations of ethnic types in Hermanns 3). According to Ekvall 4), page 9, the Fantzu of this region have "all characteristics of a mongrel physical type."

The men are tall to medium-height, measuring about 160 to 180 centimeters; the women are on the average about 20 centimeters shorter. The skin of the exposed parts of their bodies is dark brown, their hair is deep black. Their beard and arm-pit hair is sparse. They do not always have pronounced Mongoloid lids. Some of these Tibetans with their relatively long faces, slightly slanting eyes, somewhat prominent cheek bones and long, flat to concave noses, cannot be distinguished from typical North Chinese. Others, with rounder, flatter faces, more prominent cheek bones, concave noses and slanting eyes with very pronounced Mongoloid folds, look more like Mongolians. Still other types with squarer faces, prominent cheek bones and more prominent, rather narrow upper jaws, sometimes remind one of a Japanese type. However, one also sees types that resemble more the Turkish inhabitants of Sinkiang or even Europeans, more often with straight noses (especially in the types /9/ resembling Europeans), less prominent cheek bones, straight eyes with eyebrows slanting downward at the outer edge, without the Mongoloid fold. By contrast there are, however, also types which occur more often farther south in Hsik'ang, according to my observation, who have very prominent aquiline noses and high cheek bones and remind one of the North American Indian type with their aquiline noses. There are others with narrow faces, delicate aquiline noses and graceful bodies, resembling East Indians and gypsies. All this simply shows that these Fantzu are not a uniform race, and that there must have been a great deal of miscegenation.

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

114 connection I should like to mention above all the comprehensive work of Father M. Hermanns (2): Die Nomaden von Tibet, and the

2. Hermanns 3).

excellent portrayal by R. B. Ekvall (3) of the sociological and eco-

3. Ekvall 4).

nomic conditions of the region I visited. The book by Hermanns gives a wide survey of the culture of the Tibetan nomads; the work by Ekvall is rich in factual material and discusses the cultural relationships between Chinese, Mohammedans, and sedentary and nomadic Tibetans. This is extremely interesting for the ethno-sociologist.

The authors of these two books had the advantage of living for many years among the Tibetans and of speaking their language. I can present only a modest supplement to their work by setting forth
124 my observations of a single tent camp. Besides my assistant Mr. Wu Hsin-wei, an experienced ethnological field worker, I was fortunate enough to have as traveling companions an excellent interpreter for Tibetan and a reliable Tibetan stableman who spoke Chinese. My interpreter was a Chinese trader who lived in He-tso; the Chinese and Mohammedan settlement of some size nearest the area I visited. As a young man he had been forced into the region of the Tibetan nomads, following a Mohammedan uprising, and he lived and traded among these people for many years. He was particularly friendly with a few of the Tibetans in the camp I visited. He was a keen observer and was apparently himself interested in the life of the nomads. He was always willing to answer my questions as objectively as was possible for a simple trader, to arrange introductions /2a/ with Tibetan informants, and to interpret patiently.

133 The landscape and climate of the Tibetan steppes have often been depicted by more competent persons, so that a description will not be necessary. For the author, the weeks he spent in a small tent adjoining the camp of the Mewu-Fantzu were not only a period of ethnological field work, but also an inspiring experience of nature. In the height of summer the steppe is a gay carpet of flowers, especially edelweiss, luminous blue gentian, yellow and red pedicularis. On the heights between the shallow, narrow valleys there is a limitless vista on all sides, when it is not broken by individual steep, light-colored limestone massifs rising up more than 5,000 meters, their peaks often covered with freshly fallen

771 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief
184 reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk-religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory descrip-
114 tion of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal
771 conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course,
124 difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, 186
and take up the thread another time or with another person. In 771
many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ 124
knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned
a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that
case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and
would not have learned what were the most important things in the re-
ligious life of the laymen.

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In 771
both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits, nature
demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important re-
ligious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere,
and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in
spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions,
combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other
superstitions.

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: 776
djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to 753
the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of
man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which
in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene
(he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of
Lamaism.

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are
feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with
some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe
in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As
among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei,
and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven
him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station
himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night,
and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into
the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the
transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said,
if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits,
earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and
correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is
called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley,
usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

and calls them "thsuba." I give the pronunciation of my Chinese interpreter. 575

seems to be to provide legal protection. The ts'aowa of the Mewu nomads consists of four groups. There are 40 to 100 families or tents in one ts'aowa group. Each group chooses its own council. There are no rules about the length of time the council of a ts'aowa group is in office The t'ou-mu cannot influence the choice of such a ts'aowa council. The individual ts'aowa groups are named /78/ after their councils. The power of each group within the tribe varies, and thus a certain family often strives to shift from a less influential group to a more influential one; they can do this by presenting the group council and several respected members of the group with a sheep and several chin of wine and inviting them to a meal. The group council, together with the entire group, is responsible for every crime committed by one of its members. It carries on negotiations with the council of another ts'aowa group if one of its members is obliged to pay a penalty to the members of another group for some crime, and the council must exact the penalty from the criminal and give it to the council of the other ts'aowa group. If a member of one ts'aowa group cannot pay the penalty demanded of him, the entire group guarantees to raise the fine. The condemned person must then gradually pay off the debt to the members of his group. The ts'aowa group can oust a criminal who they find is a burden to them, and the only thing left for him in that case is to join another group. I could not find out to what extent this is possible. Apparently there are never disagreements between the t'ou-mu and a ts'aowa group or its council about verdicts and penalties.

Legal matters. During my brief sojourn among the Mewu-Fantzu it was, of course, impossible for me, because of my ignorance of the language, to form a definite opinion about their character. This was all the more impossible because the Mewu-Fantzu, to begin with, have a grudging attitude toward a stranger. I had to spend considerable time talking to them on general topics before I could ask more detailed questions about their way of life, even though they knew my interpreter and did not dislike him. I should therefore like to insert here only a few statements of my interpreter who judged the Fantzu from the point of view of a simple, but intelligent Chinese /79/ trader, and who, of course, unwittingly made comparisons with the Chinese conditions of life under which he grew up. I did feel, however, that he made an effort to be neutral in his 624

Mewu

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692 e'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER I

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

131 A LITTLE TO the north of the main caravan route between China and Burma, in the mountains of western Yunnan, there is a strip of fertile rice land stretching northwards between T'ien Ts'ang Shan, the Celestial Azure Mountain, and Erh Hai, the Ear Lake. This plain of Ta Li is the home of the Min Chia people, one of the most numerous, and most civilised of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia also occupy the valley of the Erh river flowing into the lake from the north, the hills on the eastern shore, and the valley of the Yang Pi river west of the Ts'ang Shan range. They are found in the region of Ho Ch'ing, north east of the Erh Hai lake, and in more scattered colonies as far west as the Mekong river. They thus occupy a wedge shaped territory which from the apex at the south end of Erh Hai lake to the base along the valley of the High Yang Tze near Shih Ku measures about one hundred miles from north to south, while the base of the triangle from Ho Ch'ing to the Mekong is approximately the same distance.

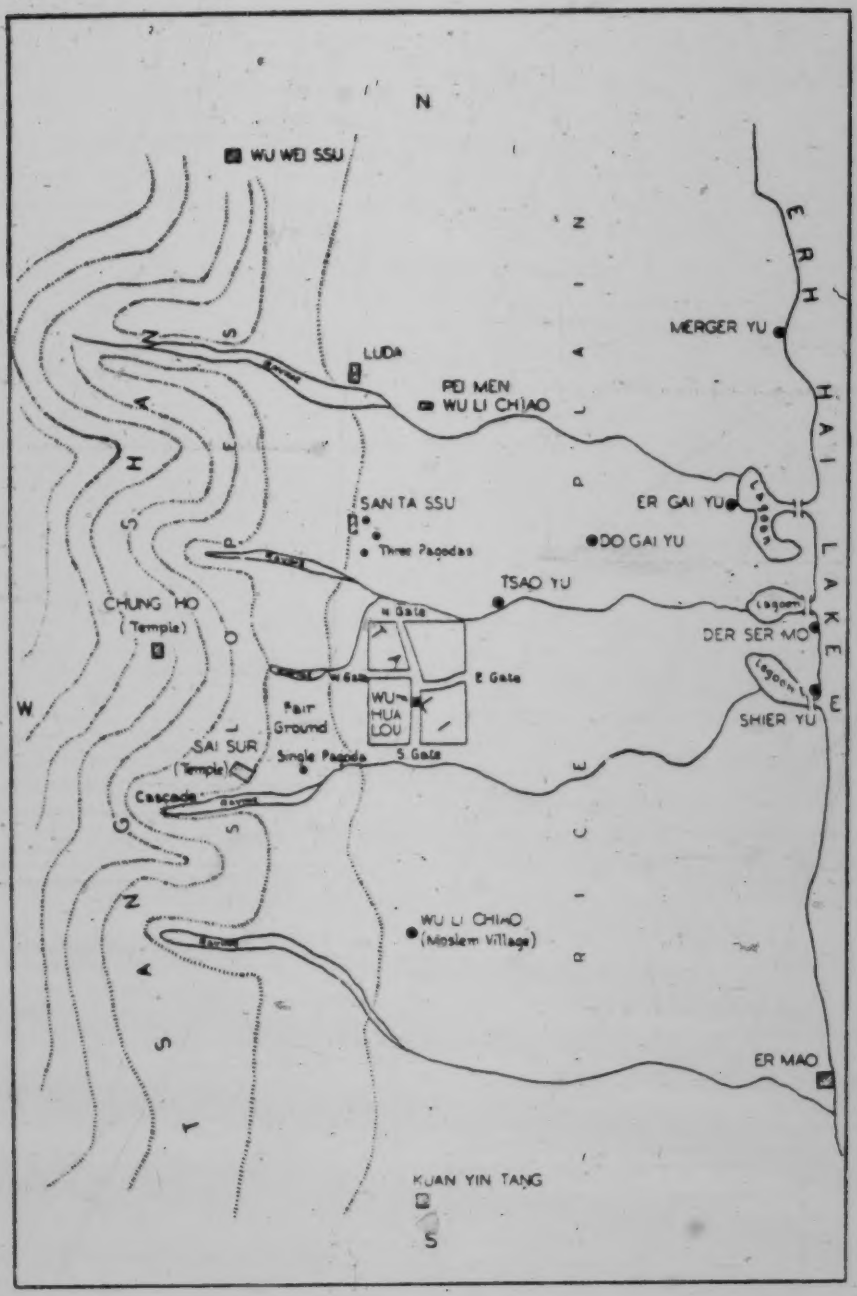
133 The whole region, part of the plateau of Yunnan, is extremely mountainous, the average altitude of the lake plateaux and valleys being from 6,000 to 8,000 ft., and the dividing ranges rising to 10,000 and 14,000 ft.

132 Although Yunnan is so high lying, the climate, as the meaning of the name—"south of the clouds"—implies, is mild and equable. The southern part of the province is within the tropics, but the country of the Min Chia, at latitude 25 North, lies just outside. Thus while the altitude moderates the heat of summer the sub-tropical latitude ensures a warm and sunny winter. Shade tem-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Environs of TA LI CITY

131
361


N
WU WEI SSU
LUDA
PEI MEN
WU LI CHIAO
MERGER YU
ER GAI YU
DO GAI YU
SAN TA SSU
Three Pagodas
TSAO YU
CHUNG HO
(Temple)
N Gate
W Gate
E Gate
S Gate
WU HUA LOU
Fair Ground
Single Pagoda
SAI SUR
(Temple)
Cascade
DER SER MO
SHIER YU
WU LI CHIAO
(Moslem Village)
ER MAO
KUAN YIN TANG
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Lagoon
Lagoon
Lagoon
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Lake
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Lake

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

YUNNAN PROVINCE

• 131

[Insert between pp. 276-277(A)]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

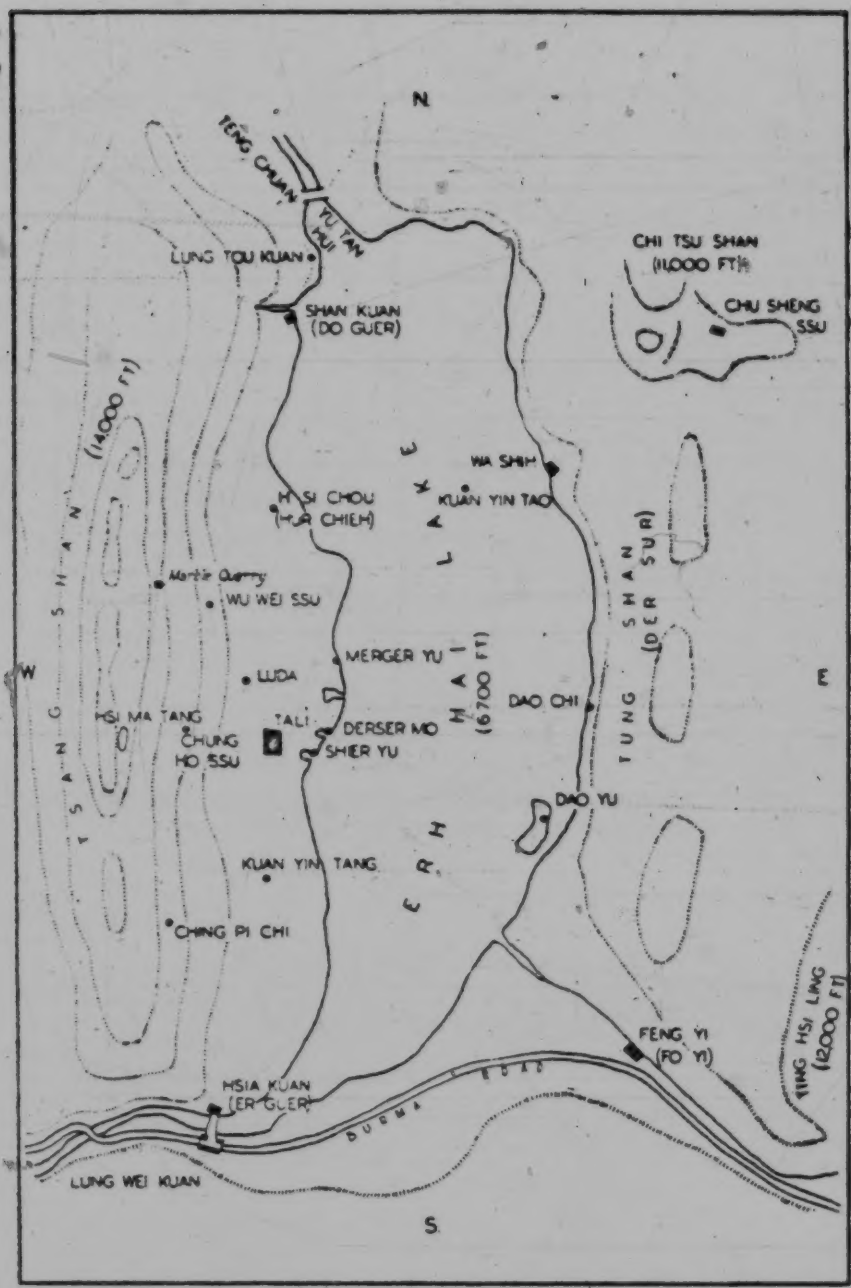
131

[Insert between pp. 276-277 (B)]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

TA LI District and ERH HAI Lake

191
361



[Insert between pp. 276-277 (c)]

MAP OF ABORIGINAL DISTRIBUTION

101
131

[4]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES PEOPLE AS AFFECTED BY THEIR CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. THE CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LIFAN

131 Lifan ranks second in area among the 136 counties of Szechwan Province. It is situated at the northwest corner of Szechwan, with an indefinite boundary to the north in the wild expanse of grasslands. The Ta-chin River 大金川 (Big Gold River) acts as part of its western boundary, and also Sikang as its western neighbor. In the south, it is separated from Wenchwan 汶川 County by a continuous mountain range with its highest peak named Hsueh-lung-p'ao 雪龍袍 or the Snow Dragon Mountain, because it is perpetually covered by snow. The Min River 岷江 serves as part of its eastern boundary, and a mountain range divides Lifan from Sungpan 松潘 in the northeast.

133 The county is divided into three natural regions according to the three large river systems: the Min in the east, the Ta-chin to the west and the Yellow River to the north. The three natural regions are really three drainage basins. They are the drainage basins of the Cha-ku 雜谷 and the Hei-shui 黑水 or Black Rivers as tributaries of the Min River in the southeast, the drainage basin of the So-mo 梭磨 River as tributary to the Ta-chin River in the west, and the drainage basin of the Mei River 梅環 as tributary to the Yellow River in the north.

The topography, on the whole, may be classified as a dissected plateau, and it is sloping from the west to the east. The altitude of Wei-chow 威州, the eastern entrance of Lifan, is 4,500 ft. and that of Ma-tang 馬塘, about 150 miles west of Weichow, is over 10,000 ft. But this highland is badly dissected by streams and has formed many deep valleys. In the drainage basins of the Cha-ku and Black Rivers, the valleys are narrow and deep, while those in the other two drainage areas are broad and shallow. For example, while the So-mo and other valleys in the grasslands are all open U-shaped, those in the southeast area are entrenched V-shaped valleys.

The result is that very little flat land is to be found in the lower altitudes of the southeast. In the grasslands the lands are comparatively level, but the [132] altitudes are high, and the temperature is low throughout the year. Even during the height of summer, the night temperatures are usually around 40°. 241 During the day the temperature might rise to 70° or more. Thus the growing 133 season is too short for the ordinary types of agricultural crops, and both the

[p. 11]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

Far away there were once two nations, *Tzu La* and *Gu La*. There was a war between them, and as a result *Gu La* (the Ch'iang people) was defeated, and the Ch'iang migrated travelling a year and several months before they reached the place where they now live. On the way they crossed a river, using round boats made of cow-skins. A boat leaked, and the sacred books got wet. While the books were being dried on the shore some goats came and ate them. Therefore there are no written sacred books, and their contents are handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. 174

When the Ch'iang reached West China, the Chinese and the Jung 戎 were at war. The Jung were defeated and retired to Isagulow. The Chinese retired to Kuanhsien leaving the territory in between vacant, so the Ch'iang came in and occupied it. At that time the Ch'iang herded sheep and goats and raised wheat, but not corn. Later under Ch'ien-lung (A. D. 1737-1795) the Wa Ssu came from Wu Ssu Tsang in Tibet and helped the Chinese in a war that lasted twelve years. There was a great battle at Wei Kuan (維關), where a person can go from the top of the mountain to the river without being seen by the enemy. The Ch'iang were defeated, and the Wa Ssu were given the territory they now occupy, between the Ch'iang and the Chinese

There is probably both history and tradition in this legend. Since there are several tribes in Burma that have the tradition of a lost book, we can assume that this part of the story is legendary.

2. The Country.

The Ch'iang, at least that part of the Ch'iang people that we are studying, inhabit a region along the T'o and the Min Rivers, approximately between the 31st and 32nd degrees longitude and the 103rd and 104th degrees latitude, from T'ieh Ch'i 鐵溪 on the north to So Ch'iao which is twenty li down the Min River from Wen Ch'uan and from points east of Mou Chow and Wei Chow to about twenty li up the river from Li Fan. Formerly they extended southward as far as Yueh Hsi and northward into Kansu and Shansi. The rivers and valleys are very narrow, and the mountains sides generally very steep. The main cities are Wen Ch'uan, Wei Chow, Li Fan, and Mou Chow. The rivers are from four to seven thousand feet above sea level The surrounding mountains rise in some places to an altitude of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet. The 131 133

mewu

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
24) trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24) however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1 Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a [illegible]d illustration of the He-tso monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

131 For four or

five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 The Lu-tzu 鹿子 have no written language, while the spoken language
212 itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and
262 their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor.
273 They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan T'i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 羅邁芝 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野彝). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note:* — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 25 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1:47 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

S ST 311 [161] S [24] [312]

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒孜河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

S ST 131

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧蒗; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 鳳可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上鳳可.

[p. 388]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

 S ST

Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li. 131

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

S ST

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory. 162 [197] S ST 715

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba. S ST [782]

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

ST 162 [197] [212] ST 795

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

Yao AE6
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Lolo AE4

L 131 101 [102 cont.] are very close relatives of theirs. The garments of the women are [291] analogous to those of the "Pen-ti-lolo," but less decorated.

585 Marriages always take place during the winter.

L 764 The women follow the funeral corteges weeping, in the manner of the Annamese weeping women. When the head of a family has been buried, his sons keep a fire burning on his grave for nine days.

The "La-ti" (1)

1. See note 1 under "Lao" on page 110.

S 101 131 The "La-ti," most of whom are settled in the Chinese canton of Tu-long, are represented in Tonkin by about one hundred families, in the sectors of Xin Man and of Man Mei. They are also called "La-chi"; they call themselves by the name of "A-Khu" (the men). Their classification in the "Thai" group is rather doubtful.

[103]

CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

[104] [Blank page in original text.]

[105]

CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

Y 101 The term "Man" in the Chinese language literally signifies "rude barbarians." It is the name given by the Chinese to all the populations of foreign race inhabiting the southern borders of the empire.

The Chinese also call the group "Yao," which we designate by the name "Man," but bearing in mind the fact that many of the neighboring groups (Thai, Annamese, Chinese of Upper Tonkin and

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER I

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

131 A LITTLE TO the north of the main caravan route between China and Burma, in the mountains of western Yunnan, there is a strip of fertile rice land stretching northwards between T'ien Ts'ang Shan, the Celestial Azure Mountain, and Erh Hai, the Ear Lake. This plain of Ta Li is the home of the Min Chia people, one of the most numerous, and most civilised of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia also occupy the valley of the Erh river flowing into the lake from the north, the hills on the eastern shore, and the valley of the Yang Pi river west of the Ts'ang Shan range. They are found in the region of Ho Ch'ing, north east of the Erh Hai lake, and in more scattered colonies as far west as the Mekong river. They thus occupy a wedge shaped territory which from the apex at the south end of Erh Hai lake to the base along the valley of the High Yang Tze near Shih Ku measures about one hundred miles from north to south, while the base of the triangle from Ho Ch'ing to the Mekong is approximately the same distance.

133 The whole region, part of the plateau of Yunnan, is extremely mountainous, the average altitude of the lake plateaux and valleys being from 6,000 to 8,000 ft., and the dividing ranges rising to 10,000 and 14,000 ft.

132 Although Yunnan is so high lying, the climate, as the meaning of the name—"south of the clouds"—implies, is mild and equable. The southern part of the province is within the tropics, but the country of the Min Chia, at latitude 25 North, lies just outside. Thus while the altitude moderates the heat of summer the sub-tropical latitude ensures a warm and sunny winter. Shade tem-

132 perature in summer rarely exceeds 80 degrees Fahrenheit, and the light ground frosts of winter are not severe enough to prevent the cultivation of oranges at 7,000 feet above sea level. The permanent snow line in western Yunnan is well over 14,000 ft., the altitude of T'sang Shan behind Ta Li city, for this mountain is free from snow at the end of June.

Western Yunnan lies in the area subject to the south west monsoon from the Indian Ocean and therefore has a climate and seasons rather different from the rest of China. There are in fact only three seasons: the Dry season, from the end of October to the end of March, when temperature is moderate by day and cold at night, is not quite without rainfall; at intervals of perhaps three to four weeks the sky becomes overcast for two or three days, a light drizzle falls on the plateaux and this becomes snow above 9,000 ft. These few cold spells, recurring three or four times in the dry season, are the only "winter" Yunnan knows. The second season, the Hot, lasts from the end of March to the end of May, or middle of June. Apart from occasional thunder showers the weather is dry and the sky clear, but shade temperature can rise to 85 degrees Fahrenheit by day and rarely falls below 60 degrees at night. The Rainy season, which completes the cycle, begins with the breaking of the monsoon, which may be as early as mid-May, or as late as the end of June. It lasts until October, which can be a very wet month, and heavy rains in November are not unknown, especially west of the Mekong-Salween divide. During these months temperature is much lower than in April, and spells of continuous rain lasting a week or nine days occur. Few days are without a shower, although an occasional dry week breaks the monotonous succession of wet days. The weather in this season, with its low or moderate temperature is not unlike a bad English summer.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

Apart from the Rainy season, the climate of western /32 Yunnan with its lovely dry and sunny "winter" and its shorter warm spring is certainly one of the best in the world. There are no droughts; severe frosts are unknown, rainfall, though heavy in the wet season, is rarely excessive. These conditions, which are those of the Ta Li plain at 6,700 ft., are somewhat modified further north in the outlying regions of Min Chia occupation, the upper valley of the Yang Pi river and the district of Ho Ch'ing. Here the plateaux are higher, not under 8,000 ft., and the proximity of very high mountains on the border of Sikang or Chinese Tibet—the Yu Lung Shan range near Li Chiang exceeds 20,000 ft.—brings cold winds in winter and an increased rainfall at all seasons. Winter crops, which are grown on the Ta Li plain, cannot be raised sixty miles to the north at Chien Ch'uan in the upper Yang Pi valley, and heavy falls of snow can block passes at 12,000 ft. until April.

The plain of Ta Li, in reality a lake plateau, is a typical /33 example of a feature common to the whole of the Yunnan plateau region. Yunnan is geologically a shelf of the Tibetan massif jutting out far to the south east of the main Himalayan-Tibetan ranges. At the point where the main ranges, which to the north of India run roughly east to west, turn north to form the escarpment separating Tibet from China, there is a gap, as yet imperfectly mapped, through which the great rivers rising on the Tibetan plateau, break through southwards towards the sea. The Yunnan plateau divides these rivers, forcing the Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, and Salween westward to the Indian Ocean, while the Mekong and Yang Tze flow south and east to the China Sea. The main plateau lies between the Yang Tze to the north east and the Mekong to the south west; it drains into these two rivers and into the two which rise on the Yunnan plateau itself, the West River which reaches the sea at

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the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the 133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, 132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede 133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the 162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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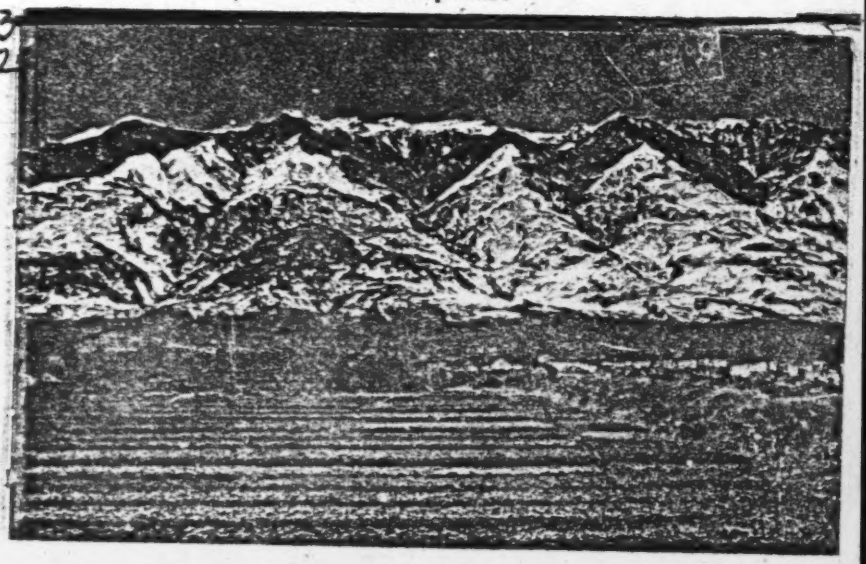
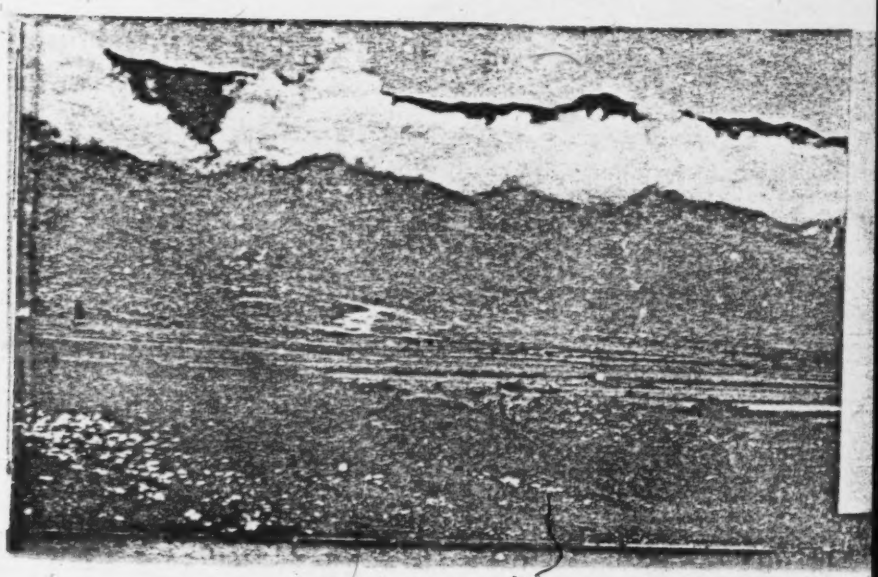
132



Ts'ang Shan mountains in winter.

Ts'ang Shan mountains in summer.



[Face p. 40]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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501 the forked top of the mast, the slightly greasy cowhide
502 acting as a lubricant in the absence of pulleys. All ropes and sheets used on these boats are made of this material which is, of course, very strong and enduring. The larger boats have a cabin at the prow, which is raised well above the water line, and thus seems at a distance to be the poop, as in Chinese junks. On Erh Hai boats the necessity of shipping the heavy cumbersome rudder in shallow water makes it impossible to have the cabin at the poop. The whole boat can also be covered in rainy weather with curved mat roofs fitted on a bamboo frame, and is thus weatherproof, which makes boating by far the most comfortable way of travelling in the rainy season.

502 In a stiff breeze the Erh Hai boats can make very fast
132 passages, and sail fairly close to the wind, while when there is nothing but the slightest of airs it is still possible to sail them owing to the very large spread of the towering mat sail. On the other hand, they are admitted to be dangerous in the violent squally winds which sweep across the lake in winter. These winds off the Ts'ang Shan range are a peculiar feature of the winter climate of Ta Li, due to the conjunction of a very high mountain and the lake. They come at irregular intervals, without warning, and the direction of the wind is unpredictable. At one moment the air is still under a cloudless sky, at the next, with a roar like an express train, the squall sweeps down across the plain raising clouds of dust, and then is gone. A few minutes later another squall approaches, from the opposite direction. In such weather sailing is very dangerous, and the boatmen either hoist only a small part of the sail, or prefer to punt along the shallows.

502 The larger Erh Hai boats are usually handled by a crew of three or four, who are the owner and his family. Apart from hoisting the sail, which is heavy work requiring all hands,

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES PEOPLE AS AFFECTED BY THEIR CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. THE CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LIFAN

131 Lifan ranks second in area among the 136 counties of Szechwan Province. It is situated at the northwest corner of Szechwan, with an indefinite boundary to the north in the wild expanse of grasslands. The Ta-chin River 大金川 (Big Gold River) acts as part of its western boundary, and also Sikang as its western neighbor. In the south, it is separated from Wenchwan 汶川 County by a continuous mountain range with its highest peak named Hsueh-lung-p'ao 雪龍袍 or the Snow Dragon Mountain, because it is perpetually covered by snow. The Min River 岷江 serves as part of its eastern boundary, and a mountain range divides Lifan from Sungpan 松潘 in the northeast.

133 The county is divided into three natural regions according to the three large river systems: the Min in the east, the Ta-chin to the west and the Yellow River to the north. The three natural regions are really three drainage basins. They are the drainage basins of the Cha-ku 雜谷 and the Hei-shui 黑水 or Black Rivers as tributaries of the Min River in the southeast, the drainage basin of the So-mo 梭磨 River as tributary to the Ta-chin River in the west, and the drainage basin of the Mei River 梅 as tributary to the Yellow River in the north.

The topography, on the whole, may be classified as a dissected plateau, and it is sloping from the west to the east. The altitude of Wei-chow 威州, the eastern entrance of Lifan, is 4,500 ft. and that of Ma-tang 馬塘, about 150 miles west of Weichow, is over 10,000 ft. But this highland is badly dissected by streams and has formed many deep valleys. In the drainage basins of the Cha-ku and Black Rivers, the valleys are narrow and deep, while those in the other two drainage areas are broad and shallow. For example, while the So-mo and other valleys in the grasslands are all open U-shaped, those in the southeast area are entrenched V-shaped valleys.

The result is that very little flat land is to be found in the lower altitudes of the southeast. In the grasslands the lands are comparatively level, but the [132] altitudes are high, and the temperature is low throughout the year. Even during the height of summer, the night temperatures are usually around 40°. 241 During the day the temperature might rise to 70° or more. Thus the growing 133 season is too short for the ordinary types of agricultural crops, and both the

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farm lands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of

132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Luh Hua and the Heh Shui, two

136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jin Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

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133 TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY--altitude above sea level; relief (e.g., hills, mountains, plateaus, passes); bodies of water (e.g., lakes, rivers, arms of the sea, swamps); subsurface water; character of seacoast and adjacent marine floor; tides and currents; floods; areas of volcanic and seismic activity; etc. See also:

Land and water transport 49, 50
Water supply 312
Routes 487
Seismic and volcanic disasters 731
Ethnogeography 823

113. 133. 177. 621. 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

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CHAPTER I

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

131 A LITTLE TO the north of the main caravan route between China and Burma, in the mountains of western Yunnan, there is a strip of fertile rice land stretching northwards between T'ien Ts'ang Shan, the Celestial Azure Mountain, and Erh Hai, the Ear Lake. This plain of Ta Li is the home of the Min Chia people, one of the most numerous, and most civilised of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia also occupy the valley of the Erh river flowing into the lake from the north, the hills on the eastern shore, and the valley of the Yang Pi river west of the Ts'ang Shan range. They are found in the region of Ho Ch'ing, north east of the Erh Hai lake, and in more scattered colonies as far west as the Mekong river. They thus occupy a wedge shaped territory which from the apex at the south end of Erh Hai lake to the base along the valley of the High Yang Tze near Shih Ku measures about one hundred miles from north to south, while the base of the triangle from Ho Ch'ing to the Mekong is approximately the same distance.

133 The whole region, part of the plateau of Yunnan, is extremely mountainous, the average altitude of the lake plateaux and valleys being from 6,000 to 8,000 ft., and the dividing ranges rising to 10,000 and 14,000 ft.

132 Although Yunnan is so high lying, the climate, as the meaning of the name—"south of the clouds"—implies, is mild and equable. The southern part of the province is within the tropics, but the country of the Min Chia, at latitude 25 North, lies just outside. Thus while the altitude moderates the heat of summer the sub-tropical latitude ensures a warm and sunny winter. Shade tem-

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Border Peoples AE3

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

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Yunnan with its lovely dry and sunny "winter" and its shorter warm spring is certainly one of the best in the world. There are no droughts; severe frosts are unknown, rainfall, though heavy in the wet season, is rarely excessive. These conditions, which are those of the Ta Li plain at 6,700 ft., are somewhat modified further north in the outlying regions of Min Chia occupation, the upper valley of the Yang Pi river and the district of Ho Ch'ing. Here the plateaux are higher, not under 8,000 ft., and the proximity of very high mountains on the border of Sikang or Chinese Tibet—the Yu Lung Shan range near Li Chiang exceeds 20,000 ft.—brings cold winds in winter and an increased rainfall at all seasons. Winter crops, which are grown on the Ta Li plain, cannot be raised sixty miles to the north at Chien Ch'uan in the upper Yang Pi valley, and heavy falls of snow can block passes at 12,000 ft. until April.

The plain of Ta Li, in reality a lake plateau, is a typical /33
example of a feature common to the whole of the Yunnan plateau region. Yunnan is geologically a shelf of the Tibetan massif jutting out far to the south east of the main Himalayan-Tibetan ranges. At the point where the main ranges, which to the north of India run roughly east to west, turn north to form the escarpment separating Tibet from China, there is a gap, as yet imperfectly mapped, through which the great rivers rising on the Tibetan plateau, break through southwards towards the sea. The Yunnan plateau divides these rivers, forcing the Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, and Salween westward to the Indian Ocean, while the Mekong and Yang Tze flow south and east to the China Sea. The main plateau lies between the Yang Tze to the north east and the Mekong to the south west; it drains into these two rivers and into the two which rise on the Yunnan plateau itself, the West River which reaches the sea at

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133 Canton, and the Red River which flows past Hanoi to the coast of Indo-China at Haiphong.

The plateau is ribbed from north to south by continuous ranges of steep and well wooded mountains divided by narrow valleys, which often become inaccessible gorges, but which here and there widen out into lake plateaux, some still occupied in part by large sheets of water, others now a fertile plain from which the lake has wholly drained away. These plateaux, the only areas where large scale cultivation and a numerous population are possible, are separated by mountain tracts virtually uninhabited, and still covered on their lower slopes with pine forest and scrub, on their crests with a dense rain forest of conifers, bamboo, rhododendron and large deciduous trees. Such ranges form barriers cutting off one lake plateau from another by as much as fifty miles of wilderness. In these valleys peoples of widely different culture, race and language for long lived in virtual isolation, which even to-day, after six centuries of Chinese rule, is but slightly disturbed by contacts with the outer world.

Between the Ts'ang Shan range—the Azure Mountain, and the Erh Hai—the Ear Lake, is one such plateau, thirty-five miles long, but only two to three miles wide. This is the Ta Li plain, so called from the city of Ta Li which stands two miles from the lake shore under the highest point of the towering Ts'ang Shan range, which rises 14,000 ft. above sea level, a full 7,000 ft. above the plain. The plain lies north and south, the mountain to the west, the lake to the east, beyond which there rises from the water itself a lower line of mountains enclosing the plateau on all sides.

At both the northern and southern ends of the plain the lake comes close to the base of the mountain narrowing the approaches to the plain to two famous passes, the Dragon's

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Head Pass (Lung T'ou Kuan) at the northern end, where the /133 ancient fortress of Shang Kuan, the Upper Fort, stands between the shore of the lake and a deep, impassable ravine, running up the flank of the mountain. An enemy coming down on Ta Li from the north by way of the Erh river valley could only reach the plain by forcing this strong position. At the southern extremity of the plain, nearly 35 miles from Shang Kuan, the outflow from the lake forces its way through a cleft in the Ts'ang Shan range, a passage so narrow that the stream is at one point bridged by a huge boulder wedged between the cliffs. This is the Dragon's Tail Pass (Lung Wei Kuan) through which passes the ancient caravan road to Burma, and to-day the just completed motor road. Where the outflow stream narrows at the mouth of this pass the swift current is crossed by a fine stone bridge, defended on both banks by the double fortress of Hsia Kuan, the Lower Fort, and this bridge and fortress is the only means of access to the Ta Li plain from the south and west.

The lake itself, roughly ear-shaped, thirty miles long and from two to five miles across, is deep and navigable, providing an easy means of communication from one end of the plain to the other, and also with the eastern shore, where mule paths wind through the rocky hills to the valleys leading to the High Yang Tze. Hsia Kuan, at the Dragon's Tail Pass, commands not only the east-west caravan road to Burma, but also the north-south road along the Ta Li plain, which is part of the principal caravan route between Eastern Tibet and the tea growing districts of southern Yunnan. It therefore has had for centuries a commercial importance equal to its strategic value.

To the west the immense wall of the Ts'ang Shan range blocks all access to the plain. Only one narrow track winds over the mountain and this, too narrow and steep for mules,

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133 and blocked by snow for six months of the year, is only used by wood cutters and charcoal burners. Elsewhere the knife edge crest of the range is so precipitous and so overgrown with dense rain forest as to be inaccessible. At a few points it is possible to reach the crest, but the western face being more precipitous than the eastern, it is never possible to cross the range.

162 633 Ten miles up the plain from Hsia Kuan is the city of Ta Li, capital of the *hsien* or county of the same name, and an important military and governmental centre for a wider region. Ta Li itself, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants,[1] is an ancient place, the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, which covered the greater part of the modern Yunnan province. As the centre of government it has a mixed population including Chinese Mohammedans, formerly more numerous than at present, immigrant Chinese from Ssu Ch'uan province, and mixed families of Chinese and Min Chia descent, but at least one third of the inhabitants of the city are Min Chias. The villages of the plain, of which there are more than one hundred, are entirely Min Chia, apart from a small number of Mohammedan villages.

133 The plain of Ta Li, though the most easily defended, is not one of the largest or richest of the lake plateaux of Yunnan. Approximately 100 square miles in area, it is much smaller than that of Yunnanfu (or K'un Ming) in the east of the province, or than the plain of Pao Shan to the west, from which the ancient lake has now disappeared. Cramped between the mountain and the lake the Ta Li plateau is nowhere more than three miles wide, and in many places the cultivable area is much narrower. On the other hand the high range to the west ensures a constant water supply, for

[1] No census exists, but this figure is that generally given by inhabitants and officials of the place, and accords with a personal estimate.

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133 the mountain streams which discharge into the lake are perennial, which is not the case on plateaux bordered by lower hills. Against this advantage must be set the strong winds which prevail in winter, due to the juxtaposition of a high mountain and a large sheet of water.

The area of good land is also diminished by the wide "fans" of rock-encumbered soil discharged by the mountain torrents at the point where they debouch on to the plain. This accumulation of boulders and detritus forms a continuous belt about a mile wide of rocky sloping land along the foot of the mountain. It has some value as grazing
312 land, but cannot be cultivated. As the streams leave the lower slopes they are carefully canalised and broken up into an infinity of small channels which distribute water to every plot of ground between the hill slopes and the lake shore. This work of irrigation, undoubtedly of great antiquity, has transformed what must once have been a marsh into a carefully graded series of terraces sloping almost imperceptibly to the lake. As a result the Min Chia farmer is really independent of the monsoon, for he can flood his rice fields from this system of water channels, fed by the perennial streams from Ts'ang Shan.

312 Curiously enough it is the land nearest the shore of the
134 lake which has most to fear from a late monsoon. The level of the lake varies as much as six feet between the dry season and the end of the rainy season, consequently in spring the water is some four to five feet below the level of the adjoining rice fields, which cannot be flooded from this source. As the fields nearer the mountain slopes tend to absorb all or most of the water from the mountain torrents, it sometimes happens that if the monsoon is late the fields nearest to the lake cannot be planted with rice until as much as three weeks after those nearer the mountain. The area adjoining the lake is further subject to some danger of

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
134 able to escape through the very narrow passage of the Dragon's Tail Pass, overflows on to the flat western shore. Unless the flood becomes so deep as to cover the ears of rice, this does no harm, and such exceptional depths are rare. Yet on account of these two risks the land nearest the lake shore, in appearance the best on the plain, is in fact of less value than fields nearer the mountain slopes.

134 Unlike almost all other parts of Yunnan the soil of the Ta Li plain is not the red clay associated with the prevailing Yunnan limestone rocks, but a heavy black soil due to the fact that Ts'ang Shan is an upthrust of granite breaking
133 through the limestone cap of the Yunnan plateau. This geological peculiarity has one serious disadvantage, the frequency of severe earthquakes on the Ta Li plain. Slight shocks are common in the dry season, especially after one of the winter spells of drizzle, but a major earthquake in the spring of 1925 not only destroyed most of the city of Ta Li but caused much greater havoc and a very heavy loss of life in the lakeside villages, where a wave from the lake did further damage. Local records mention other severe earthquakes in previous centuries, but for many years before 1925 no serious shock had occurred, nor has there been a major earthquake since that date.

311 Apart from a narrow belt of willow groves along the lake shore, where flooding is usual, the entire surface of the plain is under cultivation. The villages as far as possible are built on the shore itself, or on the lowest slopes of the mountain, to free as much land as possible for the cultiva-
[491] tion of rice. Even the main caravan road, a stone-paved path about six feet wide, skirts the slopes of the mountain, and the paths leading to villages and fields are narrow and follow the dykes along irrigation channels. Very little land is devoted to market gardening, usually only such patches by

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the /133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, /132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede /133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the /162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[317] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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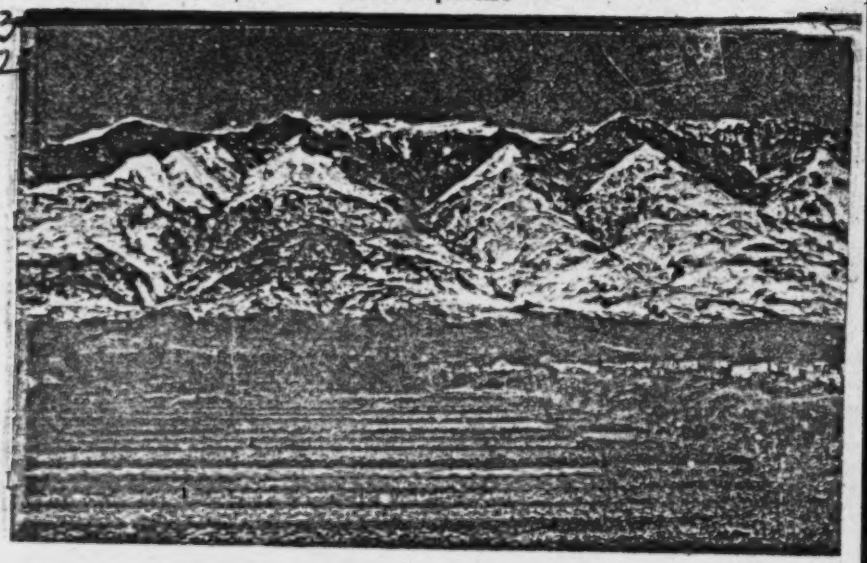
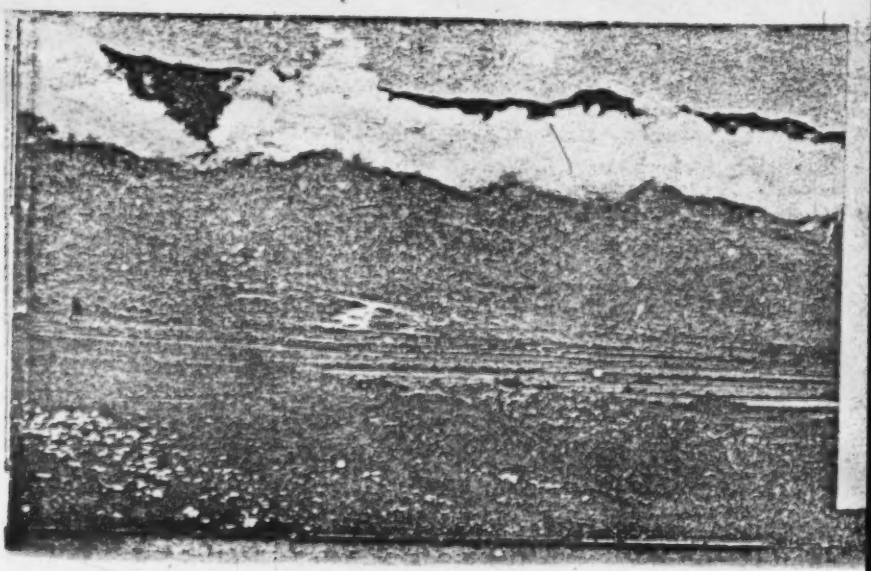


Ts'ang Shan mountains in winter.

Ts'ang Shan mountains in summer.



[Face p. 40]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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491 morning and descending to another valley in the afternoon. This is because the roads going from east to west have to
491 cross an endless series of steep ranges which run from north
133 to south. It might be hoped that if one travelled northwards or southwards one would therefore be able to follow the valleys, but this is rarely the case. The river valleys of Yunnan are for the most part gorges so narrow as to be impracticable, only opening out into a lake plateau at wide intervals. Consequently, if one travels from north to south it is not possible to follow the valley down stream, because it soon becomes a gorge. The road therefore climbs up to the crest of the range, follows along it until the next lake plateau is reached, and then descends again.

491 Consequently the average stage of about twenty miles
137 falls into four well-marked divisions. Firstly, two or three miles across the flat lake plateau between the rose hedges and rice fields until the second stage, the ascent, is reached. This is usually long and steep, a twisting track, once stone steps, now broken into a slide of rubble, rocks, and—after rain—slippery stretches of red mud. On both sides of the track the uncultivated slopes of the mountains are covered with scrub of azaleas, winter green, wild tea, and other flowering shrubs, shaded by a sparse forest of pine trees. As the road winds higher this forest gets taller and denser until, about the 10,000 ft. level, which on most roads is the crest, the pines give place to chestnuts and very tall well-grown non-deciduous trees of the ilex type, called Ch'un, beneath which there is a dense growth of rhododendron and bamboo. The tops of the mountains are often flat, with open grassy glades and running cold streams among the forest, and such a place is chosen for the midday halt, where the horses can graze.

491 The descent in the afternoon is made through similar forest, although sometimes the east side of a mountain will

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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On the Burma Road. Yang Lao Kuan pass.

Min Chia junks on Erh Hai lake.

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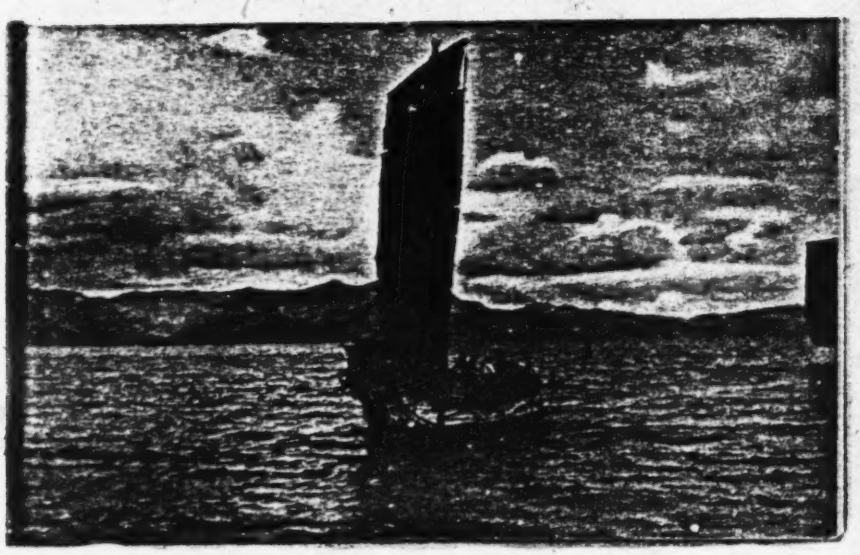

[Face p. 198]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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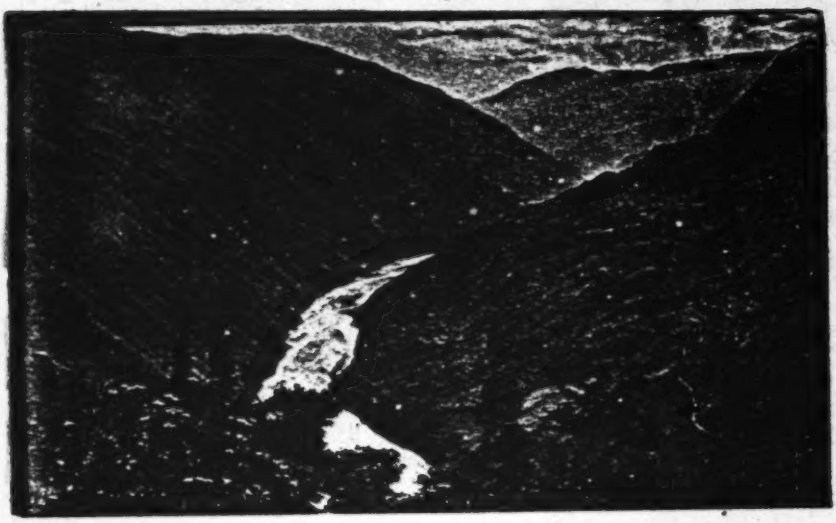

The gorge of the Mekong.

The eastern shore of Erh Hai lake.

[Face p. 222]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES PEOPLE AS AFFECTED BY THEIR CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. THE CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LIFAN

131 Lifan ranks second in area among the 136 counties of Szechwan Province. It is situated at the northwest corner of Szechwan, with an indefinite boundary to the north in the wild expanse of grasslands. The Ta-chin River 大金川 (Big Gold River) acts as part of its western boundary, and also Sikang as its western neighbor. In the south, it is separated from Wenchwan 汶川 County by a continuous mountain range with its highest peak named Hsueh-lung-p'ao 雪龍袍 or the Snow Dragon Mountain, because it is perpetually covered by snow. The Min River 岷江 serves as part of its eastern boundary, and a mountain range divides Lifan from Sungpan 松潘 in the northeast.

●133 The county is divided into three natural regions according to the three large river systems: the Min in the east, the Ta-chin to the west and the Yellow River to the north. The three natural regions are really three drainage basins. They are the drainage basins of the Cha-ku 雜谷 and the Hei-shui 黑水 or Black Rivers as tributaries of the Min River in the southeast, the drainage basin of the So-mo 梭磨 River as tributary to the Ta-chin River in the west, and the drainage basin of the Mei River 梅 as tributary to the Yellow River in the north.

The topography, on the whole, may be classified as a dissected plateau, and it is sloping from the west to the east. The altitude of Wei-chow 威州, the eastern entrance of Lifan, is 4,500 ft. and that of Ma-tang 馬塘, about 150 miles west of Weichow, is over 10,000 ft. But this highland is badly dissected by streams and has formed many deep valleys. In the drainage basins of the Cha-ku and Black Rivers, the valleys are narrow and deep, while those in the other two drainage areas are broad and shallow. For example, while the So-mo and other valleys in the grasslands are all open U-shaped, those in the southeast area are entrenched V-shaped valleys.

The result is that very little flat land is to be found in the lower altitudes of the southeast. In the grasslands the lands are comparatively level, but the [132] altitudes are high, and the temperature is low throughout the year. Even during the height of summer, the night temperatures are usually around 40°. 241 During the day the temperature might rise to 76° or more. Thus the growing 133 season is too short for the ordinary types of agricultural crops, and both the

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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relief and the low temperatures limit the cultivation on any large scale. Most of the cultivated lands are located in the southeast, in the drainage area of the Cha-ku and the Black Rivers, on gentle slopes between an altitude of 5,000 to 9,000 ft.

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Roughly speaking, over 50% of the total agricultural food stuffs produced in Lifan are produced along the Cha-Ku valley, between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao 茶谷瑙, a distance of not more than 50 miles. And these crops are mostly grown on slopes rather than on alluvial plains at the valley bottoms. The total area of alluvial plains at the valley bottom between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao is smaller in area than the cultivated mountain slopes of even one mountain settlement, as for instance Chia-shan-chai 佳山寨. This shows the insignificance of alluvial lowlands and the importance of slope cultivation in the region. Besides the Cha-ku valley, the Black River valley which is the other tributary to the Min also has some fertile slope lands under cultivation. As all the valleys are separated by high mountains with steep slopes, the cultivated area on slopes is nowhere very extensive.

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Besides the topographic limits of land utilization, climatic influences are also very strong. Though the climate varies from valley to valley, yet it is controlled by definite climatic laws. In regions where the altitude is below 6,000 ft., the summer temperature can go up as high as 86° F (30° C) and the minimum temperature during the hottest month, August, could go down to 57° F (14° C). On the average, the temperatures for six months, from the middle of October to the middle of April, are below the critical temperature for vegetation growth. That leaves a growing season of only about six months.

In the grasslands the annual average temperature is below 60° F. Even during the height of summer, the maximum temperature goes only as high as 74° or 75° during the day, and can go as far down as 33° F. The growing season is thus shortened to less than four months.

As far as moisture is concerned, the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft., being hidden between high mountain walls, are usually very dry, because little moisture can reach them. The average relative humidity for August last summer was below 50%. Between an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000, due to the orographic effect of air that is rising along the slopes, the average relative humidity for August last summer was below 60%, while the slopes above 7,000 ft. during the same period had an average relative humidity of about 80%. Thus during the severe drought in the summer, while the crops on the lower slopes were all withered and with no hope for any harvest, the oats, potatoes, and barley were flourishing on the upper slopes. The relative humidity is still higher as the altitude goes higher until it reaches the altitude of about 10,000 feet, when it begins to decrease again. Therefore, according to moisture distribution, the mountainous country is classified into four zones: the arid zone, the semi-arid zone, the humid zone, and the sub-humid zone.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

Far away there were once two nations, *Tzu La* and *Gu La*. There was a war between them, and as a result *Gu La* (the Ch'iang people) was defeated, and the Ch'iang migrated travelling a year and several months before they reached the place where they now live. On the way they crossed a river, using round boats made of cowskins. A boat leaked, and the sacred books got wet. While the books were being dried on the shore some goats came and ate them. Therefore there are no written sacred books, and their contents are handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. 174

When the Ch'iang reached West China, the Chinese and the Jung 戎 were at war. The Jung were defeated and retired to Tsagulow. The Chinese retired to Kuanhsien leaving the territory in between vacant, so the Ch'iang came in and occupied it. At that time the Ch'iang herded sheep and goats and raised wheat, but not corn. Later under Ch'ien-lung (A. D. 1737-1795) the Wa Ssu came from Wu Ssu Tsang in Tibet and helped the Chinese in a war that lasted twelve years. There was a great battle at Wei Kuan (維關), where a person can go from the top of the mountain to the river without being seen by the enemy. The Ch'iang were defeated, and the Wa Ssu were given the territory they now occupy, between the Ch'iang and the Chinese

There is probably both history and tradition in this legend. Since there are several tribes in Burma that have the tradition of a lost book, we can assume that this part of the story is legendary.

2. The Country.

The Ch'iang, at least that part of the Ch'iang people that we are studying, inhabit a region along the T'o and the Min Rivers, approximately between the 31st and 32nd degrees longitude and the 103rd and 104th degrees latitude. from T'ieh Ch'i 鐵溪 on the north to So Ch'iao which is twenty li down the Min River from Wen Ch'uan and from points east of Mou Chow and Wei Chow to about twenty li up the river from Li Fan. Formerly they extended southward as far as Yueh Hsi and northward into Kansu and Shansi. The rivers and valleys are very narrow, and the mountainsides generally very steep. The main cities are Wen Ch'uan, Wei Chow, Li Fan, and Mou Chow. The rivers are from four to seven thousand feet above sea level The surrounding mountains rise in some places to an altitude of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet. The 131 133

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941) 1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farmlands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of

132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Luh Hua and the Heh Shui, two

136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jin Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

114 connection I should like to mention above all the comprehensive work of Father M. Hermanns (2): Die Nomaden von Tibet, and the

2. Hermanns 3).

excellent portrayal by R. B. Ekvall (3) of the sociological and eco-

3. Ekvall 4).

nomic conditions of the region I visited. The book by Hermanns gives a wide survey of the culture of the Tibetan nomads; the work by Ekvall is rich in factual material and discusses the cultural relationships between Chinese, Mohammedans, and sedentary and nomadic Tibetans. This is extremely interesting for the ethno-sociologist.

The authors of these two books had the advantage of living for many years among the Tibetans and of speaking their language. I can present only a modest supplement to their work by setting forth
124 my observations of a single tent camp. Besides my assistant Mr. Wu Hsin-wei, an experienced ethnological field worker, I was fortunate enough to have as traveling companions an excellent interpreter for Tibetan and a reliable Tibetan stableman who spoke Chinese. My interpreter was a Chinese trader who lived in He-tso, the Chinese and Mohammedan settlement of some size nearest the area I visited. As a young man he had been forced into the region of the Tibetan nomads, following a Mohammedan uprising, and he lived and traded among these people for many years. He was particularly friendly with a few of the Tibetans in the camp I visited. He was a keen observer and was apparently himself interested in the life of the nomads. He was always willing to answer my questions as objectively as was possible for a simple trader, to arrange introductions /2a/ with Tibetan informants, and to interpret patiently.

133 The landscape and climate of the Tibetan steppes have often been depicted by more competent persons, so that a description will not be necessary. For the author, the weeks he spent in a small tent adjoining the camp of the Mewu-Fantzu were not only a period of ethnological field work, but also an inspiring experience of nature. In the height of summer the steppe is a gay carpet of flowers, especially edelweiss, luminous blue gentian, yellow and red pedicularis. On the heights between the shallow, narrow valleys there is a limitless vista on all sides, when it is not broken by individual steep, light-colored limestone massifs rising up more than 5,000 meters, their peaks often covered with freshly fallen

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, 133
a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on 136
horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a row of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the 177
borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course 167
of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan 311
settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

Mewu

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133 Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131 steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563 only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463 traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361 supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792 and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
24 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3

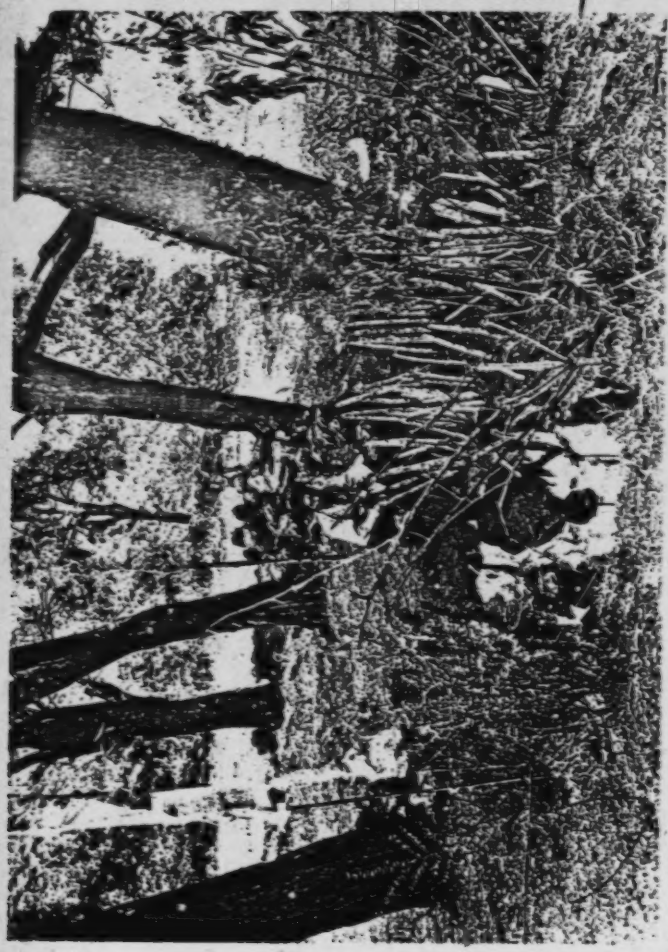

PLATE 133.—THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BATA-P'ER-OTTA

巴塔平原

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bhêr-p'êr-dhêr sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *Ve-kyu* on which are painted various *Lhû-mun* or Naga, serpent spirits, whom the da-mba propitiate.

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ST
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133

[p. 220-0]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

133 the mountain streams which discharge into the lake are perennial, which is not the case on plateaux bordered by lower hills. Against this advantage must be set the strong winds which prevail in winter, due to the juxtaposition of a high mountain and a large sheet of water.

The area of good land is also diminished by the wide "fans" of rock-encumbered soil discharged by the mountain torrents at the point where they debouch on to the plain. This accumulation of boulders and detritus forms a continuous belt about a mile wide of rocky sloping land along the foot of the mountain. It has some value as grazing 312 land, but cannot be cultivated. As the streams leave the lower slopes they are carefully canalised and broken up into an infinity of small channels which distribute water to every plot of ground between the hill slopes and the lake shore. This work of irrigation, undoubtedly of great antiquity, has transformed what must once have been a marsh into a carefully graded series of terraces sloping almost imperceptibly to the lake. As a result the Min Chia farmer is really independent of the monsoon, for he can flood his rice fields from this system of water channels, fed by the perennial streams from Ts'ang Shan.

312 Curiously enough it is the land nearest the shore of the 134 lake which has most to fear from a late monsoon. The level of the lake varies as much as six feet between the dry season and the end of the rainy season, consequently in spring the water is some four to five feet below the level of the adjoining rice fields, which cannot be flooded from this source. As the fields nearer the mountain slopes tend to absorb all or most of the water from the mountain torrents, it sometimes happens that if the monsoon is late the fields nearest to the lake cannot be planted with rice until as much as three weeks after those nearer the mountain. The area adjoining the lake is further subject to some danger of

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
134 able to escape through the very narrow passage of the Dragon's Tail Pass, overflows on to the flat western shore. Unless the flood becomes so deep as to cover the ears of rice, this does no harm, and such exceptional depths are rare. Yet on account of these two risks the land nearest the lake shore, in appearance the best on the plain, is in fact of less value than fields nearer the mountain slopes.

134 Unlike almost all other parts of Yunnan the soil of the Ta Li plain is not the red clay associated with the prevailing Yunnan limestone rocks, but a heavy black soil due to the fact that Ts'ang Shan is an upthrust of granite breaking
133 through the limestone cap of the Yunnan plateau. This geological peculiarity has one serious disadvantage, the frequency of severe earthquakes on the Ta Li plain. Slight shocks are common in the dry season, especially after one of the winter spells of drizzle, but a major earthquake in the spring of 1925 not only destroyed most of the city of Ta Li but caused much greater havoc and a very heavy loss of life in the lakeside villages, where a wave from the lake did further damage. Local records mention other severe earthquakes in previous centuries, but for many years before 1925 no serious shock had occurred, nor has there been a major earthquake since that date.

311 Apart from a narrow belt of willow groves along the lake shore, where flooding is usual, the entire surface of the plain is under cultivation. The villages as far as possible are built on the shore itself, or on the lowest slopes of the mountain, to free as much land as possible for the cultiva-
[491] tion of rice. Even the main caravan road, a stone-paved path about six feet wide, skirts the slopes of the mountain, and the paths leading to villages and fields are narrow and follow the dykes along irrigation channels. Very little land is devoted to market gardening, usually only such patches by

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

134 dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones.[1] Lime-stone
147 is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families con-
ST 301 stantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neighborhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (PLATE
ST 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white
291 conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female *Cannabis sativa*. The children go entirely naked and are
S black from filth.

*487 From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the
*933 stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although
*937 longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over landslides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of *Phyllanthus emblica*, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, *Maba buxifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, compositae and *Heteropogon contortus* grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus *Delavaya* (species) *yünnanensis*.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa 江[川] on the west bank of the Yangtze. (*See* journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k'o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (PLATE 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t'o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K'O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khin tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan *en route* to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Luë-dzu law-k'aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hĕr-dü or Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luë-

1 [The Li-su village of Ba-ssu-ko -- Analyst]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147] women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farmlands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of

132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Luh Hua and the Heh Shui, two

● 136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jin Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, /133
a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on 136
horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a row of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the 177
borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course 167
of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan 311
settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

137 824 [347] Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea, which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

491 morning and descending to another valley in the afternoon. This is because the roads going from east to west have to
491 cross an endless series of steep ranges which run from north
133 to south. It might be hoped that if one travelled northwards or southwards one would therefore be able to follow the valleys, but this is rarely the case. The river valleys of Yunnan are for the most part gorges so narrow as to be impracticable, only opening out into a lake plateau at wide intervals. Consequently, if one travels from north to south it is not possible to follow the valley down stream, because it soon becomes a gorge. The road therefore climbs up to the crest of the range, follows along it until the next lake plateau is reached, and then descends again.

491 Consequently the average stage of about twenty miles
137 falls into four well-marked divisions. Firstly, two or three miles across the flat lake plateau between the rose hedges and rice fields until the second stage, the ascent, is reached. This is usually long and steep, a twisting track, once stone steps, now broken into a slide of rubble, rocks, and—after rain—slippery stretches of red mud. On both sides of the track the uncultivated slopes of the mountains are covered with scrub of azaleas, winter green, wild tea, and other flowering shrubs, shaded by a sparse forest of pine trees. As the road winds higher this forest gets taller and denser until, about the 10,000 ft. level, which on most roads is the crest, the pines give place to chestnuts and very tall well-grown non-deciduous trees of the ilex type, called Ch'un, beneath which there is a dense growth of rhododendron and bamboo. The tops of the mountains are often flat, with open grassy glades and running cold streams among the forest, and such a place is chosen for the midday halt, where the horses can graze.

491 The descent in the afternoon is made through similar forest, although sometimes the east side of a mountain will

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of
132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Tuh Hua and the Heh Shui, two
136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jia Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

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165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

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Mewu

of this valley trough there stood 23 black Tibetan tents in a long row. /123
I had good introductions from the new Mewu monastery, as well as a Chinese interpreter who had lived many years as a trader among these Tibetans, so that I soon gained somewhat closer contact with the inhabitants of these tents. (3)

3. For the place of these traders in the social life of the Tibetan nomads, see Ekvall 4), page 48ff.

Anthropologically the Mewu-Fantzu are by no means a uniform /142
type. On the contrary, one is struck by the diversity of types. (1)

1. In this connection, compare the rich selection of illustrations of ethnic types in Hermanns 3). According to Ekvall 4), page 9, the Fantzu of this region have "all characteristics of a mongrel physical type."

The men are tall to medium-height, measuring about 160 to 180 centimeters; the women are on the average about 20 centimeters shorter. The skin of the exposed parts of their bodies is dark brown, their hair is deep black. Their beard and arm-pit hair is sparse. They do not always have pronounced Mongoloid lids. Some of these Tibetans with their relatively long faces, slightly slanting eyes, somewhat prominent cheek bones and long, flat to concave noses, cannot be distinguished from typical North Chinese. Others, with rounder, flatter faces, more prominent cheek bones, concave noses and slanting eyes with very pronounced Mongoloid folds, look more like Mongolians. Still other types with squarer faces, prominent cheek bones and more prominent, rather narrow upper jaws, sometimes remind one of a Japanese type. However, one also sees types that resemble more the Turkish inhabitants of Sinkiang or even Europeans, more often with straight noses (especially in the types /9/ resembling Europeans), less prominent cheek bones, straight eyes with eyebrows slanting downward at the outer edge, without the Mongoloid fold. By contrast there are, however, also types which occur more often farther south in Hsik'ang, according to my observation, who have very prominent aquiline noses and high cheek bones and remind one of the North American Indian type with their aquiline noses. There are others with narrow faces, delicate aquiline noses and graceful bodies, resembling East Indians and gypsies. All this simply shows that these Fantzu are not a uniform race, and that there must have been a great deal of miscegenation.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER XXXI

MI-LI, THE LAND OF THE YELLOW LAMA.

The San-ko-ya monastery—The eastern Tibetan—A tall straight-featured race—The Ya-lung again—Suspicious ferrymen—Our useless appeal to the lamas—Further negotiations—My interpreter wins the day with threats—We cross the river—Pê-tiao—Attempts to mislead us—A friendly monastery—Camp in the forest—Gold mining—Magnificent peaks—K'u-lu—Yaks—A cold night—Suspicious lamas—"Have you not come to dig for gold?"—The Chinese rank of the K'u-lu lama—A hospitable family—The reasons for Tibetan suspiciousness—An obstructive guide—We reduce him to reason—Interview with a lama—His objections overcome by the passport—The Mi-li river—A steep climb—Reach Mi-li after dark—A large monastery—Well-built houses—Tibetan and Chinese houses compared—Mr Amundsen's visit to Mi-li—The Mi-li prime minister—Present him with salad oil—Chinese traders—Gold washing—Extreme protectionist measures.

We had now been for four days within the boundaries of Huang La-ma Ti-fang, "the land of the yellow lama," as the Chinese often call the kingdom of Mi-li; but as yet we had seen no lamas and had not encountered the opposition from the Mi-li king which had been prophesied for us by the Chinese. The next day, however, this peaceful state of things was to come to an end, and we were to have our first experience of that suspicion and obstruction which, when continued day after day, are so wearing to the traveller in Tibetan countries.

Leaving Mo-lien we crossed the top of a ridge and began a long steep descent to the Ya-lung. A little way down from the top we came to San-ko-ya our first Tibetan monastery, a two-storied building of whitewashed stones, built all round a courtyard. Two of the lamas were sitting outside, and as they understood a little Chinese, we had some conversation.

These Tibetans are very different from the Hsi-fans, and are, I think, also fairer in complexion than and superior

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[p. 235]

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

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Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

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Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

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In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

THE BASIC SPIRITUAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE RELIGION OF THE CHIANG.*

T. TORRANCE.

174 In my research work among the Chiang tribesmen in the N. W. of Szechwan I early came to the conclusions; (1) that they came *originally from somewhere in Asia Minor*, and (2) that their Old-Testament pattern of religion represented an early patriarchal type, known to the Hebrews before their settlement in the holy land, and followed by them more or less after arrival there. To this opinion we still mainly adhere. Though much more has been learnt in recent years about their customs and ritual nothing has come to light to change this view in any radical sense.

[197] It is known that they speak a language allied to that of the Tibetans, Chiarong and Nosu. The presumption is that they are [144] of one stock. But, nevertheless, they have certain racial characteristics of their own. They are finer in physique and frequently show Semitic features of countenance which these races fail to do. Many of their customs, too, indicate a closer affinity to those of the Hebrews. Even if it be asserted that the Tibetans and Chiarong came also from the West—which we believe—yet, because of these facts, caution is needed before sweepingly including them in the same racial stock as these three races. The Chiang is a sort of a Jew among our West China peoples. You can scarcely hide him even when his blood has been mingled with a strain of Chinese. He has a way with him, an appearance and a religious outlook that marks him out from others around him.

We admit we have been criticised for doubting the classification. But the language test does not always hold. There are many races talking English to-day who cannot be called Anglo-Saxon. Did the Chiang always speak the language they do to-day? He would be bold who asserted they did without sufficient proof of the same. The suspicion is strong that they did not. To-day, as we hear more of their wonderful religion this suspicion may grow stronger than ever.

000 What then is the nature of the Chiang religion? It is simply that of the olden-time worship in the high-places. We know that this was followed by the nations of Canaan and after their day by

*Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1934.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Isaac Whitehead in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[776] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

•[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

[771] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147]
women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

774 account for the destruction of statuary not only in this region but in other places also.

825 Lu Da was also the scene of an alleged encounter with
774 wolves, during the spring of 1937. A farmer working on the mountain side found a young wolf cub, and putting it in his sack brought it home as a pet. That night he was awakened by a pounding on the street gate, and when he rose to see who it was, found two wolves, a male and a female, leaping up at the gate. He realised that they had come to seek their cub, and fearing that they would jump the wall, he climbed to the top of the gate and spoke to them, saying, "Wolves, I know why you have come here, and I confess that I did wrong to steal your child. Now, if you will go off a little way so that I may safely open the gate, I will let your cub go, and you may depart in peace." When the wolves heard this, they drew off some way down the street, but remained in sight, watching. The farmer then let out the wolf cub through a crack of the gate, and the reunited wolf family at once made off to the mountain. This story was generally believed as true in all particulars, and created a great deal of interest in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps because they are not a hunting people animals play rather a small part in Min Chia superstition. It has already been remarked that they do not share the Chinese belief in were-foxes, although they agree with the Chinese in considering it to be unlucky to kill wild geese. Swallows, as with most peoples, are also protected by a similar belief.
[147] The Min Chia say that anyone who kills a swallow will go bald. This is curious, as the Min Chia hardly ever suffer from this disfigurement, and in fact have no word for baldness in
777 the language. They have like other peoples a number of superstitions not connected with any definite system of beliefs. For example it is considered unlucky to point at a rainbow. If one wishes to draw the attention of others to a

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 188. — A NU-TZU (LU-TZU) FAMILY FROM PAI-HAN-LO (BAWANG)
白汗洛巴子
Through continuous intermarriage many of them are cretins and nearly all are afflicted with goitre.

[p. 362 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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134 dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones.[1] Lime-stone
147 is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families con-
ST 301 stantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neighborhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (PLATE
ST 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white
291 conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female *Cannabis sativa*. The children go entirely naked and are
S black from filth.

*487 From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the
*133 stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although
*137 longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over landslides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of *Phyllanthus emblica*, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, *Maba buxifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, compositae and *Heteropogon contortus* grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus *Delavaya* (species) *yünnanensis*.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa 江[凹] on the west bank of the Yangtze. (*See* journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k'o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (PLATE 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t'o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K'O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khin tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan *en route* to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Luë-dzu law-k'aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hĕr-dü or Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luë-

1 [The Li-su village of Ba-ssu-ko -- Analy st]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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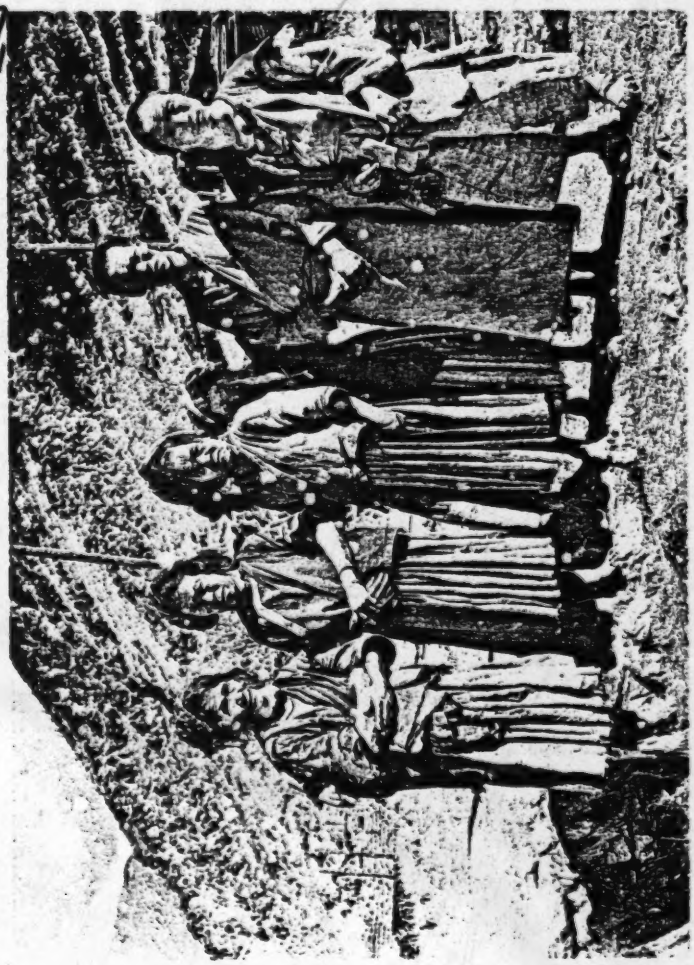

PLATE 236.—LI-SU PEASANTS OF BA-SSU-KO

木 蘇 巴 思 谷 子 農 夫

Nearly all are cretins and afflicted with goitre. Their constant intermarriage has caused them to degenerate. They live a miserable existence, isolated from the rest of the world.

[p. 426-L]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, most houses are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed; about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain 紅橋山, where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is one of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribes people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING.

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First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a woman's because both men and women have the same style, and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and red coral because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her rank,

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4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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562 the woman you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

•161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lifan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Lung-hsi 龍溪 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this an honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their loudness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural, and free from the restrictions of ettiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

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Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒拔河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

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Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 and blocked by snow for six months of the year, is only used by wood cutters and charcoal burners. Elsewhere the knife edge crest of the range is so precipitous and so overgrown with dense rain forest as to be inaccessible. At a few points it is possible to reach the crest, but the western face being more precipitous than the eastern, it is never possible to cross the range.

162 633 Ten miles up the plain from Hsia Kuan is the city of Ta Li, capital of the *hsien* or county of the same name, and an important military and governmental centre for a wider region. Ta Li itself, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants,[1] is an ancient place, the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, which covered the greater part of the modern Yunnan province. As the centre of government it has a mixed population including Chinese Mohammedans, formerly more numerous than at present, immigrant Chinese from Ssu Ch'uan province, and mixed families of Chinese and Min Chia descent, but at least one third of the inhabitants of the city are Min Chias. The villages of the plain, of which there are more than one hundred, are entirely Min Chia, apart from a small number of Mohammedan villages.

133 The plain of Ta Li, though the most easily defended, is not one of the largest or richest of the lake plateaux of Yunnan. Approximately 100 square miles in area, it is much smaller than that of Yunnanfu (or K'un Ming) in the east of the province, or than the plain of Pao Shan to the west, from which the ancient lake has now disappeared. Cramped between the mountain and the lake the Ta Li plateau is nowhere more than three miles wide, and in many places the cultivable area is much narrower. On the other hand the high range to the west ensures a constant water supply, for

[1] No census exists, but this figure is that generally given by inhabitants and officials of the place, and accords with a personal estimate.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the /133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, /132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede /133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the /162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[31] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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ST 795 of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

ST 162 The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin ST 771 language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön S ST sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

346 *The Yung-ning Lamasery.* — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the 778 Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 塔佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] [illegible]

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos=enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling [illegible]). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 乜溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 乜溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

S 136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a ST 177 village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

S ST 162 101 The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

291 ankles. The gown of a man is shorter behind, about the same length as in front. In the winter time there may be worn a long gown woven of dark brown wool, or a goatskin coat. In cold weather the hair of this coat is turned inside, and in rainy weather it is turned outside. This skin coat is sleeveless. Both men and women wear instead of hats turbans of white cotton cloth bought in the markets. Those of the men and the women are folded differently.

[164] Poor people who have insufficient clothes suffer from the cold in winter time. Bad colds are frequent, and sometimes colds develop into pneumonia

The puttees are made of white wool. In the vicinity of Lung Ch'i Chai women wear red bands around the puttees about half way between the ankles and the knees. In the region of Ts'a To a dark band is worn.

The best linen gowns of the men and the women have borders of blue cloth around the neck and down to the waist on which flowers are embroidered in white.

Woven belts are worn. Generally these are of white hemp cloth, but near Wen Ch'uan and Li Fan the woven belts are varicolored [171] and ornamented with beautiful geometric patterns The designs for these belts have apparently been borrowed from the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu, for in other parts of the Ch'iang region they occur rarely if at all, and they are very common among the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu.

7. Tools, Implements and Utensils.

412 Most of the tools and implements closely resemble those of the Chinese. The hoe is wide flat, and thick, and its handle is about four feet long. A very useful implement is the thick iron sickle which serves to cut both wood and grass. Their axes are heavier and clumsier than foreign axes. As has been stated before, the loom consists of several pieces of wood, and the spindle is simply a stick of wood around which the thread or yarn has been wound.

The plow differs from that of the Chinese. The handle is shorter so that the plowman stoops over and pushes down when he plows, lifting the plow out of the ground when he turns around. The long beam is tied to the yoke, which is little more than a pole and is tied to the shoulders of two cows or oxen. The plowman sings

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

164 The Tibetans are a very strong race of men; I did not see a single asthenic type among the Mewsu-Fantzu. Their health, apart from infectious diseases, is good. The most frequent complaints of patients who came to me were of rheumatism and stomach disorders. The latter often seemed to indicate chronic catarrh of the stomach and also stomach ulcers. There is a very frequent incidence of conjunctivitis, probably often trachoma. Smallpox is very prominent among the infectious diseases, and syphilis among the chronic ones. I did not observe any cases of tuberculosis, but there is leprosy, infrequent, in spite of the fact that lepers are not segregated. All the more ravaging are the effects of syphilis which here goes hand in hand with deterioration of the skin, mucous membranes and bones.

164 853 Infant mortality is extraordinarily high. Most families have only one or two children, although women often give birth to as many as ten. The reason for this may be in the strange way babies are fed. People prefer to give their children yak milk rather than mother's milk, because they say mother's milk makes them stupid. Although yak milk is richer than cow's milk, the children get the boiled milk undiluted, /10/ often with added butter and roasted barley flour (tsamba).

Men's Dress

291 We shall touch only briefly on the dress (1) of the Mewu-Fantzu

1. Compare Rockhill 1), page 684 ff. His illustrations and descriptions give a good general idea, although they are not specifically of the Mewu-Fantzu, and despite the fact that each tribe has definite characteristics of costume, ornament and hair style.

because it is the common dress of Tibetans in general. The chief article of clothing is a large sheep fur. It has very long sleeves that extend far over the hands. They prefer to put only their left arm into the sleeve and leave the right arm and shoulder free. The fur of the nomads is usually bordered at the neck with a band of leopard skin about 10 centimeters wide. The coat has a hem at the bottom of black woolen material. Poor people omit the leopard skin trimming or replace it with a border of pulu. This is a Tibetan woolen material. It is not made by the western Tibetans themselves, but is imported from the highlands of Inner Tibet. The leopard skin trimming is obtained ready-made from Chinese traders; the grassland

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farmlands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few trees and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of

132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

101 Northwest of them are the Luh Hua and the Heh Shui, two

136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jin Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

In A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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175 several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no
167 eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li
563 had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

634 There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min
563 Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, 133
a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on 136
horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a row of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the 177
borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course 167
of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan 311
settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

the Israelites themselves up to the time of the captivity. If opinion does differ somewhat as to the exact character it assumed, whether among the Canaanites or the Israelites, the fact remains that they both did worship the Deity or deities in such sanctuaries.

The Canaanites had their mountain groves or high-places with a stone pillar or pillars in each, a tree or sacred pole, an altar and carved images of their gods. This is borne out from the command of Moses to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 12; 3: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place." Then in Deuteronomy 16; 21 a further command is given: "thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image; which the Lord thy God hateth." The Israelites to begin with obeyed these commands, but worship in high places persisted. The prophet Samuel sacrificed there. The sanctuary at Gibeon, where Solomon once offered a thousand offerings, was called a high place. And the godly King Jehoshaphat, who turned not aside from what was right in the eyes of the Lord, yet did not hinder the people from burning incense in the high places. The Israelites, however, in times of religious relapse so restored the Canaanitish manner of worship that Ashera, the Hebrew term for grove, came to represent as well the images and pillars introduced therein.

The Chiang make no representation, carved or hewn, of Deity but they publicly worship Him in a sacred grove high up on a mountain side or a mountain top. In the grove there is a sacrificial altar built of unhewn stones. Behind the altar grows a sacred tree which is an essential part of the sanctuary. Between the tree and the altar, or on the altar, stands a white stone of glistening purity, generally of quartz. Such a grove it will be noted is more elaborate in its contents than that recognised by the orthodox Israelites, yet has nothing of the corruption of that of the Canaanites. Essentially, this mode of worship, it will not be denied, suggests oneness of origin with both Canaanite and Hebrew, and brings down to us, does it not, a primitive form of Semitic worship in the dress of hoary antiquity? Doubtless the Canaanites did not originally have the corruptions that later characterised their groves and called forth the divine displeasure. Their cult, apparently, was a mixture of Semitic observance and Sumerian superstition. The Chiang, more honourable than the Canaanites, have maintained their monotheism comparatively unsullied, and have given us an example of religious constancy to be found, apart from the Jews, in no other people.

that they do. This should be enough. At the same time some of the ignorant among them may say that the White Stone is their "Pu-sa." Yet the same man tells you that he worships God and none other. In his mind there is no contradiction. The fault is yours if you fail to understand him. Certain words to him have a different meaning than to you. He speaks Chinese as a secondary language. Then he is talking down to you. He is pitying your ignorance and with his imperfect Chinese gives a wrong impression to the listener who has not wit enough to understand this. For instance, a tribesman may call his photograph his "pu-sa." But he knows enough that it is only a likeness. Though he uses this name for it that would not justify any one saying he worshipped himself, i.e. his own likeness, and is therefore, to be scientifically classed as an animist.

Sacred stones in primitive times were very comman. They were used in many different places in many different ways. In some instances they appear to have been worshipped. Few doubt that the Canaanites did. But no *true* Israelites did. The interest to us of the Chiang use of the White Stone is in the reflex light it throws on the use of memorial and covenant stones by the Hebrews. Jacob set up the stone that served as his pillow to mark the site where Jehovah appeared to him in promise and blessing. There he made his vow and from there he started on his journey with the assurance that the all-seeing eye of a gracious Providence watched over him for good. The stone was a mark, a memorial and a sign of his vow. For to him Heaven had opened in that place, and it was given him to see there a ladder of intercourse between earth and Heaven, very dreadful but very reassuring. We shall yet see that the Chiang hold almost identical views regarding their Stone which brings into fine relief those of the patriarchs.

Jacob in his dying blessing to Joseph spoke of the Mighty One of Jacob who caused his bow to abide in strength and made his arms strong when he was grieved and shot at by his persecutors. The God of his father "from whence came the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, should help him and bless him with the blessing of Heaven above and of the deep that croucheth beneath." Obviously in Jacob's mind the Shepherd of Israel and Stone at Israel were one. In his own case he speaks of this Shepherd and Stone as the Angel who redeemed him from all evil. It was he who spoke to him in Paran; He, who as a man, wrestled with him at the Jabbok and by whom he uttered his parting blessings on his sons. The Chiang do not explicitely speak of their Stone as Shepherd or Angel but they do speak of an Angel or God-sent man who acts for them in their approach to God at the altar where the Stone stands. The Chiang and Hebrew concepts are so closely allied that they may be called alike in everything but the terminology.

It was on, Sinai, the Mount of cloud and fire that Jehovah revealed himself to the Israelites and made known his Voice to

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

171 778 them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed he people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

778 824 The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is especially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

778 782 824 On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

000 Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

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778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship. 171 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man*. Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship 782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee" or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

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them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove and as The Agent who medi:'es between them and God.

At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the sacrifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang, as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

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776 down to coincidence, of course, but its designation can hardly be
171 that. It is known as Abba Malah. Abba means Father: here, the Father in Heaven. Malah is not known other than as a name. They do not seem to be able to define or explain the term, But the pronunciation is very precise. The "lah" is spoken with a definite click, so much so that it is virtually Malak, the Hebrew word for Angel. Have we not in this another strong indication of the Semitic origin of the Chiang religious beliefs?

In connection with this Sacred Roll and angel-Sin-Bearer or Redeemer the student of scripture inevitably recalls the many instances in the Old Testament of the mysterious angel-visitant appearing as God in human form to patriarchs, prophets and saints in times of stress and difficulty. By Isaiah he is called "the Angel of His Presence who saved them ":" in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them, and carried them all they days of old. (Isaiah, 62; 9). In Malachi, 3; 1, "He is called the Lord whom ye seek, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."

This delight of the Israelites for their Malak or Messenger of the covenant has a remarkable parallel in the fondness of the Chiang for their Abba Malah or Je-Dsu. They speak of Him in the possessive sense. The prefix of "ga-gee" goes with His name: "Ga-gee Je-Dsu" they say. The sentiment is that of the Christian hymn, "My Jesus I love thee, I know thou art mine."

Among Chiang Christians when the hymn "Jesus loves me" is sung the use of their own name "Je-Dsu" in place of the Chinese "Ye-Su" adds great zest to the singing. Every face then shines —every face is, as it were, a glistening white Stone.

796 At festival times the sacred roll is carried by the priest to the grove on a platter, where its base is embedded or planted in seed wheat. The emphasis is on the seed. The interpretation is not far to find when taken with the use to which this seed wheat is put. It is that death forms the prelude to life, a belief which the Chiang firmly hold. This will become plain as we proceed.

In some places the seed-wheat is carried separately to the grove, but at the grove the sacred roll is placed in it.

Where strict orthodoxy prevails there are three religious festivals in the year. The first occurs at their old New Year time, which falls on the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese calendar. The second comes in the Summer and the third in the Autumn. But the dates vary according to the locality and even may be changed a little, as exigencies of weather and social conditions indicate.

In numerous places now only one religious festival is held in the year; in other places two. Uniformity has lapsed. Even in exact ritual procedure it is not found. One district has preserved customs and conceptions that another has let go or forgotten.

783 For private sacrifices there is naturally no set time. These

5: Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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291 ankles. The gown of a man is shorter behind, about the same length as in front. In the winter time there may be worn a long gown woven of dark brown wool, or a goatskin coat. In cold weather the hair of this coat is turned inside, and in rainy weather it is turned outside. This skin coat is sleeveless. Both men and women wear instead of hats turbans of white cotton cloth bought in the markets, those of the men and the women are folded differently.

[164] Poor people who have insufficient clothes suffer from the cold in winter time. Bad colds are frequent, and sometimes colds develop into pneumonia

The puttees are made of white wool. In the vicinity of Lung Ch'i Chai women wear red bands around the puttees about half way between the ankles and the knees. In the region of Ts'a To a dark band is worn.

The best linen gowns of the men and the women have borders of blue cloth around the neck and down to the waist on which flowers are embroidered in white.

Woven belts are worn. Generally these are of white hemp cloth, but near Wen Ch'uan and Li Fan the woven belts are varicolored and ornamented with beautiful geometric patterns The designs for these belts have apparently been borrowed from the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu, for in other parts of the Ch'iang region they occur rarely if at all, and they are very common among the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu.

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7. Tools, Implements and Utensils.

412 Most of the tools and implements closely resemble those of the Chinese. The hoe is wide flat, and thick, and its handle is about four feet long. A very useful implement is the thick iron sickle which serves to cut both wood and grass. Their axes are heavier and clumsier than foreign axes. As has been stated before, the loom consists of several pieces of wood, and the spindle is simply a stick of wood around which the thread or yarn has been wound.

The plow differs from that of the Chinese. The handle is shorter so that the plowman stoops over and pushes down when he plows, lifting the plow out of the ground when he turns around. The long beam is tied to the yoke, which is little more than a pole and is tied to the shoulders of two cows or oxen. The plowman sings

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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives [525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is con- [562] siderable freedom between the sexes--that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by 171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet While singing each line each person turned around com- [415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

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walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons. 174 177

5. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months. 174

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B. C. 1121. 174 171

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork. 174

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information. 105

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

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CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for
it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan
Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho
T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to
Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172]
tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may
date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled
city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile
in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the
west and east walls by a third again, and building a new
south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old
south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of
Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Al-
though the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of
it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street con-
necting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and
west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes,
which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market
gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden,
and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and
fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression
of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some
ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus
probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

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796 Month commemorates the tragic death of an ancient poet,
173 the Min Chia of Ta Li have a festival which is equally primarily the commemoration of an historical event, although it has now acquired a certain religious significance. In A.D. 731, Pi Lo-ko, one of the most celebrated Kings of Nan Chao, and the actual founder of the present city of Ta Li, planned to entrap and murder the five chief subordinate princes of the kingdom, who appear to have had at that time a more than feudal independence. According to one account these five were the Princes of Mêng Hua, Pao Shan, Chien Ch'uan, Mi Tu and Têng Ch'uan, all cities of west Yunnan. The Princes were invited to a banquet which was held in a tower, or two storied pagoda-like structure, the traditional site of which is marked by a small temple just beyond the north-west corner of Ta Li city wall.

The Prince of Têng Ch'uan suspected treachery, but consented to go, his wife having induced him to wear an iron bracelet, though the story does not relate whether this was a charm or not. When the five Princes had dined and were partly intoxicated, their host the King excused himself and left, whereupon the building was immediately fired, combustibles having been placed in the lower story. All the Princes perished in the blaze, and even their bodies were consumed, so that when their wives came to seek them for burial, only the wife of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan succeeded in identifying her lord by the iron bracelet which he had worn. In raking among the ashes her fingers were burned and blistered.

796 On the night of the 24th of the 6th Month, about the 30th of July by the Solar Calendar, this event is recalled by curious rites. The women, in memory of the Princess of Têng Ch'uan's burnt fingers, dye their finger tips with a red juice, and at nightfall every family sets up large torches outside the street gate. In the country the farmers take

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186 Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only
[197] Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

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I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理藩廳志 卷四 邊防志二
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史記四 周本紀第四
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Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 391-2

31: Scherman—26 E-4 (no date) 1915 APl Burma
SINO-TIBETAN PEOPLES AE3
LISU YAO AE6

Si 342 the pig sty. The layout almost without exception was the same: first a larger main room, in the middle of which, between the central posts, was the fireplace; behind this room is a wall rack for the "Nat," and on this Chinese incense sticks; a small room, partitioned by a mat wall, Si [354] serves as a bedroom for the married couple. In it is usually a mud stove with a large iron kettle, in which the fodder for the pigs is cooked. Needless to say, the houses of this cut-off community, and the occupants themselves, make a very S. ●173 wretched impression. According to tradition, Si 771 they emigrated from China two hundred years ago. Their religion is the demon cult which they have in common with the mountain tribes. It must be assumed that they were influenced by the neighboring Shan and Palaung.

Y 101 [167] Some elements of the Yao tribes (Ting-pan-Yao) (19) have migrated from Chinese areas to the

19. UBG I, 1, pp. 601 ff.

eastern edge of Kengtung, the most easterly of the Southern Shan States—1911: 512. The bulk of this people can be found in eastern Yunnan and Y the adjacent provinces, also in Tonkin and Annam. [177] They are, of course--with the exception of their Y clothing--entirely Chinese in their customs and 342 architecture. Their houses are built at ground level, without pile substructure, and made of split bamboo. They contain one large main room Y and a few sleeping compartments with bamboo bed- [354] steads standing at the sides. The fire is lit in a mud stove. A Yao tribe, the Lenten, builds its houses on low piles. The Shan consider the Lenten as a group separate from the Tingpan-Yao. Though they have many things in common, there definitely exist differences which give weight to this supposition. They do not intermarry with other Yao tribes. According to UBG they belong to the Lahu group.

3 Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

THE BASIC SPIRITUAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE RELIGION OF THE CHIANG.*

T. TORRANCE.

174 In my research work among the Chiang tribesmen in the N. W. of Szechwan I early came to the conclusions; (1) that they came originally from somewhere in Asia Minor, and (2) that their Old-Testament pattern of religion represented an early patriarchal type, known to the Hebrews before their settlement in the holy land, and followed by them more or less after arrival there. To this opinion we still mainly adhere. Though much more has been learnt in recent years about their customs and ritual nothing has come to light to change this view in any radical sense.

[197] It is known that they speak a language allied to that of the Tibetans, Chiarong and Nosu. The presumption is that they are [144] of one stock. But, nevertheless, they have certain racial characteristics of their own. They are finer in physique and frequently show Semitic features of countenance which these races fail to do. Many of their customs, too, indicate a closer affinity to those of the Hebrews. Even if it be asserted that the Tibetans and Chiarong came also from the West—which we believe—yet, because of these facts, caution is needed before sweepingly including them in the same racial stock as these three races. The Chiang is a sort of a Jew among our West China peoples. You can scarcely hide him even when his blood has been mingled with a strain of Chinese. He has a way with him, an appearance and a religious outlook that marks him out from others around him.

We admit we have been criticised for doubting the classification. But the language test does not always hold. There are many races talking English to-day who cannot be called Anglo-Saxon. Did the Chiang always speak the language they do to-day? He would be bold who asserted they did without sufficient proof of the same. The suspicion is strong that they did not. To-day, as we hear more of their wonderful religion this suspicion may grow stronger than ever.

000 What then is the nature of the Chiang religion? It is simply that of the olden-time worship in the high-places. We know that this was followed by the nations of Canaan and after their day by

*Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1934.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

177
186 Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only
[197] Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

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Far away there were once two nations, *Tzu La* and *Gu La*. There was a war between them, and as a result *Gu La* (the Ch'iang people) was defeated, and the Ch'iang migrated travelling a year and several months before they reached the place where they now live. On the way they crossed a river, using round boats made of cowskins. A boat leaked, and the sacred books got wet. While the books were being dried on the shore some goats came and ate them. Therefore there are no written sacred books, and their contents are handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. 174

When the Ch'iang reached West China, the Chinese and the Jung 戎 were at war. The Jung were defeated and retired to Tsagulow. The Chinese retired to Kuanhsien leaving the territory in between vacant, so the Ch'iang came in and occupied it. At that time the Ch'iang herded sheep and goats and raised wheat, but not corn. Later under Ch'ien-lung (A. D. 1737-1795) the Wa Ssu came from Wu Ssu Tsang in Tibet and helped the Chinese in a war that lasted twelve years. There was a great battle at Wei Kuan (維關), where a person can go from the top of the mountain to the river without being seen by the enemy. The Ch'iang were defeated, and the Wa Ssu were given the territory they now occupy, between the Ch'iang and the Chinese

There is probably both history and tradition in this legend. Since there are several tribes in Burma that have the tradition of a lost book, we can assume that this part of the story is legendary.

2. The Country.

The Ch'iang, at least that part of the Ch'iang people that we are studying, inhabit a region along the T'o and the Min Rivers, approximately between the 31st and 32nd degrees longitude and the 103rd and 104th degrees latitude, from T'ieh Ch'i 鐵溪 on the north to So Ch'iao which is twenty li down the Min River from Wen Ch'uan and from points east of Mou Chow and Wei Chow to about twenty li up the river from Li Fan. Formerly they extended southward as far as Yueh Hsi and northward into Kansu and Shansi. The rivers and valleys are very narrow, and the mountainsides generally very steep. The main cities are Wen Ch'uan, Wei Chow, Li Fan, and Mou Chow. The rivers are from four to seven thousand feet above sea level. The surrounding mountains rise in some places to an altitude of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet. The 131 133

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the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died. 796 778

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most 174 114

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•174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Isaac Whitehead in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[176] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

[171] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

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walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has 174
shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the 177
Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons.

5. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western 174
Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months.

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone 174
buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are 171
common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B. C. 1121.

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. 174
How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork.

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, 105
correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information.

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse 361
road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by [489]
this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance,
each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In 631
sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the 175
kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan 563
or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

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CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

IN A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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175 several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no
167 eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li
563 had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

634 There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min
563 Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

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701 579 laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

701 177 The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

177 The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

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On the 871
other hand the third channel of contact, education, is in- 177
spired by the ancient Chinese belief that alien peoples can be brought into the Chinese culture by teaching them to use the Chinese script and adopt the moral and ethical principles which Chinese literature expounds. At the present time this well tried method of spreading Chinese civilisation has been revived by including patriotic and political teaching in the curriculum of the schools, with the deliberate intention of welding the varied provinces of China into one nation concious of its unity. The Min Chia lend themselves readily to this process, for, long before the Republic was established, the Imperial Civil Service Examination system had opened a road to wealth and power for all who acquired Chinese learning. The characteristic Chinese respect for education is thus fully shared by the Min Chia.

The schools can be divided broadly into two classes, the 871
city schools maintained by the provincial and local government, and the village schools maintained by the villagers themselves. The first class are subdivided into Elementary 872
and Middle schools, both of which charge fees. Elementary schools in the city are numerous and well attended by both boys and girls, for although education is not actually compulsory every family which can possibly afford it will send their children, especially the boys, to the elementary schools, for which the fees are comparatively low (about 20 Silver dollars a year). The Middle schools of which there 873
are two, one maintained by the city and one by the provincial government, charge 50 Silver dollars a year and continue the education of students up to University age. Only the more wealthy families can afford to educate their children at these schools, which between them have an enrolment of nearly a thousand. Yunnan University, situated at K'un Ming, is open to those who have passed out of the

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Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

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CHAPTER II

FOREIGN CONTACTS AND CHANGES

177 No picture of Min Chia society would be complete if all reference to alien influence other than Chinese were omitted. In earlier chapters the character and scope of the Chinese influence on society in its various aspects has been discussed, here it is intended to review the nature of Min Chia contacts with European and other foreigners and the changes which such contacts have caused.

Although it is in no sense unexplored, there is perhaps no country, except Tibet, which is as little known to Europeans as Western Yunnan. Until very recently the only means of access was a tedious journey of many days over rough roads infested with robbers. Since the war with Japan, and the realisation of the importance of the route to Burma, a growing number of Europeans have made the journey across Yunnan from K'un Ming to Burma, either on foot or as pioneer motorists. Apart from the resident missionaries these travellers are the only Europeans with whom the Min Chia have even a fleeting first-hand acquaintance. As many travellers either do not speak Chinese, or have only an imperfect understanding of the Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, the influence of the chance and brief contacts they may make with the people can be discounted.

797 The Min Chia, therefore, gets his ideas of the European and his culture from the resident missionary, and it is therefore important to describe the character and extent of missionary work in the Min Chia districts. There are Protestant missionaries at five centres in the Min Chia country, Ta Li, Erh Yuan, Shih Ku, Lan P'ing and Chien Ch'uan, places which are on the average fifty miles apart.

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Chiao," "The Doctrine of Jesus," which means Protestantism, and "Tien Chu Chiao," the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, which is Catholicism. Very few Min Chia know that these two are variant forms of the general Christian religion. 797

The Min Chia are also under another mistaken impression, perhaps more hampering to missionary work than the first, namely that all Catholic missionaries are the paid agents of the French government, and that all Protestant missionaries are equally the servants of the English government. The fact that many Protestant missionaries are Americans does not shake this universal belief. This idea is not as foolish as it sounds, for the special position of Europeans in China, the system of Extraterritoriality by which no European subject or citizen of the Treaty Powers is subject to Chinese jurisdiction, not unnaturally seems to suggest that these people are the agents of the governments which take such an interest in them. To the rural Chinese or Min Chia it is inconceivable that a government should protect and privilege anyone who was not an official. It is too, equally strange to them that people should give up their lives to change the religion of distant strangers. They find it very hard to understand the motives for this conduct, and the easiest explanation is that the missionary is paid to do it.

The missionaries of both religions lead, in fact, very simple and austere lives, but it would be impossible for them to abandon all the standards of European comfort and hygiene to which they are accustomed, and in consequence, simply by taking some trouble to be reasonably comfortable and healthy, they have to live in a way which seems to most Min Chia very luxurious. Few of the wealthiest Min Chia have glass windows, or oil lamps of any power, or an easy chair, or fly-screened windows. The mission station 797 177

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797 equipped with these simple necessities, seems therefore a
171 wealthy and even prodigal establishment. Many missionary ladies do much of the housework themselves, but they usually have one servant to help in the cooking. Very few Min Chia, if any, have any servant except a more or less imbecile slave girl, and this standard of modest comfort thus seems extravagant to them. In this way, and quite unconsciously, the missions are setting a new standard of comfort and living conditions, which is having a slight but increasing influence on the habits of the wealthier Min Chia class, who are often better supplied with money than the missionaries themselves. This indirect influence on living conditions, of course, only affects the cities where mission stations are established, and only a small class of the richest residents in these cities. Nevertheless, as living exponents of the western manner of life and its modern comforts of which the educated class reads in current Chinese literature, the influence of the missionaries is considerable, if involuntary.

797 The direct influence of Christian teaching is less easy to assess, for the approach of the Catholic and Protestant is quite different. It is true that neither body expects rapid and flamboyant success ; both confess that the Min Chia are an unresponsive people, rooted in their own way of life and traditional, if vague, beliefs. The Catholic hopes to effect Christianisation by a slow and continued process of instruction, and sets less store on individual conversions. The Protestant, founding his practice on the Doctrine of the Elect, only expects a few conversions but expects that these, unrecognised members of the Elect, will at once respond to the Word of God when they are given the opportunity of hearing it. Consequently the Catholic missionaries are concerned with the continuous and close instruction of the group of people among whom they live,

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who visit the Min Chia country, Tibetan horse and tea dealers, Li Su and Miao villagers, are all primitive people whose culture is inferior to that of the Min Chia themselves.

Although Burma is not far away as the crow flies, about two hundred and fifty miles at most, there is only the slightest contact between the two countries. Many Min Chia it is true do go to Burma to work in the winter season, but they congregate in the jade mines of the north where they see hardly any Burmese, and associate only with their fellow Yunnanese workers. The Burmese do not travel. All trade between the two countries is in the hands of Yunnanese, largely Moslem muleteers and merchants. The Indian merchants and traders who are so conspicuous in Burma itself never cross the frontier into Yunnan, and none are ever seen as far east as Ta Li. To most Yunnanese and Min Chia, Burma is "Ying Kuo," that is to say "England," and the belief is general among the less educated that it is the home of the English themselves, who they regard as a kind of ruling caste of Burmese.

Burma thus plays little part in the Min Chia conception of the outside world, and the influence of western culture is spread more through Chinese adaptations of our institutions and inventions than by direct contact with the neighbouring countries under English and French rule. The Chinese newspapers and periodicals filtering through weeks late into the towns of western Yunnan bring news of strange and far-off places with queer names ; Ch'e K'e (Czechoslovakia) and P'o Lan (Poland) ; the activities of a certain Hsi Te La (Hitler), and their bearing on the war with Japan. On a high pass between the Yang Tze and the Mekong, a Min Chia merchant on his way up into Tibet explained to me that England could not help China against Japan because if we brought our fleet to the eastern

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177 seas Italy and Germany would attack us in the west. One cannot ask for more knowledge of the outer world than that.

177 Against these factors making for change one must set the
489 massive forces of inertia which will limit and modify any influence from outside. First of these is the difficulty and inaccessibility of the country. There is the road to Burma and K'un Ming ; one road, long, expensive and difficult, and this is the only direct link with the outer world. The new Burma-Yunnan railway, which will be completed in a few years' time, will not pass within fifty miles of Min Chia country. These modern means of communication in any case only affect the lives of a handful of the rich, being mainly built for national rather than provincial purposes. The mass of the Min Chia will never ride in a bus to K'un Ming or Burma, if only because they could never afford to do so. Yunnan, being very mountainous, is not a country which can be rapidly opened up by the introduction of motor transport, as on the plains of India and north China. The existing routes are useless for any wheeled vehicle and the making of motor roads is a most elaborate and difficult engineering feat. Except for the road to Burma, which is a national war measure, there are no routes through Yunnan carrying a sufficient volume of trade to justify these expensive public works, consequently it is unlikely that any other large-scale motor roads will be built in western Yunnan for several years.

The only reason for which it would be worth while to open up western Yunnan by such roads would be if a large tourist traffic existed, such as pays for the mountain roads of Switzerland or California. Tourists indeed would find Yunnan a paradise if these communications existed, but it is extremely unlikely that such a traffic will come into being for at least fifty years more. Yunnan is very far from such

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large centres of wealth as exist in eastern Asia. It is more than a week's journey from Shanghai by steamer and train. The distance from Calcutta is about the same, and the lesser centres such as Rangoon or Singapore are all unable to support a large tourist traffic. 177 489

Western Yunnan is therefore likely to remain almost an unknown and rarely visited land, even by the Chinese from other provinces. At the present time the refugees from occupied or devastated China have only reached western Yunnan in small numbers, and were peace to be restored, few of them would stay in a country where very little money can be earned. This factor, the poverty of the country, is the other main obstacle to the forces of change. Until western Yunnan can find a product which can be exported cheaply and fetch a good price in the world market—a substitute for opium in fact—the people must remain poor. While communications remain bad such a product is hard to find, but communications cannot be much improved until the country can afford to pay the great expenses necessary. From this vicious circle there is no easy escape. 177

The natural conservatism of the common people is a factor against change which can easily be overrated. The events of the last twenty-five years have disproved the old belief that the Chinese were a conservative race. Their government until the fall of the Manchus was intensely opposed to any change, and the people followed its lead; under the republican government, which requires changes, the people, equally, have obeyed the orders given by their rulers. The rapid disappearance of such customs as foot binding, the total disappearance of the queue, prove how little the Chinese are attached to old social customs, while the complete absence of royalist feeling or any interest in the old monarchy shows how easily they will submit to

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177 radical political innovations. Confucius said, "The people are grass and the ruler the wind, as the wind blows, so the grass bends". This statement is still entirely true of the Chinese people, with one qualification. The Japanese have already found out that the wind must be a local wind and not a gale from the east.

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783 As a priest there is one thing he must not do: he must not change the intention of the sacrifice. Sacrifice may only be made for the one express and divinely ordained purpose of the remission of sin. It can not be turned aside to any other or made to any one but God. His duty is to maintain and enforce this original end, or otherwise he renders himself liable to the penalty of death.

We confess that the first time a priest voluntarily gave us this information we were surprised to the point of wonder, yea, and of admiration. For it revealed to us the intensity of their great central belief that their sacrifices of propitiation were not man-invented but God-born.

Everywhere the same insistence is made on the due order. Their chantings and prayers include an avowal of faithfulness in this respect. God is invoked to remember that the blood of the sacrifice is presented by his set command as made known to their fathers. Simultaneously the ancient priests are cited as witnesses that they have been stedfast to the rule of faith handed down by them.

Once at a High-place sacrifice, friction which arose among the worshippers led to certain irregularities and lack of reverence in the making of the offering, That same year, men noticed that death claimed the majority of the wanton offenders. This may have been a coincidence, of course, but the reason believed was because they sinned with a high hand.

But the surprise created by the staunchness of the Chiang to the faith of their fathers leads to a distinct shock when it is seen that the priests have allowed strange accretions and realistic amplifications to creep into parts of their ritual and profession which degrade its pristine purity. For instance the skull in the sacred roll obviously is an innovation to give it a dramatic presentation. [793] The horned sk[illegible] of the priest is d[illegible]red to have replaced by a plain shap[illegible]ne with a circular [illegible]rim. And a number of priests, not [illegible]e copied some of the customs of the Chinese 000 exorcist. [illegible] all, spiritism, in some parts with its customary admixture of [illegible] phenomenae and base trickery, has crept in. The investigator, even while he laments these excesses, has to take not[illegible] them. All is not pure gold that glitters. There may an alloy in it or it may be a base metal of the same colour. One has to distinguish and care is needed at every turn. Patience and caution are often necessary to disentangle the real from the simulation and what constitutes the old true-Chiang religion from its present day admixture of spurious elements.

●177 It has to be remembered that during the reign of the Emperor Chien Long, A. D. 1736-1796 the Chiang suffered complete loss of political liberty. Then idolatry was forced on them at the point of the sword. Temples, never before seen on their mountain sides and plateaus, were wantonly built all through their territory. Since then a slow decadence has been noted in their worship. The

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old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. *Preface.*

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍溪寨, Mu Stang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei, Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'u Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ta'a Ko, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary [illegible] a Ssu official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-hsuan 張伯苓博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1933 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

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177 186 [197] Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

113 1. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 人, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 人. A small third character is sometimes added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An [231] interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

174 There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
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Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Cai, Part Four.
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Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
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Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

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764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the
349 outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
775 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

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789 educated or scientifically trained, and they assume that they see in these events the working of mysterious forces that may do good or harm. The priests, the gods, the ceremonies and the sacred implements are surcharged with mysterious power with which he seeks to control events, warding off calamities and enabling him to enjoy a successful and satisfying life, in which the basal needs of food, sex, clothing to protect from the cold, shelter from the forces of nature and protection from enemies, numerous descendants etc. are satisfied, and one can enjoy a successful and happy life.

3. The Gods.

776 The Ch'iang are not monotheists, and there is no certain evidence that they ever have been. The priest at Mu Shang Chai, who is a relative of the deceased Christian pastor Kou P'in-shan, stated that in his ceremonies he worshipped besides the greatest god twelve other gods. At Lung Ch'i Chai we saw two different shrines on housetops where the large white stone was surrounded by twelve smaller stones. In the sacred grove at Lung Ch'i Chai there are four different shrines to four different gods. By persistent enquiry we learned that in some of the villages the Ch'iang have five major gods and twelve minor gods, not counting a goodly number of Chinese gods that are found in Ch'iang homes, in wayside shrines, and in Chinese temples. In addition to making enquiries in several different localities, we have translated, as well as possible considering our very limited knowledge of the language, enough of the chants of two different priests to assure ourselves that they worship a number of gods. In one of the chants the different gods are named in order as we will give them below, and called upon to come and assist the priest. While we must make allowance for variations in different localities, we can be sure that they are not monotheists and worship more than one deity.

[177] The supreme god is called Mu Byei Sei (mv bjei sei), Mu Bya Sei, M Ta Bei, M Bya, Sei, Ma Byei Ch'i, and at least at Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai and Mu Shang Chai where Christian influence has been strong he is often called Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei. Abba means father and it may be applied to any god. On the other hand a number of Ch'iang have asserted that Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei is properly used only to designate Chinese gods in Chinese temples. The first two syllables, Ma bei, mu bya, or m bya, mean sky and sei

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778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

534 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side
778 only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired
778 monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan Kung*.

[177] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

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174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Isaac Whitehead in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[776] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

[771] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons. 174 177

5. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months. 174

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B. C. 1121. 174 171

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork. 174

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information. 105

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a row of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high; a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
24 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1 Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but 439 they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. 796 Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet. 796

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal. 871 212 792

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way. 797 804

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether 177 805 796

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
79 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I. 1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II. 1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 776
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 777 ●
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewu

obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, i.e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the entire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
777 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a bom-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same 782
formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers.

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the 764
strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery 177
there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately /61/ following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

764 the corpse, /62/ attendants cut it up with a knife, severing the limbs
177 at the joints. Any kind of knife is used for this purpose; afterwards it is washed off a bit and used for other things. The various parts of the corpse are thrown in all directions so that they will be devoured by the vultures. The bones, such as skull, jaws, upper thigh bones, are left at the burial place. Many bones are disposed of by vultures.

While this is going on at the burial place, the relatives and lamas (usually only two of the latter) gather in the tent of mourning. Here the lamas read prayers. The family of the deceased prepares a large meal of which the lamas partake. The food consists of tsamba, butter, mo-mo and meat cooked with rice. After the meal tsamba and butter are divided among the relatives. The lamas get the better clothing of the deceased and they in turn give them to their relatives. The lamas continue to read prayers from breakfast until noon and even while people eat. Sometime after the death has occurred, the family gives butter, barley flour and money to the lamasery to which the lamas belong. Wealthy people give each lama $14, a pound (chin) of butter and a bushel (tou) of barley flour. Poor people give each lama only 10 cents; very poor ones give nothing.

Five or six years after the day of mourning the same ceremonies are performed. This custom is perhaps based on the same ideas that underlie the widespread second burial in South China. No special mourning clothes are worn. The Fantzu do not join in official loud weeping as the Chinese do at their funerals; it is only at the funeral feast that they weep softly now and then "to be polite and to show one's sympathy."

A child's funeral does not differ from that of an adult.

If someone has died a violent death, no special customs are observed. Nor is there any difference in the case of suicide. However, this form of death seems to be rare. /63/ My interpreter knew of only two cases of suicides by hanging among the Mewu-Fantzu.

After a death has occurred the Fantzu request an incarnation (fu-yeh) to carry out a ceremony to insure the rebirth of the soul in a human being, not an animal ("scatter flower rice," tsou hua mi). The fu-yeh strews grains of barley all over the tent to form flower-like figures (Tibetan: dzam-na). A pointed trivet is made of tsamba and is a symbol of the dead. It is also strewn with barley corn by the fu-yeh. A member of the family or a neighbor carries the symbol of the dead out of the tent and throws it away not far

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 764 177

In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-do-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some 792

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tso farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

7: Hu--1 E-5 (1937) 1941 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Ch'iang

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

101

177 527 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

•177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is
527 the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now
233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep-
241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable.
361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build-
565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence
551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam-
592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is
582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan.
621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be-
776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

1764 An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

● 177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Tai Loi or Hill Shans.

The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

31: Scherman--23 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

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16. The pronunciation of the name (Liso, Lisu, Lisaw, Li-Hsaw, Chinese: Lutzu) is disputed. It was pronounced by the inhabitants of the village of Pangsapyi as Lishō, Lishū. More recent literature: UBG I, 1, p. 587 (Lisaw, Burma) and p. 615 ("Lissu am Salween Yünnan") /Lisu on the Salween, Yunnan/; C.C. Lowis, "The Tribes of Burma" (Ethnographical Survey of India, No. 4, Rangoon, 1910), pp. 33 ff.; A. Rose and J.C. Brown, "Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 3, (1910), No. 4 pp. 249-277; R. Brunhauber, An Hinterindiens Riesenströmenx /On Indochina's Giant Rivers/ (Berlin, 1912), pp. 73 ff.

area. The wildest and most independent tribes live isolated in the barren highlands of the upper Salween.

177 342 The civilization of the Lisu shows mostly Chinese influence. Rose and Brown report about their architecture that at the upper Salween they use grass roofed pile dwellings under which they keep their domestic animals, and that they build ground level huts in the mountains at Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai (17). Their layouts apparently

17. Cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., p. 260 and Plates IV, Figure 2; VII, Figure 2; VIII, Figures 1 and 2. E.C. Young, "A Journey from Yün-nan to Assam," Geographical Journal Vol. 30 (1907), p. 159, describes Lisu houses, not far from Lu-kou, at the upper Salween--in the same area which was visited by Prince Henri d'Orléans; he too reports about the pile dwellings of the local

31: Scherman--24 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

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Lisu (From Tonkin to India, p. 161). The illustrations in Young, pp. 159 and 161, correspond clearly with our Figure 17. G. Forrest, "Journey on Upper Salwin," Geographical Journal Vol. 32 (1908), p. 262, describes the "genuine Lisu hut" in much the same manner. The Ulu-Lama, mentioned by Young, pp. 163 ff. (picture of their pile dwelling p. 167), live at the border of the Lisu region. Judging from their physical appearance, customs, and geographical location, they apparently belong to the so-called black Lisu who are mentioned by Rose and Brown, ibid., pp. 255 ff. (cf. p. 268 about Lama as a tribal name.') and more recently Gebauer, Anzeiger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien /Publications of the Vienna Academy of Sciences/, 1914, Mathematische-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse /Mathematical-Natural Science Class/ pp. 338 ff.--I consider the Henri d'Orléans designation of the pile dwelling as "Tibetan dwellings" misleading. They certainly are not real Tibetans.

do not differ from the houses of the Chinese Shan. One can conclude from this that the pile dwelling represented their original architectural style and that, by migrating from their native country, contact with the Chinese civilization introduced to them another construction method.

361 I also encountered an isolated Lisu village on my trip to Namhsan; it was located 16 kilometers from the Shan capital of Hsipaw, near the main road. This village, Pangsapyi, had /213/ once been a Palaung settlement, but none of their houses was standing any more. At the time

113. 133, 177. 621, 105

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Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

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797 fidelity, or patriotism. The Min Chia therefore does not
183 easily recognise these activities as immoral or inconsistent with the good life, and is apt to regard these prohibitions as rather mysterious taboos similar to the Moslem avoidance of pork. Unaware of the European social background which has led many Christians to condemn the stage and the public house, the Min Chia does not see any connection between these things and ethics.

If, then, the Catholic appeal to some extent fails because people are not called upon to give up enough, or rather to make what would seem to them intelligible changes in their way of life, the Protestant message seems to the Min Chia to demand strange and, as it were, irrelevant sacrifices. Neither mission has yet found a simple and compelling appeal in tune with the real needs and aspirations of Min Chia society. Yet these needs and aspirations exist, and among the educated younger generation there is a profound dissatisfaction with many things in the present order of society. A growing number of young people resent and resist the compulsory marriage of a couple wholly unknown to each other personally, and very few men of under middle age can now be found to defend the institution of concubinage. Young men are becoming aware of the poverty about them, and of the lack of modern conveniences which elsewhere are accepted as a matter of course. The consciousness of a defective economy and of social injustices naturally leads to disbelief in the values underlying all existing institutions, in fact to revolutionary sentiment.

178 It must be remembered that in its attitude to revolution-
797 ary opinions the Chinese Government is in a peculiar position. It claims to be itself a revolutionary government, the destroyer of the Manchu Empire and of the military juntas which succeeded the fallen Emperors. It has itself condemned in outspoken decrees many of the institutions

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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and customs of the past. At the same time the government is anxious to regard the revolution as definitely over, at least in matters of internal policy. It plans and hopes to execute reforms and a vast reconstruction of the economic life of the country, but it is silent upon questions of social change, and was, until the outbreak of the war with Japan, definitely fighting Communism, which in China meant in practice land reform without compensation to the landlords. Yet everyone really knows, and many privately admit, that land reform is essential if any change or economic progress is to be made, and everyone knows that even before the Japanese invasions impoverished the country, there was no possibility of landlords being compensated at anything approaching the market value of their land.

For the time being this unresolved problem can be shelved until the Japanese are driven out, and when that happens it will most likely be found that in the areas of guerilla warfare the problem has solved itself by the disappearance of the wealthy class and the actual occupation of the land by the guerilla peasants. In western Yunnan, which is never likely to be invaded, the problem will have to be solved by other means. Some realisation of this, a growing knowledge that they live in a world which must soon see vast changes, is permeating the literate Min Chia and spreading as a vague unrest through all classes of society. People begin to ask what will happen when the soldiers, or some of them, who have gone to the war, come back. More Yunnanese than at any previous time in history have now been taken out of the province and inured through war to scenes of violence and destruction.

Among those who become converted to Christianity there are many who feel this sense of impending changes and the need for them. Men who are of independent mind and observe what goes on, seek for some organisation which

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797 will direct the inevitable changes into beneficial reforms, 178 and some find it in the Christian churches. Others, inspired by very similar feelings, but of a less religious turn of mind, go to the teaching of Communism or the more left wing interpretation of the doctrines of Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Nationalist Party of China. Neither missionary nor party organiser is willing to recognise the essential identity of the psychological motive which impels convert and recruit, but to the observer outside these organisations it is often apparent.

797 Among some of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan the missionaries have had much success. The Li Su, and in some places the Miao, have been converted in large numbers, but so far no similar movement has touched the Min Chia. As a general rule it may be observed that the peoples least touched by Chinese culture are more easily converted to Christianity, and those who have more thoroughly adopted Chinese ways are the least susceptible to missionary enterprise. Thus, the Li Su are a primitive mountain folk who had never adopted Buddhism or the Chinese form of Ancestor Worship. It is, however, an open question how far these mass movements towards Christianity are really religious rather than vaguely political. It must be remembered that the more primitive peoples still retain a considerable hostility to the Chinese government and settlers, and that the missionary is, mistakenly, but universally, looked upon as the representative of a foreign power. The idea that by becoming Christians they would cease to be under Chinese control has undoubtedly existed among the primitive tribes and contributed in some degree to the rapid conversion of many of the Li Su.

The Min Chia are untouched by this consideration because they do not feel themselves to be an oppressed people and have no desire to distinguish themselves from the Chinese

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
●181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

68 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692a 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

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131 For four or five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 212 The Lu-tzu 獠子 have no written language, while the spoken language itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] 262 273 The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor. They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan T'i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 麻麥基 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野夷). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

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and do not seem to have that craving for certainty and authority in religion which marks the peoples of the West. Like the Chinese, who by their proverb "Three Ways to one Goal", deny the exclusive validity of any one creed, the Min Chia are quite prepared to add another god to the pantheon, but not willing to recognise any one god as supreme and unique.

The Chinese attitude to religion has always stressed the ethical rather than the theological side, it is always more important to them that men should act rightly rather than believe the Truth. Consequently their approach to the teaching of Christianity is not by faith but by ethical judgment. The Catholics would have people believe in the dogmas and doctrines of the Church, but to the Min Chia and Chinese this is less important than the code of behaviour which these doctrines authorise. Here they find little that is new to them. Christians are monogamous, but so, for economic reasons, are the vast majority of the Yunnanese of all races. The existing code of morality is high and strict, and they do not find in Christian ethical teaching any call to a radical change in morality which would necessitate the abandonment of Ancestor Worship.

The Protestants require them to give up smoking, wine drinking and seeing theatricals. These injunctions do not make a wide appeal to ordinary men. Opium smoking is indeed generally condemned by the Chinese moralists themselves, and the government is endeavouring to suppress it, but tobacco seems to most Chinese, as to many Europeans, a harmless indulgence. Nor is drunkenness a social evil among the Min Chia or Chinese. Wine is never drunk except at a party, and then very rarely to excess. The Chinese stage is probably the least licentious, not to say the most moral, of any in the world, and most plays are definitely based on an ethical idea such as loyalty, conjugal

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797 fidelity, or patriotism. The Min Chia therefore does not
183 easily recognise these activities as immoral or inconsistent with the good life, and is apt to regard these prohibitions as rather mysterious taboos similar to the Moslem avoidance of pork. Unaware of the European social background which has led many Christians to condemn the stage and the public house, the Min Chia does not see any connection between these things and ethics.

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797 ary opinions the Chinese Government is in a peculiar position. It claims to be itself a revolutionary government, the destroyer of the Manchu Empire and of the military juntas which succeeded the fallen Emperors. It has itself condemned in outspoken decrees many of the institutions

III. 1. The arrow is fitted into the bow, the needles are in the case, we can sew silk well with them. 533

2. It is much better if I can meet my Chinese friend on the slope of the mountain, near the huts (this means: it is more convenient for the Tibetan girl to have a rendezvous with a Chinese than to work in her tent camp).

IV. 1. I shall now climb up the mountain; tell me whether there is a Fu-yeh (Living Buddha) there, and whether he will bless me (touch me with his hand).

2. I shall now climb down into the valley; is there peace there now so that I can do my trading?

3. I shall visit my friends in the village, will the villagers then think ill of me? Is my friend at home?

/41/ Religion

In the religious field conditions among the Tibetans are similar 771 to those of the Chinese, that is to say, a more highly developed religious system was superimposed on an ancient primitive folk religion which nevertheless remained alive in the heart of the people. Just as the vulgar form of Taoism developed essentially from Chinese popular religion, so the Bon religion developed from Tibetan folk religion. Superimposed upon this in China is Confucianism and the specifically Chinese form of Buddhism, while in Tibet Lamaism represents the specifically Tibetan form of Buddhism. (1) However, 771 184

1. Compare in this connection Rockhill, page 730: "Primitive Lamaism may be defined as a priestly mixture of Shivaic mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by the thinnest veneer of Mahayana Buddhism." (Compare Wadell 7), page 17) - and Schröder 8), page 258: "The 'faith' of the Tujen combines into a common stratum which as Lamaistic folk religion covers the entire field of the Yellow church... Shamanism - Bon religion - cult of Heaven.... popular Lamaism."

the role of Buddhism in China cannot compare in importance with

771 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief
184 reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory descrip-
114 tion of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal
771 conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course,
124 difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
S
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

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/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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enabled the farmer to buy the products of other regions for cash. 249

It is an ironical fact that the efforts of the Central Government of China, urged on by the moral pressure of the rest of the world, to do good, should have resulted in the infliction of great economic damage and hardship, at least temporarily. 249 185 276 In 1935 the Central Government, inspired by the reforming ardour of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, introduced its plan for the gradual suppression of opium cultivation throughout the Chinese Republic. The Provincial Government of Yunnan, in spite of the prospect of severe loss of revenue, was induced to co-operate, and the suppression plan was applied. Learning from the disastrous consequences of the earlier attempt at opium suppression undertaken by the Manchu Dynasty in 1910, the authorities made no attempt to prohibit cultivation at once and everywhere. The plan provided for the suppression by *hsien* or administrative districts, and was applied in two stages. In the first year warning was published that suppression was to come into force. No fresh planting was to be permitted, but if opium crops were raised from old plants, no action was taken. In the spring of the second year public proclamations announced the application of the second stage of rigorous suppression. Farmers were warned to weed their fields, for if so much as one poppy were found growing in a field, the field was to be confiscated to the public lands.

This plan was applied to Ta Li and the other Min Chia areas in 1936 (first stage) and in 1937 the second rigorous stage of suppression was carried out. From the summer of 1937 there has been no opium poppy grown in the Min Chia region, nor in the other *hsien* of western Yunnan as far north as Wei Hsi and from Yunnanfu westwards to Teng Yueh.[1]

[1] Personal observation. The *hsien* of Wei Hsi and Chu Tien in the valley of the High Yang Tze came within the scope of the scheme one year later than Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

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249 It speaks well for the influence of the Central Government
185 in a remote area, and for the authority of the Provincial
276 Government of Yunnan and its officers, that this campaign of opium suppression has been carried out with perfect success and without occasioning revolts, lawlessness or open resistance, although it has vitally affected the entire population of Yunnan, very much to their immediate detriment.

249 No one will seriously question the right and duty of the
185 government to suppress the cultivation of opium as the only
276 sure way of eventually suppressing the consumption of the
458 drug and freeing the Chinese people from an undoubted evil. No one, either, who has lived in western China will doubt their courage in undertaking a task both difficult and highly unpopular. That the nation will ultimately derive great benefit from the ending of the opium habit is incontestable; but that the immediate effects in western Yunnan have been most serious is also unquestionable. In the absence of any alternative export crop to replace opium, and the absence of communications making any more bulky export commercially profitable, the result of suppression has been a profound economic depression in the areas affected. Land values fell by one third in 1936, and in that and subsequent years business at the great fairs in and near Ta Li, when the Min Chia make their annual purchases of goods produced abroad or on the coast, fell to a fraction of that done in former years.

248 Against this must be set the efforts of the government to
185 provide a new export crop and develop communications. It is probable that had not the war with Japan absorbed the energies and the money of the government in the national struggle these efforts would have been more effective than they have been. An attempt has been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton. This has made some small progress in other districts, but the climate and soil of Ta Li are not suitable, and cotton growing could not be attempted there.

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able, and cotton growing could not be attempted there. Silk, 231
which can also be conveniently and profitably transported 185
long distances on mule back, has been suggested. A few families on the Ta Li plain have taken up cocoon raising, but the technique is not generally understood, there are no large groves of mulberry trees, and many years will be needed before the production of silk can be of any commercial importance. So far the Min Chia have found no alternative to the opium crop. The government, as is now well known, have 489
completed the remarkable motor road from Yunnanfu to Burma, which is connected with Ta Li by a short branch. The road was built by forced labour and as a war measure. A railway, which however will not pass within forty miles of Ta Li, is now under construction. The eventual benefits of these improved communications will no doubt be felt by the Min Chia, but at present they are more conscious of the demands on their time and energies.

The suppression of opium has therefore left the Min Chia 243
for the present at the mercy of the rice standard, unalleviated by any cash crop raised for export. It is the working of this almost closed economy, as yet unaffected by any serious volume of intercourse with the outside world, which forms the subject of this chapter. Since rice is the dominating factor in this system it must have pride of place.

The method of rice cultivation is well known, nor do the Min Chia differ in this respect from other rice growing peoples. The rice is grown in seed beds planted in the latter part of March, the second lunar month, when frost need no longer be expected. The fields are cleared of the wheat and bean crop in May, and are then ploughed in readiness for the flooding, which is either effected by irrigation on land nearest the mountain, or by the monsoon rains which begin, on the average, at the end of May. As soon as the fields are flooded the rice seedlings are transplanted from the seed

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563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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people hardly to be distinguished from the Chinese, and the 186
fact that many Ta Li Min Chia are bi-lingual, or have a store 197
of "market Chinese" has strengthened this impression. It is
none the less false. The language itself, though using many 197
Chinese loan words, pronounces them in accordance with definite rules, and in a manner unintelligible to the Chinese, while more than half the vocabulary and the grammar of Min Chia is wholly unlike the Chinese language. As it is not and never has been a written language it has no doubt changed very extensively in the course of centuries, but a critical examination of the vocabulary and grammar shows that three elements originally quite distinct are found in the Min Chia language of to-day. These elements may be classified as :—

(1) A non-Sinitic polysyllabic language which may be called "Old Min Chia".
(2) Monosyllabic words resembling Cantonese, perhaps "old Chinese" loan words.
(3) Chinese loan words, derived from the Yunnanese dialect of Mandarin but which are pronounced in a Min Chia manner according to set rules.

These three elements are used, broadly, for three different categories of words. "Old Min Chia" words for example are confined to simple and primary ideas, the most used verbs, the names of animals, plants and parts of the body, and the prepositions. Many of these Old Min Chia words are polysyllabic, or it would be more accurate to say, appear to be so. As Min Chia has never been written down it is only possible to distinguish between monosyllabic words and polysyllabic by analysing the syllables which compose the latter class. If these syllables are not identifiable as words in themselves, then the word is classed as a polysyllabic word, and where the syllables can be shown to be

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Chiang

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. *Preface.*

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍溪寨, Mu Shang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei, Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'u Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ts'a Po, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary Ma Sau official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-hsuai 張伯宣博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1933 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

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177
186 Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only
[197] Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

173 I. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 人, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 羌. A small third character is sometimes
[231] added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

174 There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理藩廳志 卷四 邊防志二
Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Cai, Part Four.
史記四 周本紀第四
Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
中國民族史 第十一章 羌族
Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 301-2

771 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief
124 reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory descrip-
114 tion of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal
771 conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course,
124 difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, 186
and take up the thread another time or with another person. In 771
many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ 124
knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and would not have learned what were the most important things in the religious life of the laymen.

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In 971
both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits, nature demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important religious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere, and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions, combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other superstitions.

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: 776
djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to 753
the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene (he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of Lamaism.

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei, and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night, and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said, if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits, earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley, usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China. 000

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill [792] because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the 754 spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him 627 My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bŏm-bu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic.

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus 186 my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1)

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

•186 Kuangtung, where my guide, a Chinese from the neighborhood, was heartily reproached for having brought the rain-bringing stranger. The poor man was soundly thrashed even by his Chinese fellow citizens after he returned to his own village.

/51/ The customs observed to ward off or eliminate misfortune or invoke good fortune are a hodgepodge of ideas taken from popular religion and Lamaism. Both religions exist side by side in the religious world of the people, just as the böm-bu have taken over Lamaistic customs and vice versa.

Such customs may be magic practices in the widest sense, linked with all kinds of superstition; they can be prayers, sacrifices or oracles. Amulets are favorite magic symbols; they are preferably made by lamas and consecrated by magic formulas spoken over them. When we described the ornaments of the Fantzu we spoke of the rosaries and the small, square or round boxes worn on the chest and containing sacred objects of the Lamaist. These are worn throughout a lifetime, especially when there are unusual dangers, as for example, war. They are often presented to the laymen by lamas.

/55/ Small strips of silk tied around the throat are worn as amulets. The amulet boxes worn on the chest contain, for example, magic writings of an incarnation, bits of clothing, nail parings, hair or remnants of sacrifice of an incarnation, even his excrement; also pills which are made by the incarnation and which are given as a present if one kowtows to the incarnation. These pills may also be kept in the tent in front of the family altar. It is believed that after a month or more small pills originate from the initial large one, and that these can protect the body from all kinds of diseases. Small scraps of clothing of an incarnation are known as nam-sa, the pills, mani-je-la.

I was unable to get any information about special superstitions relating to unerring marksmanship or imperviousness to bullets. However, I learned of a symbolic act of magic to ward off the threat of war or bring about victory. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu (late summer of 1936) they were very much afraid of the Communist army which was at that time on its famous march to the north. In the large lamasery of He-tso I observed that hundreds of small figures were being made of a mixture of water, barley flour and butter and that these were painted red.

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873 Middle Schools, but is beyond the financial reach of most of the population.

872 For most Min Chia farmers the educational system begins and ends in the village school, which is held in the village Ancestral Temple, and maintained by the revenue of the village public lands. In those villages which are wealthy the education given in these schools is often free, or the fee charged practically nominal. The children attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen or fourteen, and the instruction is mainly in the arts of reading and writing Chinese. To these necessary subjects a little simple geography, elementary arithmetic, and Chinese history are added. In recent times even the village schools have been required to teach the outlines of anatomy and physiology as part of the government's effort to improve health and eliminate superstition. The political doctrines of the Nationalist Party, designed to arouse patriotism and national consciousness, are also a compulsory subject.

Approximately 70 per cent of the boys and 30 per cent of the girls in the villages of Ta Li Hsien attend these village schools, for a varying number of years, and most of them carry away enough knowledge of Chinese to read easy text books or simple inscriptions. The practical value of this education is perhaps not very great, but it enables the peasants to keep accounts and protects them from some of the more obvious forms of cheating such as the circulation of worthless coloured paper for bank notes.

876 It seems probable that the more modern methods of
191 teaching now coming into use will produce a greater change in the educational standard of the peasantry than the old methods of memorising Chinese classics, which too often left the student with no real understanding of what he had laboriously committed to memory. It is perhaps to these old methods that the Min Chia language owes its survival. When

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Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

that they do. This should be enough. At the same time some of the ignorant among them may say that the White Stone is their "Pu-sa." Yet the same man tells you that he worships God and none other. In his mind there is no contradiction. The fault is yours if you fail to understand him. Certain words to him have a different meaning than to you. He speaks Chinese as a secondary language. Then he is talking down to you. He is pitying your ignorance and with his imperfect Chinese gives a wrong impression to the listener who has not wit enough to understand this. For instance, a tribesman may call his photograph his "pu-sa." But he knows enough that it is only a likeness. Though he uses this name for it that would not justify any one saying he worshipped himself, i.e. his own likeness, and is therefore, to be scientifically classed as an animist.

Sacred stones in primitive times were very comman. They were used in many different places in many different ways. In some instances they appear to have been worshipped. Few doubt that the Canaanites did. But no *true* Israelites did. The interest to us of the Chiang use of the White Stone is in the reflex light it throws on the use of memorial and covenant stones by the Hebrews. Jacob set up the stone that served as his pillow to mark the site where Jehovah appeared to him in promise and blessing. There he made his vow and from there he started on his journey with the assurance that the all-seeing eye of a gracious Providence watched over him for good. The stone was a mark, a memorial and a sign of his vow. For to him Heaven had opened in that place, and it was given him to see there a ladder of intercourse between earth and Heaven, very dreadful but very reassuring. We shall yet see that the Chiang hold almost identical views regarding their Stone which brings into fine relief those of the patriarchs.

Jacob in his dying blessing to Joseph spoke of the Mighty One of Jacob who caused his bow to abide in strength and made his arms strong when he was grieved and shot at by his persecutors. The God of his father "from whence came the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, should help him and bless him with the blessing of Heaven above and of the deep that croucheth beneath." Obviously in Jacob's mind the Shepherd of Israel and Stone at Israel were one. In his own case he speaks of this Shepherd and Stone as the Angel who redeemed him from all evil. It was he who spoke to him in Paran; He, who as a man, wrestled with him at the Jabbok and by whom he uttered his parting blessings on his sons. The Chiang do not explicitely speak of their Stone as Shepherd or Angel but they do speak of an Angel or God-sent man who acts for them in their approach to God at the altar where the Stone stands. The Chiang and Hebrew concepts are so closely allied that they may be called alike in everything but the terminology.

It was on, Sinai, the Mount of cloud and fire that Jehovah revealed himself to the Israelites and made known his Voice to

S. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan •191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct 622 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

OLD MIN CHIA

	Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
197	Dilulu	ying	hawk
192	Digulai	Ch'iao shu	squirrel
	Salagai	huang shu	locust
	Serdserler	hai tzu	boy
	Niepi	Jih, yat	sun
	Shier	no separate term	day
	Gao	hu, hai	lake or sea
	Lao	shang	on
	Dso	shang	up
	Urdaobai	hou	behind
	Boru	hou	after
	Gupu	chiao	leg

OLD CHINESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
Kwa	Kou	Dog
Sur	Shan	Mountain
Mo	Meng	Dream

YUNNANESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
Zer do	Chih tao	know
Wai Shieh	Wei hsien	danger
Dsua jia	Chuang chia	crops
Tsu miu	Tsung ming	intelligence
Mier dser	Ming tzu	life
Yao jiu	Yao chin	important
Fa ni	Fa lu	law
Da biu	Tang ping	to enlist as a soldier
Gai bieh	Kai pien	to change

ENGLISH—MIN CHIA

A

192 A, one piece (classifier)	Lai	
Abacus, an	Sua bai (a mi) Chinese Loan Word	
Ability	Bo ser	C L W
Able, to be	Hueh	C L W
Above (lit. ' top side ').	Do ba	
Abroad (foreign)	Wei guer	C L W
Accept	Jia	
Accustomed to	Shi gua	C L W
Acre (Chinese *mu*)	(a) Mu	C L W
Acrobatics	Shua ba shi	C L W
Add	Jia	C L W
Adopt (of children)	Dsao tu dser	C L W
Adopted son	Tu dser (ni)	C L W
Adultery	Bu dso da	C L W
Advantage	Yo yi	
Affair, matter	Ser ver (a yo)	
After (lit. ' that next ')	Bo ru	
Afternoon (lit. ' Lower half day ')	Er ba ni	
Afterwards	Do di	
Again	La dsai	C L W
Aggravate	Ji shia	C L W
Aim, to	Miao dsuai	
Air	Chi	C L W
All	Ni, dser	
Allow	Dsuai	(Cf. Chin. Chun.)
Alone	Du	C L W
Already	I Jiu	C L W
Also	Ni	
Although	Sueh za	C L W
Amber	Hu per	C L W
Ancestor	Do bao (ni)	
Ancestor (original)	Ber Dser	
Ancestral Tablet	Ber (a tieh)	
And	Bier	
Anger	Chi	C L W
Animal, domestic (lit. 'cow horse')	Ngur mer (a der)	

192 Animal, wild	Yer ver (a der)	
Ant	Bi ber (a der)	
Anywhere	A la	
Apple	Piu guor (a ao)	CLW
Apprentice (' learn trade one ')	Ur so yi ni	
Apricot	Er (a ao)	
Arrive (see ' to ')	Pia	
Arrow	Ji (a mu)	
Arm	Ser (a pu)	
Artichoke	Bao bao tsai (a ao)	CLW
As	Bi	
As far as	Wei dser	
Ask	Bier	
At	Dso, Hu	
At least	Zo shio	
Aunt, paternal	A Nia (ni)	
Aunt, maternal	Gu ma (ni)	
Aunt, paternal uncle's wife	Da Mao (ni)	
Aunt, maternal uncle's wife	Jiu Mu (ni)	
Autumn	Chu	
Avoid	Bi	CLW
Axe	Bo (a lai)	
Azalea	Yu sa hu (a dor)	

B

Back (preposition)	Da yu, Da dser	
Back, the	Dao go shi	
Back, to carry on the	Ver	
Back of hand	So da bai	
Bad	Hai, Bo Chio	
Bake	Ko	
Ball	Cho (a ao)	
Bamboo	Dsur (a gua)	
Bandercoot (lit. ' bamboo rat ')	Dsur ser (a der)	
Bandit	Fai (a der)	CLW
Bank (of stream)	Bi (a jueh)	
Banknote	Piao (a dso)	CLW
Barefoot	Tser go ju shi	
Bark, to	Bia	
Barley (lit. ' Big wheat ')	Dao mo (a ao)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Basket, hand'	Ti lao (a lai)	
Basket, back	Do (a lai)	
Bat (animal)	Bier fer (a der)	
Be, to	Dso	
Bead	Vur do (a ao)	
Beam	Wa (a gua)	
Bean	Do (a ao)	CLW
Beancurd	Do fer	CLW
Bear a	Shiu (a der)	CLW
Beard	Wu (a juee)	
Beautiful (lit. ' good to see ')	A hu	
Become	Da	
Bed	Dso (a dso) pu (a pu)	
Bedding	Lo bao	
Bee	Fer (a der)	
Before	Do mo	
Beg	Tu	
Beggar	Tu her ser ni	
Begin	Ker	CLW
Behind (preposition)	Ur dao bai	
Believe	Shiu	
Bench	Ba do (a der)	CLW
Big	Dao	
Bill	Dsa (a ba)	CLW
Bird	Dso (a der)	
Birth	Her	
Birthday	Ji her ni, So ser	
Bit (piece)	(a) Di	
Bite	Nga	
Bitter	Ku	CLW
Black	Her, Tser	
Blame	Guai	CLW
Blind	Der	
Blister	Pu	
Blockup	Dsa	
Blood	Shua	
Blow (of wind)	Po	
Blue	La	CLW
Blunt (lit. ' not sharp ')	Bo Yi	
Boat	Yeh (a su)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Body, the	Tser Ko	
Boil, to	Dser	
Boiling water	Hua Shuee	
Bomb	Dsa da (a ao)	
Bone	Gua der (a di)	
Book	Ser (a chua)	
Borrow	Jier	CLW
Bottle	Bier (a lai)	
Boundary	Gai	CLW
Bow, a (and arrow)	Gur (a dso)	
Bowl	Gai (a bai)	
Box	Shia dser (a ao)	CLW
Box, small	Hao dser (a lai)	
Boy	Ser dser ler (ni)	
Branch (lit. ' tree son ')	Dso dser (a dser)	
Brass (lit. ' yellow copper ')	Ngo ger	
Brave	Yu	
Brazier	Hor lo dsao (a lai)	
Bread	Ma ter	CLW
Break	La	
Breakfast	Tsa	
Breath	Chi	CLW
Brick	Jueh (a ao)	
Bright	Mer	
Bridge	Gu (a so)	
Bring	Lai	
Broad	Kua	CLW
Broom	Juai lai, Jueh (a ger)	
Brother, elder	Gao (ni)	
Brother, younger	Tai (ni)	
Brother-in-law (E. sister's H.)	Ji fer (ni)	
Brother-in-law (Y. sister's H.)	Mai Shi (ni)	
Brother-in-law (husband's B.)	Tai Po (ni)	
Brother-in-law (wife's B.)	Ju Yer (ni)	
Brush	Sua dser (a lai)	CLW
Brush-pen	Fer (a gua)	
Bucket	Ter (a lai)	
Bud	Huor go lu (a dor)	
Buddha, image of	Wei (a juee)	
Buddha's hand (fruit)	Fer so ga (a ao)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192 •

Buddhist monk	Der bao (ni)	
Buffalo (water)	Shue ngur (a der)	
Bug	Dser shieh (a der)	
Bullet	Tsur dser (a ao)	
Bump into, meet	Po	
Bundle (of thread)	Hao	
Burn	Shu	
Burst out (of leaves)	Fer ku yu	
Bury	Mai	C L W
Bushel	(a) Do	C L W
Busy	Ma, Wai nieh	C L W
But	Da ser	C L W
Butcher	Sao ngur ni	
Butcher (pig)	Shia dai ni	
Butterfly	Hu dier (a der)	C L W
Buttocks	Ker ver	
Button	Guei (a ao)	
Button up	Guei ku	
Buy	Mer	

C

Cabbage	Ber tso (a dai)	
Cake	Biu dser (a lai)	C L W
Cake, wheat	Mo pi (a pi)	
Calamity	Hor	C L W
Calendar (solar)	Ya Ni	C L W
Calendar (lunar)	Yu Ni	C L W
Calf (of leg)	Wu ao	
Call	Rur	
Camelia	Dsao Hor (a dor)	C L W
Can (verb)	Kao I, Der, Lo	
Candle	La dser (a ga)	C L W
Cannot	Dor	
Cane	Dser (a gua)	
Capital, provincial	So tso	
Captain (of ship)	Yeh dso (ni)	
Card	Ber (a dso)	
Careful	Sai shi	C L W
Carpenter	Ngur jiu (ni)	
Carpet	Dsai zo zur dser (a dso)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Carry	Da	
Carve	Ker, Diao	C L W
Cash (change)	Shier chieh	
Cash (copper coin)	Ger chieh	
Cat	A mi (a der)	
Catch	Diu	
Caterpillar (hairy kind)	Bi Shu (a der)	
Catty	(a) Jier	C L W
Cauliflower	Tsai Hua (a dor)	C L W
Cave	Der (a wai)	
Centipede	Wu gu (a der)	
Ceremony, Buddhist (burn incense)	Shu chier	
Certain	Du	
Chain (lit. ' iron rope ')	Tai so (a niu)	
Chair	Jiao I (a ba)	
Change	Gai bieh, Bi	C L W
Charcoal	Ta	C L W
Cheap	Pi yi, Shia yu	C L W
Cheat	Ko	
Cheese (two kinds)	Niu sai, Zer biu	
Chestnut	Chi shi (a ao)	
Chicken	Gai (a der)	
Chicken pox	Tur do	
Chinese literature	Ha ver	
Chisel	Dso (a lai)	
Choose	Shuai, tser	
Chop, to	Dso	
Chopsticks, a pair	Dser (a ser)	
City	Dser (a dser)	
City wall	Dser o	
Clan (joint family)	Dsu	C L W
Clan temple	Jia tser (a jier)	
Clean	Ga jiu	C L W
Clever	Tsu miu	C L W
Climb	Gai	
Clock	Dser (a jia)	
Cloth (cotton)	Piao	C L W
Clothes	I ko, plural I ya ko	
Cloud	Ver (a du, a gao)	
Coarse	Tsu	C L W

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Cockcrow	Gai mer	
Cocoon (silk)	Dsa sai (a kuai)	
Coffin	Nga, Ni tso (a ao)	
Coin	Chieh (a bai)	
Cold	Gur	
Cold in head	Sao Fer	
Colour	Yeh ser	C L W
Coloured	Tsai	
Come	Bai dso	
Coming or going	bai dso bai dser	
Commandeer	Fer	
Compare	Bi	C L W
Comparative, indicator of	Yuer	C L W
Complete	Dser	
Concern, to	Shia ser	
Concubine	Sai yao (ni)	
Consequence	Gua shi	C L W
Constantly	Dso	
Control, to	Gua	C L W
Convenient	Fa bieh	C L W
Converse	Ga shua	
Cook, a	Dser yu ni	
Copper	Ger	
Cormorant	Gao (a der)	
Corner	(a) Gur	
Cost	Ger	
Cotton	Hao mi	
Count	So	
Country	Shio hur	
Courtyard	Jia shi hu (a mi)	
Cousin (P P B E)	A gao (ni)	
Cousin (P P B Y)	A Tai (ni)	
Cousin (P P G E)	Da di nuer (ni)	
Cousin (P P G Y)	A yeh nuer (ni)	
Cousin (maternal boy)	Lao Biao (ni)	
Cousin (maternal girl elder)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Cousin (maternal girl younger)	Biao mai (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, boy)	Lao Biao (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, girl E.)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, girl Y.)	Biao mai (ni)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Cover, to	Mo	
Crab, a	Pa hai (a der)	
Craftsman	Jiu (ni)	
Cracker	Hor pao (a bi)	C L W
Crane, a (bird)	Bu ser (a der)	
Create	Tsao	
Credit	Jieh	
Crime	Juee	C L W
Crooked	Wur	
Crops	Dsua Jia	C L W
Crossbow, a	Da La (a jia)	
Cross over	Guer	C L W
Crow	Hur ngur (a der)	
Cry	Ku	C L W
Cudgel	Gua (a gua)	
Cup	Dser (a bai)	
Cupboard	Gur (a ger)	
Curse	Ur	
Curve	Ker	
Custom	Guai ju, Fo su	C L W
Cut with scissors	Ger	
Cut with knife	Ser	

D

Dance	Tiao ba	
Dangerous	Wai Shieh	C L W
Dare	Ga	C L W
Daughter	Nuer (ni)	
Daughter-in-law	Dser ver (ni)	
Dawn	Mer ber	
Day	(a) Ni, Shier	
Day after to-morrow	A dser ni	
Day and night	A Ni a Yao	
Day before	Do ni	
Day-time	Nieh do	
Deaf	Gur	
Dear (expensive) (big price)	Ger dao	
Death	Shi ho	
Deceive	Sa da	C L W
Decide	Jer	
Deep	Ser	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Deer	Ma lu (a der)	CLW 192
Dense	Bo	
Depute	Pai	CLW
Desire	Yuai Yi	CLW
Dew	Zao Shuee	
Different	Tsa	CLW
Difficult	La	
Dig	Wa	CLW
Dirty	La ta	
Discuss	Sa i	CLW
Disease	Ber (a yo)	
Distant from	Ger	
Disturb	Lo	
Ditch	Kao (a dsur) Ger Lai	
Divinity	Ser (a ni, a juuee)	
Divorce	So da bao	
Do	Dser	
Do as you please	Sweh bieh	CLW
Doctor	Yo Ser (ni)	
Dog	Kwa (a der)	
Donkey	To lo mer (a der)	
Double	Shua	CLW
Doubt	Ni Hu	
Down	To	
Drag	Kai	
Dragon	Lur (a der)	
Draw, to	Hua	CLW
Dream	Mo (a duai)	
Drink	Ur	
Drown	Ver	
Drum	Gu (a jer)	CLW
Drunk	Juee	
Dry	Ga	CLW
Duck	A (a der)	
Dumb	Ya	CLW
Dust	Shu lai	
Dwell	Ger	
Dye	Zai	
Dyke	Ji dser (a dsur)	
Dysentery	Da ni	

E

• 192 Each	Gao	
Ear	Liu do (a lai)	
Early	Ju	
Earth	Ji	
East	Der	
Easy	Yo i	C L W
Eat	Yu	
Eaves	Ju bai	
Echo	Yu so	
Edge	Bi (a jueh)	
Eel	Ver yo (a der)	
Egg	Sai (a kuai)	
Eggplant	Chi dser (a ao)	
Eight	Bia	
Eighteen	Dser bia	
Eighty	Bia dser	
Elbow	So guai dser (a kuai)	
Elder (an)	So lao (ni)	
Elephant	Shio (a der)	
Eleven	Dser yi	
Embrace	Bu	
Embroidery	Shiu huor yi	
Empire (under heaven)	Hai er	
Employ	Gu	
Empty	Jier, kur	
End	Tu, Bao	
Endure	So	
Enemy	Tso (a ni)	C L W
Engage	Kao	
Enjoy	Shia	
Enlist (in army)	Da biu	C L W
Enough	Go, lu	
Enter	Bai ni	
Entire	Yi so	
Entreat	Chio	
Escape	Mu, ta	
Eternal	Yo	
Eucalyptus	Ya tsao guor (a dso)	C L W
Evening (night)	Bai ger (a)	

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Everywhere	Pieh	
Evidence	Piu juee	C L W
Exactly	Jia hao	
Example	Bi fo, Bi yui	C L W
Exchange	Mo	
Exhort	Chueh	C L W
Exorcise (send ghosts)	So gur, sur kuai (for disease)	
Expand	Guor dao	
Expect	Shi wa	C L W
Expensive	Ger dao	
Explain	Chia	
Extra	Liu wei	C L W
Eye	Wai ker shi (a ao)	
Eyes	Wai ser	
Eyebrows	Wai mai	

F

Face	Ju wai tso (a tso)	
Fade (' lose colour ')	Diao ser	C L W
Fail	Dor	
Faint	Huai	
Fairy	Sai ni	
Fall (of rain, etc.)	O	
Fall over	Ba	
Fall in, down	Lua	
False	Jia	C L W
Family	(a) Hao	
Fan	Sai (a ba)	
Far	Duai	
Farm	Dsua jia hao	
Farmer	Dser dsua jia ni	
Fat	Pa	
Fat (animals)	Go	
Father	Di (ni)	
Father-in-law (woman speaking)	Yao fer (ni)	
Father-in-law (man speaking)	Dao so bo (ni)	
Favourable (as of wind)	Sur	
Fear	Ger	
Feed to (animals)	Wai	
Feel	Jiao	C L W

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192

Fence	Mi bo (a yao)	
Female	Nuer (ni)	
Ferry	Du	
Fever	Huai	
Few	Shio	
Field	Hai ji (a jieh)	
Fierce	Ao	
Fifteen	Dser ngur	
Fifty	Ngur dser	
Fig	Ver hua guor (a ao)	
Fight	Der dsa	
Filial	Shiu	
Find	Yi	
Fine (not weather)	Mo	
Fine, to	Fer	
Finger	So dser (a ta)	
Finish	Wor	CLW
Fir	Shio (a dso)	
Fire, to (gun)	Dser	
Fire	Huai	
Firewood	Shi	
First	Chieh	CLW
Fish.	Ngur (a der)	
Fish with cormorants, to	Mia gao	
Fishing line	Hur (a niu)	
Fit	Hao ser, Jia hao	
Flea	Tio shor (a der)	
Float	Ber	
Floor	Go mer	
Flour	Mi	
Flow	Ger	
Flower	Hor (a dso)	
Flowerpot	Hor ba (a lai)	
Fly, a	So (a der)	
Fly, to	Fer	
Fog	Wu	CLW
Fold (' times ')	Bai	
Follow	Ger dsao	
Food (' rice ')	Her ser	
Fool	Ha lu lu (ni)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192.

Foot (measure)	(a) Tser	
Foot	Go	
For (instead of)	Chi	
Foreign	Ya	C L W
Forenoon (' top half day ')	Do ba ni	
Forest (' trees ')	Dso ya	
Forget	Pai mu	
Forgive	Zao	C L W
Formerly	Do mo	
Fortune teller	Sua mier ni	C L W
Forty	Shi	
Four	Shi	
Fourteen	Dser shi	
Fox	Hu ni (a der)	C L W
Fragments	Shueh	
Freeze	Du	
Friend	Po yo (ni)	
Frog	O mer (a der)	
From	Yo, da	
From time to time	Ma lo ma lo	
Front, in	Do mo	
Frost	So	
Fruit	Guor dser	C L W
Fry	Dsa	
Full	Ma	
Funeral	So so (a ba)	
Fur	Ma	
Furniture	Jia hor	C L W
Future	Jia lai	C L W

G

Gain	Yu	
Gamble	Da ber, Cho bia	
Garden, flower	Hor la (a lai)	
Garden, kitchen	Shua (a kuai)	
Gate	Mai (a sai)	
Gather	So	
Generation, a	(a) Dai	
Gentian	Pao dsa huor (a dor)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

• 192 Geomancer (see god man)	A ser ni	
Ghost	Gur (ader)	
Ginger	Go	
Girl	Nu la dser (ni)	
Give	Gu	
Go	Bai, Chur, Nger	
God (Christian)	Sa di	CLW
God (pagan)	Ser (ni) (a juee)	
Gold	Jieh	
Gong	Lao (a mi)	
Good	Hu	
Good (moral)	Chio	
Goods	Hor	CLW
Goose	O (a der)	
Goose, wild (' sky goose ')	Hai o (a der)	
Gorge	Go (a dsur)	
Government	Dso fu	CLW
Gradually	Lu su	
Grain (rice)	Ser	
Granary	Tsa fa	
Grand-daughter (and grandniece)	Nuer sua (ni)	
Grandfather, paternal	A lo (ni)	
Grandfather, maternal	A gu (ni)	
Grandmother, paternal	A lai (ni)	
Grandmother, maternal	A pao (ni)	
Grandson (and grandnephew)	Sua (ni)	
Grapes	Pu tao (a ao)	CLW
Grass	Chu	
Grave	Mo (a kao)	
Grave-picnic (up-to-graves)	Dso mu	
Green	Lur	
Green of leaves	Cher	
Grey	Hueh	CLW
Grind	Mao, Wai	
Grindstone	Mao dso (a lai)	
Grit (gravel)	Ao	
Grow	Guor dser (of crops)	
Guard	So	
Guess	Tsai	CLW
Guest	Ker (ni)	CLW

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192.

Guide	Dso	
Gun	Tsur (a ger)	
Gun powder	Huai yu	
Guts	Dso (a niu)	

H

Hail	Shueh kor dser	
Hair (animal)	Ma (a dso)	
Hair (of head)	Do ma (a dso)	
Half	(a) Bao	
Hand	So (a pu)	
Hang	Gua	C L W
Happy	Shi hua	C L W
Hard	Ngur	
Hare	Tao lao (a der)	
Hat	Shao mao (a do)	
Have, to	Dso	
Hawk	Di lu lu (a der)	
He	Bao	
Head	Do Ba	
Headman	Lao bai ni	
Heal	Yi	C L W
Hear	Chur do	
Heart	Shi (a ao)	
Heat, to	Dso	
Heaven	Hai tso	
Heavy	Dser	
Heel	Ur go dser dai (a lai)	
Help	Ba ma	C L W
Hemp	Ser dser	
Here	A da	
High	Ga	
Hill	Sur (a kuai)	
Him (accusative and ablative)	Bo mo	
Hire	Kao (of men, chier)	
His	Bo lao	
Hit	Der	
Hoe, a	Dsur (a sai)	
Hole	(a) wai	
Holiday (festival)	Guor jia	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

• 192 Hollow	Wor	
Home	(a) Hao	
Honey	Fer mi	
Hook	Gu lo (a lai)	
Hope	Shi wa	C L W
Horn	Ger (a dsa)	
Horse	Mer (a der)	
Host	Ker dso bao ni	
Hot	Ru nieh	
Hour	Dieh dsu	C L W
House	Hao (a fa)	
How	Ha lai ni	
How many	Ji shio	
Hungry	Ji ka	
Hundred	(a) Ber	
Hunt	Nier	
Hurry	Ji	
Husband	Bao (ni)	

I

I	Ngao	Cf. Cantonese
Ice	Biu	C L W ?
Idle	Shia	
If	Zer guor, Huer	C L W
Illness	Ber, nia do	
Impatient	Dsor ji	C L W
Important	Yao jiu	C L W
In	Ku, Hu, Mo	
Incense	Shio	
Indigo	La	
Infant	Tser wu la (ni)	
Influence	Ka du	C L W
Ink	Mo	C L W
Inn	Jieh (a ger)	
Insect	Dser (a der)	
Inside	Ker bao	
Inside (of clothes)	Ni dser	
Insipid	Bier	
Instead of	Chi	
Intercallary month	So wa	

192

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Interrogative particle	Ni mu	
Invite	Yao, Chier	
Iron	Tai	
Irrespective	Ver lueh. Ch. ' wu lun '	CLW
Item	(a) dser	
Ivory	Shio nger	

J

Jade	Yuee	CLW
Jetty	Ma to	CLW
Join	Nieh	
Joy	Ji, Shi hua	CLW
Joke	Sao	
Jug	Gu (a ao)	
Juice	Dsao	
Jump	Tiao	CLW
Just (preposition)	Hu, Mo	

K

Keep (animals)	So
Kill	Shia, Der shia
Kind (sort)	Lo yo
King	Wa (ni)
Kitchen	Dsao fa, Tser fa
Kite	Fo dso (a lai)
Knee	Kua dser dai (a lai)
Kneel	Gur
Knife	I da (a dser)
Know (savoir)	Zer do
Know (connaitre)	Zo do

L

Ladder	Lo ti (a ga)	CLW
Lair	Ker (a lai)	
Lake	Gao (a gao)	
Lame	Dseh go	
Lamp	Do (a dsa)	
Land	Ji ber	
Late	Mai, Pi	
Later	Bo ru	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Laugh	Sao	
Law	Fa ni	C L W
Lazy	La dor	
Lead, to	Dso	
Lead (noun)	Chieh	C L W
Leaf	Sai (a yao)	
Leak, to	Ur	
Lean upon	Kao	C L W
Learn	Ur	
Lease	Kao	C L W
Leather	Gu	
Leave behind	Nio	
Left (opp. of right)	Dser	
Leg	Go pu	
Lemon	Shia yueh (a ao)	C L W ?
Leopard	Ba (a der)	
Leper	Da fer ni	
Leprosy	Da fer	
Level	Ber	
Li, a	(a) Lai	
Lid	Po (a lai)	
Lie, to tell a	Ber do	
Life	Mier dser	C L W
Light	Nia	
Light (weight)	Tser	
Lightning	Ji gur la	
Like	Shuai	
Lime	Huai	
Link, a	Ko (a)	
Listen	Chier	
Little	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Live	Her	
Lizard (two kinds)	Bi hu, Di gu lai (a der)	
Load, a (beast	(a) Dso	
Load, a (man)	(a) Da	
Load, to	Dso	
Lock	Sor (a ger)	C L W
Locked up	Ler ku hu	
Locust	Sa la gai (a der)	
Long	Dso	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Loose	Su	
Loquat	Pi pa guor (a ao)	C L W
Lord	Dso (ni)	
Lose (money)	Tier	C L W
Lose	Tser, Su	
Lotus	Lai Hor (a dor)	
Love	Ai	C L W
Low	Bi	
Lower (not comparative)	Er	
Luck	Yueh Chi	C L W
Luggage	Shiu ni	C L W
Lunch	nieh do	
Lungs	Fai	

M

Mad	Ber	
Madman	Ber ver (ni)	
Magpie	Wu jua (a der)	
Maize	Lu gu (a do) (a grain, a ao)	
Malaria	Fer piao ver	
Male	Dser (ni)	
Man	Ni ger (ni)	
Manage	Ba	C L W
Manager	Lao bai (ni)	
Many	Ji	
Market	Dao dser, Gai ser (a lai)	
Marry (of a man)	Shi ser	
Marry (of a girl)	Tser gao, Der fer nuer	
Marsh	Shieh	
Mast	Po (a ga)	
Mat	Shier (a yao)	
Match, to	Pai	
Material	Tsai niu	C L W
Me (accusative and ablative)	Ngo mo	
Measure	O	
Meat	Ger (a tiao)	
Medicine	Yo	
Meet	Hueh	
Melon	Shi gua (a ao)	C L W
Melt	Hua	C L W

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

•192 Memory	Ji shu	
Mend	Shio	CLW
Merchant	So yi ni	
Merchants' Guild	Sa hueh	CLW
Middle	Wai shi mi	
Middleman (marriage)	Mai so ni	
Midnight	Ba yao	
Milk	Ba	
Mill	Da duai (a kao)	
Mine, a	Kai gu (a lai)	
Mine, my	Ngao lao	
Mirror	Ger (a mi)	
Mistake	Tsor	CLW
Mixed	Dsa	CLW
Modest	A bo ser	
Money	Chieh	CLW
Monkey	O shua (a der)	
Month	(a) Wa	
Month, First	Dser Wa	
Month, Second	Ser wa	
Month, Eleventh	Der wa	
Month, Twelfth	Ya wa	
Moon	Mi wa	
More	Yer fa	CLW
Morning	Chur ku, Do ba ni	
Mortgage	Ya	CLW
Moslem	Hu hui (ni)	
Mosquito	Mo dser (a der)	
Mosquito net	Tsua dsa	
Moth	Pu do wor (a der)	
Mother	Mao (ni)	
Mother-in-law (man speaking)	Yao mu	
Mother-in-law (woman speaking)	Dao so yao (ni)	
Mountain	Sur (a kuai)	
Mourning	Sho yi	
Mouth	Ju lai	
Move	Ba	CLW
Much	Yer fa	
Much less	Dser mo	
Mud	Lai	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Mulberry	Dser so (a ao)	
Mule	Lao dser (a der)	C L W
Mushroom	Ser (a dor)	
Music	Yu yao	C L W
Must	Bi, Gai, da	C L W

N

Nail	Jier (a ao)	
Naked	Tser di diu	
Name	Mier tser	C L W
Narrow	Dser	
Near	Jieh	
Neck	Bao dser ku lai	
Needle	Dser (a lai)	
Needlework	Dser hu	
Neigh (horse noise)	Mer mer	
Nephew	Jieh (ni)	
Nest	Dso ker (a lai)	
Net	Wa (a dso)	
Never	Wa chueh	C L W
New	Shi	
News	Shiu ver	C L W
New Year	Guor dser wa	
Next	Ru	
Nickel, a	Nier bi	C L W
Niece	Nuer jieh (ni)	
Night	Bai ger (a)	
Nine	Jiu	
Nineteen	Dser jiu	
Ninety	Jiu dser	
No	Biao	
No fear	Ger niu	
Noise	Mer	
None (not have)	Dso mu	
Noon	Nieh do	
North	Ber	
Nose	Bi gua	
Not	Bo, Mu	
Now	A gu, No ta	
Number	Su mu	C L W

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

O

192 Oar	Dsai (a ga)	
Obey	Ser, Suai	
Obtain	Der	
Occasion	(a) Jia	
Official, an	Gua (ni)	C L W
Often	Wa jia	
Oil	Yu	
Old (things)	Gur	
Old (men)	Gu	
Old man	Gu bao (ni)	
Old woman	Gu yao (ni)	
On	Lao	
One	Yi	
Onion	Tser (a dso)	
Onto	Do ba	
Open	Ker	
Opium	Ya pieh yeh. Chinese from English	
Or	Ni, huer	
Orange	Hua guor (a ao)	C L W
Orchid	Ai la (a dor)	
Original	Ber	
Orphan	Gua dser (ni)	
Other	Bier di	C L W
Ought	Yu da, Yu gai	C L W
Ounce	(a) Lo	
Our, ours	Nia lao	
Outside	Wa	
Outside (of clothes)	Mier dser	
Overcast	Mo	
Owe	Shio	
Ox	Ngur (a der)	

P

Pack	Dso	
Pain	Ser	
Paint	Chi	C L W
Palm (hand)	So ji shi	
Palm tree	Dser fer (a dso)	
Panther	Ba (a der)	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

192

Paper	Dser (a dso)	
Paper images (funeral)	Dser shia	
Parrot	Yiu ger (a der)	C L W
Part	Fer	
Partition, a (wall)	Ber bier	
Passive particle	Dsor	
Pass motions	Gai so	
Past tense particle	Lao, Hu	
Patch	Bu	C L W
Path	Tu (a dsur)	
Pawn, to	Da	
Pawnshop	Da pu (a ger)	
Pay	So	
Pea	Wai do (a ao)	
Peaceful	Piu A	C L W
Peach	Da (a ao)	
Peanuts	Lao di su (a ao)	
Pear	Shu ni (a ao)	
Peel, to	Bai	
People	Miu	
Pepper	Hu jiao	C L W
Perhaps	Ku pa	C L W
Persimmon	Ta dser ba (a ao)	
Perspire	Tser nga	
Pewter	Shi	C L W
Pheasant	Yer Gai (a der)	
Phoenix	Fo (a der)	
Pick, to	Dsai	
Pick up	Dser	
Pidgeon	Ji gu (a der)	
Pig	Dai (a der)	
Pigsty	Dai hao (a ger)	
Pillar	Dso (a gua)	
Pillow	Dser der (a lai)	
Pincers	Chieh dser (a ter)	C L W
Pine tree	Ber (a dso)	
Pint	(a) So	C L W
Pipe (tobacco)	Yeh guor (a bai)	
Pit	Ku (a lai)	
Pitiful	Mi mao tso	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

192

Pity	Lieh	CLW
Place	Ji fer (a kuai)	
Plain, a	Ber lao	
Plan	Fa dser (a lai)	CLW
Plank	Ber (a yao)	
Plant, to	Dsur	
Plant seeds	To dser	
Plate	Ba dser (a lai)	
Play	Wu cho	
Please	Chier	
Plough	Dso ji ji (a jia)	
Plough, to	Dso ji	
Plum	Ni dser (a ao)	
Plum (another kind)	Mai dser (a ao)	
Plural particles	Wa, Ya	
Pocket	Yi lu (a lai)	
Poison	Du yo	CLW
Pole	Da bi (a kao)	
Politeness	Lai	
Pompom (head-dress) (Brave flower)	Yu hor (a dor)	
Pomegranate	Sai miu (a ao)	
Pool	Jier (a lai)	
Poor	Chio	
Porter (chair)	Jio fer (ni)	
Porter (goods)	Da da (ni)	
Pot	Gu (a ao)	
Potatoes	Sai yo (a gua, a ao)	
Pottery	Gai ba	
Pour out	Chi	
Practise	Nieh shi	CLW
Present (time)	Ger	
Price	Ger	
Prickley pear	Shueh yu dsa (a ao)	
Prison	Jieh yu, Ba hao	
Private	Ser	
Probably	Da Kai	CLW
Propitiate	Jiu Shio	
Prosperous	Suai dsa, Suai Shuee	
Protect	Bao hu	CLW
Proud	Jiao ao	CLW

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Proverb	Su hua	CLW
Provoke	Zer	
Public	Gu	
Publish	Fa mi	CLW
Pull	Ji	
Punish	Shiu	
Pure	Chier	CLW
Pursue	Jieh	
Push	Ma	
Put	So, Lai	

Q

Quake (earthquake)	Ji yo	
Quarrel	Lo	
Quarry	Ai dser	CLW
Quench	Mier	
Question	Bier	
Quick	Nger Jiu	
Quietly	Mu cher mu chi	

R

Rain	Ver shi	
Rain, to	O ver shi	
Rainbow	Go der	
Rain cloak (grass)	Bi (a sai)	
Raspberry (wild)	Hua pao (a ao)	
Rat	Ser (a der)	
Ravine	Go (a dsur)	
Raw	Her	
Reach (arrive)	Pia	
Read	Sho	
Ready	Yu bi	CLW
Reap	Ya huor	
Really	Ser dsai	CLW
Rear, to (children)	So	
Reason, a	Yueh gu	CLW
Receipt	So tiao (a dso)	CLW
Receive	So	
Reckon	Shueh	
Red	Huor	

192 Recapture, retake	So da	
Recur	Fer	
Relatives	Chi jier	
Release	Dser	
Remember	Ji do	C L W
Rent	Dsu chieh	C L W
Repair	Shio	C L W
Rest, to	Shia	
Retire	Tuai	C L W
Revere	Jiu	
Rhododendron	Ma bi yi (a dor)	C L W
Rice (cooked)	Her ser	
Rice (dry)	Ha gu	
Rice (growing)	Guor	
Rice (reaped)	Ser	
Rice seed	Go dser	
Rice seedlings	Ga gur	
Rice (uncooked)	Mai	
Rice (wet)	Shueefer	
Ride	Gur	
Right (correct)	Chu	
Right (side)	Bi	
Ripe	Dser	
Ring, a	So gu (a dao)	
Rise up	Dso ku, Bai ku	
River	Gur (a dsur)	
Road	Tu (a dsur)	
Rob	Chia	C L W
Robe (Chinese)	Ma gua (a ko)	
Rock, to	Wer dso wer dser	
Roll	Ga	
Roof	Hao do ba	
Room	Ta wu (a ger)	
Root	Mi (a niu)	
Rope	So (a niu)	
Rose	Mai guei (a dor)	C L W
Rot, Rotten	La	C L W
Rough (not smooth)	Ber mu	
Round	Wai	
Rub	Bo	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

1920

Rudder	Dio	
Rule	Dso	
Rump	Ker ver	
Run	Pao	C L W
Rust	Shiu	C L W

S

Sack	Dao lu (a lai)	
Sacred	So	
Sad	Yu tso	
Saddle	A (a ker)	
Sail, a	Wor po (a lai)	
Salt	Bi	
Sand	Sao dser	
Sandal (straw)	Chu ger (a ji)	
Satisfied (food)	Bu	
Sausage	Ya tsa (a gua, a niu)	
Save	Ju	
Saw, a	Juee dser (a lai)	
Scar	Ba	
Scarecrow	Wu dsao (a der)	
Scent	Chu	
School	Shiao ta (a ger)	C L W
Scissors (a pair)	Chi da (a ber)	
Scratch	Gua	
Screw	Jueh	
Secretly	A lao	
Sedan chair	Ji (a ka)	
Seduce	La ni ger	
See	A do	
Seek	Yi	
Seize	Pu	
Self	Dso ji	C L W
Sell	Gur	
Send	Der fer	
Send off	So	
Series	(a) Ngo	
Settle	Sweh	
Seven	Chi	
Seventeen	Dser chi	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Seventy	Tser dser	
Sew	Dsai	
Shade	Bai yu	
Shallow	Chi	
Shame	A bo ser	
Shape	Shuai	
Sharp	Yi	
Shave	Jer	
Sheep	Yo (a der)	
Shell	Kao kao (a lai)	
Shellfish	Chiu (a ao)	
Shin	Go shiao gua (a gua)	
Ship	Yeh (a su)	
Shoe	Ngai (a ji)	
Shop	Jieh (a ger)	
Short	Tso	
Short (stature)	Bi	
Shoulder	Dao bao do (a lai)	
Shut	Ji	
Side, that	Bo bao	
Side, this	Lo bao	
Silk	Tso dser	CLW
Silkthread	Sai	
Silkworm	Dsa (a der)	
Silver	Ni	
Sin	Juee	
Sing	Tsa, Ji ker	
Sink	Lor	
Sister, elder	Ji (ni)	
Sister, younger	Nuer tai (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Elder Brother's W.)	Da sao (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Y. Brother's Wife)	Tai ver (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Wife's E. sister)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Wife's Y. sister)	Biao mai (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Husband's sister)	Gu ma (ni)	
Sit	Gur	
Six	Fer	
Sixteen	Dser fer	
Sixty	Fer dser	
Skill	Bo ser	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Skin	Bai	
Sky	Hai tso	
Slave girl	Ya to (ni)	C L W
Sleep	Wai dua, Tser a shuee	
Sleeve	Yi shi	
Slight	Sao vai	C L W
Slip	Jueh	
Slow	Kwa dier	
Smack	Der	
Small	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Smallpox	Ma dser	
Smoke	Yeh	
Snail	Bi shi dser (a der)	
Snake	Ker (a der)	
Snow	Shueh	
Soft	Per	
Soldier	Biu (ni)	C L W
Son	Dser (ni)	
Son-in-law	Nuer sao u	
Song	Gao (a gao)	
Sorcerer	Sai dser (ni)	
Sorrow	Ku	C L W
Soul	Ser (a ni)	
Sound	Mer	
Soup	Her	
Sour	Sua	C L W
South	La	
Sow, to	Jier	
Space	Tsa, Lao (a)	
Spark	Huai shier dser	
Speak	Shua do	
Special	Ter bier	C L W
Speech	Do	
Spend	Fai	C L W
Spider	Dao ser dao (a der)	
Spin (thread)	Der hur	
Spirit (ghost)	Gur (a der)	
Spoil	La	
Spoon	Tiao gur (a pi)	C L W
Spread	Pu	C L W

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192

Spring (season)	Tsur	
Square	Fa	
Squirrel	Di lao ser (a der)	
Stable	Mer fa (a ger)	
Stage (journey)	(a) Dsa	
Stammer	Gua dsai	
Stand	Dso ku	
Star	Shier (a ao)	
State (country)	Gwer	
Steal	Da	
Steps	Ger ti	
Stick on	Cha	
Still (preposition)	Dsai	
Still, yet	La, Ni	
Stink	Chu	
Stirrup	Do	
Stomach	Fer ao	
Stone	Tso kuai (a ger)	
Stone (dressed)	Tso ber (a yao)	
Stone mason	Tso jiu (ni)	
Stool	Ba do (a der)	
Stop	Jier. So so	
Story	Shao suer (a chua)	C L W
Straight	Miu	
Strange	Guai	C L W
Stream	Go Shuee (a ger)	
Street	(a) Gai	C L W
Strength	Li nia	
Stretch	Jier	
Strike	Der	
String of cash	(a) Shi	
Strong	Chia	C L W
Student	Shiao so (ni)	
Stumble	Do	
Stupid	Hu tu	C L W
Sudden	Hu za	C L W
Suck	Ji	
Suffer	So jueh	
Sugar	Sao da	
Sugar cane	Ga dser (a gua)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Suicide	Dser sa	C L W
Summer	Nieh	
Sun	Nieh pi	
Sun, to dry in	Hao	
Sunflower	Tsao ya dser (a biu)	
Supper	Bai	
Surface	(a) Mi	
Surname	Shier	
Surround	Wai	C L W
Swallow, to	Tuai	
Swallow, a	Gai yer dser (a der)	
Sweat	Nga	
Sweep	Shu	
Sweet	Gà mi	
Sweet potato	Hua tser (a lai)	
Swell	Tser	
Swim	Ya shuee	
Swordstick	Ma ba dao (a dser)	

T

Table	Dser dser (a dso)	
Tail	Mi du (a lai)	
Take	Lai	
Take away	Dser	
Take care	Sai shi	C L W
Tame	Suai Juee	
Tangerine	Ju dser (a ao)	C L W
Taro	Bi ter (a ao) (the plant, a dai)	
Taste	Dso	
Tax	Suai	C L W
Tea	Dsao	
Tear, to	Pai	
Tear down	Dsai hu	
Tears	Wai mi shi	
Tell	Shua	
Temperament	Shier lai	
Temple	Sai (a jer)	
Temporary	Do jier	
Ten	Dser	
Ten feet	(a) Dsa	C L W

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Ten thousand	(a) Ngur	
Tender	Niu	
Terrace	Tai dser (a lai)	CLW
Terrible	Niao bu der	CLW
Thank	Dor shier	CLW
That	Bo, Du	
That much	Biao ser	
That way	Bia lai	
Thatch	Ma	
Theirs	Ba lao	
Then	Hu	
There	Bo da	
Therefore	So yi	CLW
Thermometer	Ha tsu biao (a jia)	CLW
These	Lo dier	
They	Ba	
Thick	Gur	
Thief	Dser (a der)	
Thigh	Dao kuai	
Thin (men)	So	
Thin (things)	Bo	
Thing	Hu nger (a lai)	
Think	Shia, Mi	
Thirst	Ka	
Thirteen	Dser sa	
Thirty	Sa dser	
This	Lo	
Those	Ber dier	
Thousand	(a) Chi	
Thread	Hur (a niu)	
Three	Sa	
Throat	Gu dai ji	
Through	Tur	
Throw away	Niu	
Thrush	Hua mei (a der)	CLW
Thumb	Dao so dser do mo (a ta)	
Thunder	Hai mer	
Tibetan	Gu dsu (ni)	
Tie up	Ver ku	
Tiger	Lao do (a der)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

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Tile	Wer (a pi)	
Time	Gu fer. Dser Nger	C L W
To	Da	
To dav	Ger ni	
To morrow	Mer ni	
Tobacco	Yeh	
Together	Tu. A ru	
Tone	Yu	
Tongue	Dsai lai	
Too	Tai	C L W
Tooth	Dser ba (a lai)	
Towards	Pia	
Town	Dser (a dser)	
Trade	So yi	C L W
Transgress	Fa	C L W
Transplant seedlings	Fer ji	
Tree	(a) Dso	
Trousers (a pair)	Gua yo (a yo)	
True	Dser	
Truly	Ser dsai	C L W
Trust	Kao	C L W
Try	Ga ser	
Tub	Ba (a Bai)	
Turn	Jueh	
Twelve	Dser lai	
Twenty	Lai shi	
Twice	Go jia	
Two	Go	

U

Ugly	A bo chio, La a	
Umbrella	Sa (a ba)	C L W
Uncertain	Bu du	C L W
Uncle (paternal, elder)	Da di (ni)	
Uncle (paternal, younger)	A yeh (ni)	
Uncle (maternal)	A jiu (ni)	
Uncle (aunt's husband)	Gu dieh (ni)	
Underneath	Er bao	
Understand	Zer do	
Undress	Luai	

192 Unfortunate	Gao shi	
Universal	Pu tu	C L W
Unload	So	
Unlucky	Yueh chi hai	
Until	Pia	
Unto	Pia	
Up	Ku	
Upper floor	Lo (a ger)	C L W
Upwards	Dso	
Us	Nia mo	
Use	Zer	

V

Vaccinate	Dser niu do	
Valley	Go (a dsur)	
Vegetables	Her pa, Tso	
Vermicelli (mien)	Mieh	C L W
Very	Hur, Fai	
Village	Yu (a yu)	
Village levy	Dsua diu	
Virgin	Tu (ni)	
Voice	Cher chi	
Vomit	Tser	

W

Waist	Yi gua	
Wait	Do	
Wake	Shi shur	
Walk	Bai	
Wall	O pier (a pier)	
Wall, city	Dser O	
Walnut	Ao dao (a ao)	
Want	Niu	
Warm	Wai wo	
Warn	Jiu	
Wasp	Fer (a der)	
Wash	Sai	
Watch, a	Piao (a jia)	C L W
Watch, the	Der lao	
Water	Shuee	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

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Water, to	Wa shuee	
Water chestnuts	Ga gu (a ba) (a ao)	
Wave, a	Lu gua (a lai)	
Wax	La	
We	Nia	
Wealthy	Dso chieh	
Wear (on head)	Do	
Wear (clothes)	Yeh	
Weary	Sao ku	
Weasel	Ser lao (a der)	
Weather	Hai ji	
Weave	Dso	
Weed	Ku, Ma chu	
Week	(a) Shiu Chi	C L W
Weigh	Chueh	
Well, a	Jier (a ko)	
West	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Wet	Per	
What	Ha lai, Ha ya	
Wheat	Mo (a ao)	
Wheel	Luai dser (a bai)	C L W
When	Ha ta	
Where	A la	
Which	A la lai	
White	Ber	
Who	A la ni, Ha ni	
Why	Wei Ha lai	
Widow	Guer ver mao (ni)	
Widower	Guer lao ber (ni)	
Wife	Shi ver (ni)	
Wild	Yer	
Wild-cat	Yer A mi (a der)	
Wild-duck	Hua ya (a der)	
Wilderness	Shia ji	
Willing	Shi hua	C L W
Willow	So ur (a dso)	
Wind	Bi ser	
Window	Tsao hu (a du)	
Wine	Dser	
Wing	Yeh tser ker (a lai)	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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• 192 Winter	Der	
Wipe	Ma	CLW
With	Da, Ni	
Without	Ver	
Wolf	Tsai go (a der)	CLW
Womb	Bao	CLW
Woodcutter	Dso shi (ni)	
Wood, wooden	Ser ler (a yao)	
Work	Gu	CLW
World	Sai ger. Hai er	
Wound	Sa	
Wrap	Bao	CLW
Wrapping cloth	Bao fer (a lai)	CLW
Wrapper (for babies)	Guor bai	
Write	Wer	
Wrong	Tsor	

Y

Yawn	Chi hao	
Year	(a) Shua	
Year (of age)	Ni shua	
Yellow	Ngo	
Yes	Dsao	
Yesterday	Dser sai ni	
You (thou)	Lao	
You	La	
You (ablative, etc.)	Lo mo	
Young	Sai	
Your, yours	Lo lao	
Youth, a	Ni shua sai (ni)	
Yunnan	Yueh la	(from Chinese)

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
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APPENDIX II

M
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L
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Si
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The lists of words given below are from different Lo-lo or No-su peoples in Kweichow and Yunnan. As I did not take down these words myself, I am not sure about the value of all the consonants, vowels, and diphthongs used. However, for the purposes of comparative philology, the words will serve as well as most lists of words, as writers seldom explain the system of orthography they use in writing them.

The Weining and Chaotung No-su lists were sent me by Mr. Hicks. Weiningchow is in the north-west of Kweichow Province, and Chaotung is three or four days north of Weining, in the province of Yunnan.

The Li-su, La-ka, and Kang-i lists were sent me by Mr. Nicholls. These people, who belong to the No-su race, are to be found in Wutingchow, about five days north of Yunnanfu, and northward up to the Chinsha-chiang or River of Golden Sands, as the Yangtze River is called in that region.

The few Si-fan words were taken down by Mr. C. Baber at Tso-ta-ti, probably in Szechwan.

[TABLE

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
Lolo AE4
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

M
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L
192
Si
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English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
one	t'a	ki	ch'ī	t'a	ta	tu
two	ni	ni	ne	ne	ne	nu
three	sö	so	so	sa	sa	si
four	lli	bre	le	lle	lle	jro
five	ngu	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngei
six	ch'ö	ch'io	ch'o	ch'o	ch'u	ch'u
seven	shi	shī	she	she	she	shun
eight	hö	hö	hei	hei	he	jih
nine	chü	ku	ke	ku	ker	ngo
ten	ts'eo	ts'e	ts'e	tsei	ts'ai	ch'i ch'i
hundred	ho	ha	ho	bo	u	...
thousand	tu	tu	tu	sa	...	...
want / wish	lü	nge	le	nga	ngo	...
come	li	la	lao	lei	lei	...
go	leo	dev leo	ye	le	ye	...
make	tseo	tse	pei	pei	pei	...
see	ni	e	miao	na	ngo	...
word	hing	hi	ta pu	ta che	...	...
speak	nto hing	nde hi	...	che	nchī	...
hear	no	nya	ta no	ta no	...	...
laugh	rai	rī	ver	nguo ye	...	...
walk	seo	sï, ia	ye	ta le	ye	...
weep	nü	e	nger	ngu	...	...
strike	ntu	ntu	te	tu	...	...
fear	chieh	ni ia	chiu	chiu	chu	...
calico	mi mi	mu mu	me	p'o	p'u ho	...
black	na	nie	nei	na	na	...
white	t'u	t'u	p'iu	t u	t'u	...
red	neo	ne	ne	nei	nei	...
blue	iö	o	p'e	vu wu	pa pa ya	...
yellow	shö	shī	she	sho	sha sha-yang	...
hot	tso	ts'a	ts'o	ts'o	ts'u	...
cold	ch'ī	nyie	chei	chia ke	cha nke	...
high	ch'io mu	a mu	me	ch'a mu	...	...
low	ch'io nai	e mu	nge	ch'e ne	...	...
large	rö	a	ver	wo	...	...
small	mpa	i tsï	yere	neur	...	...
many	nu	na	miu	no	...	...
few	nö	nu	nga niu	ch'e ts'e	...	...
good	tsu	tsu	tse	to	tso	...
bad	ma tsu	ma tsu	te	he	...	...
heavy	li	a lu	le	le	...	...

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5
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L 192
Si 192

English.	Weining No-su.	Chao-tung No-su.	Li-su.	La-ka.	Kang-i.	Si-fan.
light	lo	le	la	la	...	...
no, not	ma	ma	ma	ma	...	...
eat	tsu	tsa	chong	tso	...	...
rice, cooked	chia	kue	tso	a me	...	...
drink	to	te	ta	ye ta	...	...
tea	chi tu	chī tu	lo ve	lo chie	...	...
water	i	rī	a chie	ye	...	...
whisky	nyi	nyī	chī pe	chī	...	...
fire	mi tie	to	to	mo to	...	...
horse	mu	mu	mu	mu	...	...
ox	nü	nü	ne	ne	...	...
buffalo	o nü	o nü	o ne	o ne	...	...
goat	ch'ī	ch'ie	a ch'ī	chī'ī	...	...
dog	ch'i	ch'ī	a nu	ch'e	...	...
pig	ba	bie	vare	va	...	...
fowl	a	ie	yere	ya	...	...
duck	pe	ö	a	e	...	...
egg	nto	o	fu	llo	...	...
flesh	fu	ha	ho	ho	...	...
house, home	hi	ie	a k'e	a ke	...	...
door	ko keo	nga k'e	a tu	a ko	...	...
head	ko	u	o te	o ka	...	...
ear	lo po	na pu	no pa	no pa	...	...
eye	na tu	nie tu	mare tu	na tu	...	...
hair	mi	mu	u tse	o ts'e	...	...
hand	la	lie	lai	la pa	...	...
foot	t'u ch'i	ta chī	ch'e	ch'e pa	...	...
tooth	djö	drī	seh	nie pu	...	...
heart	nei	nie	ne mo	ne mo	...	...
silver	t'u	t'u	piu	t'u	...	...
copper	...	dīī	che	che	...	...
iron	sie pie	hu	her	sie	...	...
salt	ts'u	ts'a	tso	tso	...	...
sun	nie dji	ni djī	a me ne	mu ch'e	...	...
moon	lo po	lo po	shiu pu	nao po	...	...
heaven	mü	mü	me ka	mu ka	...	...
earth	mi	nī	me nare	me ch'e	...	...
demon	ts'o pu	lie djie	nei	vare	...	...
hill	pie	pu	tare po	pare ta	...	...
tree	chie	chi	shi che	shi tse	...	...
rain	ho	ha	ho	ho	...	...

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

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/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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It will be observed that Min Chia is much richer than Chinese in prepositions, and that these words are invariably of the "Old Min Chia" type. In Min Chia indeed there are prepositions for all shades of meanings ; on, onto, up, upon; and back, behind, after ; are distinguished as in English, whereas Chinese uses one word for these ideas. On the other hand Min Chia appears to have lacked most of the abstract nouns, and even words for such a common and vital activity as farming, perhaps a proof that in the earliest times the Min Chia were not an agricultural people. The names of most of the domestic animals, except the pig, are also "Old Chinese" and this may suggest that the Min Chia at one time had no other livestock. 197

Grammatically there are also certain marked differences between Chinese and Min Chia. In Min Chia the adjective may precede or follow the noun, the choice depending on euphony, whereas in Chinese it always comes first. Thus a fat pig and a fat goose in Min Chia are respectively *go dai a der* and *O a der go* and no rule can be framed to cover this usage. The preposition follows the noun, as in Chinese, although this is not necessary to distinguish meaning as in Chinese, because the Min Chia prepositions are differentiated. (*Shan shang*—on the mountain, in Chinese, *Shang shan*, the upper mountain, or to go up the mountain). Unlike the Chinese, the Min Chia put the negative after the noun or verb. *Bai mu*—not going, *hu mu*—not good, whereas in Chinese the reverse would be the case. In Min Chia the pronouns are still declined, there being a nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative case, not found in any other nouns, and non-existent now in Chinese. The Min Chia, of course, even those with Chinese education, are unaware of this fact, since they have no knowledge of grammatical terms, but a study of the usage of the pronoun words makes it clear that declensions exist. 193 197

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193 197 Both languages use the device which has been called "numerical adjuncts" or "classifiers" unknown to European tongues, but familiar from the pidgin English expression "one piecee" preceding the noun. In Chinese the most part of the nouns use the classifier *i ke* which pidgin English has translated as "one piecee" but certain others exist also. In Min Chia the variety is extreme. More than sixty separate classifiers are in use (there may be many more) and of these only twelve are used for more than one or two nouns, and the greater number are only applied to a single noun. There are about six in which the application can be strictly covered by a rule, for example all animals have the classifier *a der* which follows the noun, not as in Chinese preceding it. *Mer a der* = a horse, *mer sa der* = three horses. *A ni*, the classifier for human beings is applied not only to the word for man, woman, etc, but also to nouns describing vocations, which is not the colloquial Chinese practice, e.g. *biu a ni* = a soldier. Two exceptions to this rule for animals and humans exist. Bandits are given the classifier *a der* thus ranking them with the animals and insects, and spirits and gods have the human *a ni* classifier. Malignant ghosts *ger* are on the other hand given *a der*, like animals, perhaps a distinction having the same origin as the *hun* and *po*, the spiritual and animal souls of men which the ancient Chinese distinguished.

563 That the Min Chia are therefore a distinct people is established, and as will be shown in subsequent chapters, their social and kinship systems show radical differences from the Chinese, while their religion retains many features unknown to China proper. Nor is there much evidence to connect them at all closely with the neighbouring non-Chinese peoples of Yunnan. The Na Khi or Mo So who border on the Min Chia to the north speak a very different language and their religion and social customs are equally distinct. All

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NOUNS

All nouns are preceded or followed by a classifier, of which there are more than fifty, but of which only twelve follow a general rule. With one exception the classifiers follow the noun, and also follow any numeral adjective qualifying the noun.

Examples : Mer, a horse, classifier, a der.

Mer der = a horse.
Mer a der = one horse.
Mer go der = two horses.

There are two forms of the plural.

(1) The limited plural "wa" used of a restricted number of things,
E.G. Your horses = Mer wa der lo lao.

(2) The indefinite plural Ya used of general categories.
E.G. Horses = Mer ya.

When ya is used the classifier is omitted.

There are no gender or case forms for nouns.

CLASSIFIERS

The following twelve classifiers obey a general rule.

( ) A, precedes noun, for all units of measurement, both time and space. E.G. A chuoe = an inch. A bai ger = a night.

(2) A ao, follows noun. For all fruits. A peach = Da a ao. There are a number of other nouns taking a ao.

(3) A der, follows noun, applies to all non-human living creatures and also ghosts and bandits. E.G. A cat = A Mi a der.

(4) A dor, follows noun. Applies to flowers. E.G. Mai guei a dor, a rose.

(5) A dsur, follows noun. Applies to great lengths, such as rivers, roads. E.G. Gur a dsur = a river.

(6) A ga and a gua, follow noun, apply to short lengths, sticks, etc. E.G. Po a ga = a mast. Wa a gua = a beam.

(7) A ger, follows noun. Applies to enclosed spaces, buildings, cupboards. Ta wu a ger = a room. Tsur a ger = a gun.

(8) A jia, follows noun, applies to instruments, machines, etc. Dso ji ji a jia = a plough. Dser a jia = a clock.

(9) A iai, follows noun, applies to miscellaneous objects.

(10) A Ni, follows noun, applies to human beings and gods, except thieves. So yi ni = a merchant. Nuer ni = a woman.

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193 (11) A niu, follows noun, applies to long flexible objects, ropes, etc. E.G. Dso a niu = gut. Tai so a niu = a chain.

(12) A pu, follows noun, for limbs of the body. Ser a pu = an arm. Go a pu = a leg.

(13) A dso, follows noun, applied to trees. In other cases is irregular.

The following classifiers follow no rule and are only found with the nouns mentioned with them below.

A ba — Jiao i = a chair. Sai = a fan. Sa = umbrella. Ga gu = water-chestnut. Dsa = bill. So so = funeral.

A bai — Chieh = coin. Gai = bowl. Yeh guor = pipe. Ba = tub. Luai dser = wheel.

A ber — Chi da = scissors.

A bi — Hor pao = fire cracker.

A biu — Tsao ya dser = sunflower.

A chua — Ser = book. Shao suer = story.

A dai — Ber tso = cabbage.

A dao — So gu = ring.

A di — Gua der = bone.

A do — Shao mao = hat. Lu gu = maize plant.

A dsa — Ger = horn. Do = lamp.

A dser — Dser = city. I da = knife. Ma ba dao = swordstick. Dso dser = branch.

A dso — Piao = banknote. Dso = bed. Gur = bow. Ber = card. Hor = flower. Do ma = hair. Dsai zo zur dser = Carpet. So tiao = receipt. Wa = net. Tser = onion. Dser = paper. Dser dser = table. So ur = willow.

A duai — Mo = dream.

A du — Tsao hu = window. Ver = cloud.

A gao — Gao = lake. Gao = song. Ver = cloud.

A fa — Hao = house.

A jer — Gu = drum. Sai = temple.

A ji — Ngai = shoe. Chu ger = straw sandal.

A jieh — Hai ji = field.

A juee — Wu = beard. Wei = Buddhist image. Ser = god.

A jueh — Bi = bank, edge.

A kao — Da bi = carrying pole. Mo = grave. Da duai = mill.

A ka — Jiu = sedan chair.

A ker — A = saddle.

A ko — Ma gua = robe. Jier = well.

A kuai — Dsa sai = cocoon. Sai = egg. Sur = hill, mountain. So guai dser = elbow. Ji fer = place. Shua = garden.

MIN CHIA GRAMMAR

A mi	Sua bai = abacus. Lao = gong. Ger = mirror. Jia shi hu = courtyard.
A mu	Ji = arrow.
A pi	Tiao gur = spoon. Wer = tile. Mo = wheatcake.
A ser	Dser = chopsticks.
A sai	Dsur = hoe. Bi = raincloak. Mai = gate, door.
A so	Gu = bridge.
A su	Yeh = ship, boat.
A ter	Chieh dser = pincers.
A tiao	Ger = meat.
A ta	Dao so dser do mo = thumb. So dser = finger.
A tieh	Ber = ancestral tablet.
A tso	Ju wai = face.
A yao	Mi bo = fence. Sai = leaf. Shier = mat. Tso ber = dressed stone. Ser ler = wood, a piece.
A yo	Ser ver = affair. Ber = disease. Gua yo = trousers.
A yu	Yu = village.
A wai	Der = cave.

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VERBS

General rule of word order is Subject-Verb-Object.

Tenses are indicated by the addition of suffixes or time adverbs.

Present tense. He goes = Bao bai

Past tense. He has gone = Bao bai hu lao

Other shades of past meaning are indicated by the use of adverbs such as do mo = formerly and 'i jiu' = already

He had gone = Bao i jiu bai hu lao

Future tense. He will go = Bao niu bai (niu = want, wish)

Conditional. Is indicated by prefixing the present or future tense structure by ' huer ' = if or ' ku pa ' = perhaps.

If he goes = huer bao bai

He would go = Ku pa bao bai

This can also mean ' perhaps he would go ' the sense being determined by context.

Passive. Is indicated by two particles, dsor and do which follow the subject and terminate the phrase respectively.

He was struck by a stone = Bao dsor tso kuai ger der do

' Do ' can be ommitted and lao substituted.

They were burnt to death = Ba dsor shu shia lao

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193 Negative. Is formed with the use of Biao = no. Bo and Mu = not and Dor = cannot.

It is not mine = Ngao lao *biao*
I do not know = Ngao zo *bo* do
(Here bo = not, is inserted between zo do = to know.)
I had not seen him before = Ngao do mo a do bao *mu*
(Mu always terminates the phrase.)
He cannot arrive = Bao pia dor
I cannot get up = Ngao bai ku dor
Can be said but not done = Shua chi der dser chi dor (Proverb)
Der = can, the positive antitheses of dor is used in the same way.
He can manage = Bao ba der

Interrogative. The ordinary form is ni mu.

Can you come ? = Lao bai dso ni mu ?
Have (you) any as big as this = Dso lo lai dao lao ni mu ?
Will (you) sell ? = Gur ni mu ?
Niu der ni niu dor ? Used in the same way as ni mu.
Have you leased a house ? = Lao kao hao niu der ni niu dor ?
Will this do ? = Lo lai niu der ni niu dor ?
Questions can be expressed by stating both alternatives with bo = not or ni = or in between.
Is it enough ? = Lu *bo* lu ?
Will you dye it red or black ? = Niu zai huor lao *ni* her lao ?
When interrogative adverbs and adjectives are employed no other form is used.
When did he come ? = Bao *ha ta* bai dso hu la ?
What are you doing ? = Lao dser *ha lai* ?
How many are there ? = Dso *ji* lai ?
Who is that ? = Du ni dso ha ni ?
How much money have you = Lao dso ji shio chien

Exceptions. To rain = O ver shi (O = to fall of rain, etc.) or Ver shi o.

The wind blows = Bi ser po
Yu, to come; only used in conjunction with prepositions.
To come back = Da yu
To come down = To yu
To come through = Tur yu
To come downstairs = Gai to lo yu

MIN CHIA GRAMMAR

ADJECTIVES

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This = Lo, these = lo dier

That = Ber, du, those = Ber dier, du dier

Rule. Follow noun but precede classifier.

This thing = Hu nger lo lai
That mountain = Sur du (ber) kuai
These horses are faster than those = Mer lo dier bi dudiernger jiu
Numerals precede classifier:
These two horses = Mer lo go der
(When a numeral is used the plural form ' dier ' is omitted.)
Adjectives either precede or follow noun and classifier ; the only rule is euphony.
These two fast horses = Mer *lo* go der *nger jiu*
A high mountain = Sur a kuai *ga* or *Ga* sur a kuai
A small matter = *Sai* ser ver a yo
A far off place = Ji fer kuai *duai*
A fat goose = O a der *go*
A fat pig = *Go* dai a der
A hungry dog = Kwa a der ji ka
To day it is cold = Ger ni hai ji *gur*

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are declined in four cases. No other pronouns or nouns have these modifications.

	Nominative and Accusative	*Genitive*	*Dative*	*Ablative*
I	= Ngao	Ngao lao	Ngo lao	Ngo mo
Thou	= Lao	Lo lao	Lo lao	Lo mo
He	= Bao	Bo lao	Bo lao	Bo mo
We	= Nia	Nia lao	Nia lao	Nia mo
You	= La	La lao	La lao	La mo
They	= Ba	Ba lao	Ba lao	Ba mo

EXAMPLES:

Nominative and Accusative. I am going to find him = *Ngao* bai yi *bao*

Genitive. Your money = La lao chieh.

Exception. Ngao mao = my mother. Relatives do not take the genitive case.

193 Dative. Yesterday I said to him = Ngao dser sai ni da *bo lao* shua
He cursed me = Bao ur *ngo lao*

Ablative. He wants money from me = Bao lai *ngo mo* chieh
Ru = to call takes the ablative
Call him (to come) = ru *bo mo* bai dso
Ablative is also used with Jier = to borrow
I borrowed money from you (thee) = Ngao jier lo mo chieh

Relative pronouns. Who = Ha ni, A la ni
Whose = Ha ni lao
What = Ha lai, ha ya
Which = A la lai

E.G. Who are you = Lao dso *ha ni* ?
Whose is this ? = Lo lai dso *ha ni* lao ?
What house is this = Lo lai dso *ha ya* (*ha lai*) hao
Which do you want ? = Lao niu *a la lai* ?

PREPOSITIONS

Back = Da (only used with verb to come ' yu ' to mean return)
Bai da yu = to come back

Behind = Ur dao bai
The sun is behind the mountain = Nieh pi dso sur *ur dao bai*
Behind the wall = O ur dao bai
They are coming behind = Ba ur dao bai bai dso

In front, before = Do Mo. After = Bo ru (used in time sense only.)
They are in front = Ba do mo bai
After the rain = Ver shi o *bo ru*
Some years later = Wa shua *bo ru*

Ru = next. Only used in time and age contexts
Next day = Ru ni
Next year = Ru shua
He is next (in age) = Bao dso ru

Ago = Do (' Up ' i.e. the stream of time)
Some years ago = Do wa shua
Last month = Do wa
The year before last = Do shua

Under = Er

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Underneath = Er bao Above (onto) = Do bao
Hsia Kuan = Er Guer Shang Kuan = Do Guer 193

Underneath the stone = Tso kuai er bao
Under the trees = Dso ya er bao
Under water (exception) = Shuee hu
The bird is flying over the house = Dso der ler hao *de bao*
The clouds are above the hill = Ver ya dso sur *do bao*
Climb onto a rock = Gai dso tso kuai do bao

Down = to Up = dso
Coming down the mountain = Sur lao *to* yu
Go down to Hsia Kuan = Bai *to* Er Guer
Down stream = Ger *to* (Lit : flow down)
Up stream = Ger *dso*
To climb up stairs = Gai *dso* lo ti

On = lao Off = to (Same as down.)
On the mountain = Sur lao
On the table = Dser dser lao

To, until, till = Pia From = Yo
He lived to be eighty = Bao her pia bia dser shua
Wait till I return = Do pia ngao bai da yu
It is thirty li to Hsia Kuan = Pia Er Guer dso sa dser lai
He comes from the lake = Bao yo gao bai dso

At = dso In = hu, ku With = da Out = wa
He is at Ta Li = Bao dso Dai Lai
He is at home = Bao dso hao der
In the water = Shuee hu
In the cupboard = Gur ger hu
In the town = Dser ku
In Yunnan = Yueh La ku
In the fields = Hai ya ku

Rule. Hu, is used for confined spaces and water;
Ku, is used for indefinite unenclosed spaces.
Out of town = Dser wa
Other provinces = Wa so
Inside and outside = Ker bao and wa bao
In the house = Hao ker bao
It is cold out = Wa bao gur
Put it inside = Lai ker bao

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a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the task of investigating each element of that system, both independently and correlatively.

In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendants, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements are based largely on "partial equations" and must thus be held in reserve until a basic framework has been set up. Nine roots, eight of which are applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete Tibeto-Burman series as culled from the foregoing review. These roots constitute the following systems

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Tibeto-Burman Terms

*p'i gM		*p'u gF	
*ma M		*p'a F	
*ni FBi		*k'u MB	
	*mum ySb		
	*ma Ch		
		*mak Sl	

The forms given above can be accepted with some confidence as fair approximations of the archaic Tibeto-Burmen roots. All except the affinal term *mak have vocalic finals, and it was on the basis of finals or "rhymes" (medial vowel + final consonant), especially of vocalic finals, that Shafer and the writer were able to work out the main features of Tibeto-Burmen phonology. Earlier writers had in general attacked the problem from the most difficult angle, that of initials and tones. Thus, no less a scholar than Laufer is responsible for the following absurd dictum:

> Prefixes as well as final consonants....are of minor importance in the comparative study of Indo-Chinese languages.... the staff of comparison remains the initial consonant and the tone conditioned by it. (TP 17, p. 115).

Prefixes have shown to be of basic importance, while both the initials and the tones have been so influenced by the prefixes that our analysis of them still lags far behind our analysis of the finals. In the above set of terms, however, the only problems <u>in re</u> initials concern the aspiration or lack of aspiration, voicing or unvoicing, of the stop initials of *p'i, *p'u, *p'a, and *k'u. Rukish has *pi gM and *pu gF,

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but initial aspiration is not well preserved in this group. Nikir has p'i gH, p'u gF, ku < *k'u HB, but po < *pa F. Meithei, which ordinarily preserves aspiration, has pu gF, pa F, and ku Fl (< HB). Kachin has ku HF (< HB) rather than the anticipated *k'u, and Burmese has (ata-)kui oB rather than *k'ui. Tibetan has p'yi gL, p'a F, and k'u FB (< HB), while both Tibetan and Kachin have p'u oB (< gF). It may be that one or more of these roots had a sonant rather than a surd initial. Initial g-, a rare element in our comparative material, is perhaps indicated for the HB root (*gu ~ *g'u), but at present nothing definite can be said on this point.

Only one of the above terms is uncertain as regards final, viz. *ni FSl. Classical Tibetan has ne rather than *ni, and Meithei has nem ~ ne rather than *ni, both of which point to an archaic form *noi rather than *ni. The weight of evidence, however, speaks in favor of the reconstruction *ni, from which *noi may have been developed as a doublet root; cf. Kukish *nam yOb, *mou "young, tender", which tend to be confused (vide pt. 15).

The basic gF terms *p'i and *p'u are found together in Burish, Nikir, Meithei, Mru, Kukish, and Durmish-Loloish (but p'e^3 ggF < *p'i in Burmese itself, which has a new term [p'ua^3] for gL). The root *p'i is further retained in its basic meaning in Tibetan, Manmri (perhaps Tibetan loan-word), Bahing, and Vayu, while Cheng has retained it in the meaning "gr". In northern TB groups the root *p'u has been applied

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to oB, viz. in Tibetan, Limbu, Newari (only in combination), Digaro, and Kachin. This semantic interchange also appears in Burmish-Loloish, viz. Moso p'u gF, bu oB, Nyi bu gF, pu oB. The interplay of surd and sonant initials in these Moso and Nyi forms indicates that doublets are involved. In Barish the root *p'i gM (in the form bi) has been applied to oSi, both in the Bodo-Dimasa and Garo divisions of this group, and also retained in its basic meaning. It is clear that these usages are connected with the especial position held by oSb, and that the gP terms function here simply as honorifics. Other TB roots, less widely distributed than the above, show the same type of semantic shift (vide infra). In societies with a patrilineal bias it is only natural that the role of oB should be of more significance than that of oSi, thus perhaps accounting for the relative stability of *p'i as compared with *p'u. It can hardly be without significance that in the single matrilineal group encountered (Barish) the term *p'i gM should have been applied to oSi, in contrast to all other TB groups.

Of the two basic P terms *p'a F and *pa M, the former is the most widely distributed and shows fewer variations. The following groups have this root (*p'a): Tibetan, Kanauri, Byangsi, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Miri, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish. This root commonly appears as a masculine affix, but no instance of a transference to "oB" has been uncovered. The

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root *ma M appears in Tibetan, Kanauri, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Barish, and Meithei. In Burmese itself it is retained only in the terms ma' Si and a-ma' "feminine suffix", and in the closely-related Maru only in the meaning "MSi". Yru has preserved this root only in the feminine suffix -ma. A transference to the meaning "oSi" is found in the contiguous North Assam groups Dafla and Aka. In Kachin and the extensive Kukish' group this root appears to have vanished without leaving a trace.

The two PSb terms *ni and *k'u are also unequally represented in Tibeto-Burman. The root *ni FSi is of almost universal occurrence. In its basic meaning it appears in Tibetan, Gyarung, Kanauri, Thebor, Vayu, Newari, Abor-Miri, Nung, Burmish-Loloish (but not in Burmese itself), Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, and Kukish. Kachin has retained it only in the affinal meaning "WM". Aka, if we can trust our inadequate sources, has applied this root to M, while Lambu has applied it to oSi. Replacement by the term for "oSi" is seen in Dafla, Sho, Changki (Ao), and probably Kadu, while Mongsen (Ao) shows replacement by the term for "oSb". The Dafla material indicates that this is an analytical development ("oSi of F"). Lepcha equates FSi with MSi in the term nyu ~ nyo, applied to female relatives in the uterine line. This unusual equation also appears in Bahing, which has mo-mo MSi,FSi (from mo < *ma M), and po-po FB (from po < *pa F), yet has ku-ku MB. Distinct terms have been

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developed in Kachin (mui), which preserves *mi as an affinal term (Wi), and in Burmese (mi³), but *mi is retained in the closely related Maru. The Dimasa term de-de FBi (be-de MB) is likewise distinct.

The much more restricted root *k'u MB is found in its primary meaning in Bahing, Vayu, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Digaro, Rung, Mikir, and Ao. Tibetan has k'u FB, but akud < *k'u Fl,Bl. Himalayish and Lepcha also have k'u FB, probably because of Tibetan influence. Kachin, Meithei, Ntenyi Rengma, and Anyo Rengma have retained the term in the affinal meaning "HF" (Meithei Fl), and Sema in the affinal meaning "FSiH". Chang (Konyak) has the form ko MB, which cannot with certainty be connected with this root. In the Burmish-Loloish group we can cite only Burmese kui "prefix used with names of persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (ate-kui eB), Akha a-kö B, Ahi kö-pa-li ySiH, and Moso a-gu Bl. The Moso usage is paralleled in the Barish group, where we find Bodo gu-mui, Garo gu-mo Bl. This root cannot be traced in the Naki languages proper, yet can be reconstructed for Kukish on the basis of the Naga terms (supra), and for Kukie in general on the basis of the Mikir and Meithei terms.

The root *nau ySb, occasionally applied either to yB or ySi alone, also to Ch, is well represented in Tibeto-Burman. It appears in the following groups: Tibetan (nu ~ no), Byangsi (yB), Limbu, Lepcha, Aka, Kachin, Konyak, Barish (ySi), Meithei, Mru (yB), and Kukish (ySb ~ Ch). The most conspicuous gaps are those in Abor-Miri-Dafla, Rung, and Burmish-Loloish.

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The eighth and last of the basic consanguineal terms is *ma Ch, which is found in Tsangla, Magari, Miju, Abu, Kachin, Moso, Mung (ma-ni D), Pyu, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Mukish (rarely used for ySb, as in Pearen and Ryew). Lepcha has a-so < *ma gsF, a-son gCh (with suffixed -n). This root is conspicuously absent in Tibetan and its dialects (but present in Tsangla, a Bodish language), Himalayish, and Kiranti, i.e. the northern or northwestern band of Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in the Abor-Miri-Dafla group.

The affinal term *mak Sl appears in Tibetan, Lepcha (< *smak), Dhimal (< *smak), Miri, Kachin (da-ma < *da-mak), Burmese (ma-mak), Meithei, Mru, and Mukish, with an additional uncertain occurrence in Byengai. In view of our generally inadequate data on affinal nomenclatures (e.g. we do not have the term for "Sl" in Mung, where we should expect to find this root), the widespread distribution of this root is of increased significance. It would appear that the root is lacking in Himalayish, Mikir, Konyak, and Barish.

The above set of basic terms is supplemented by a series of roots of restricted distribution. Some of these serve mainly as replacements for the basic roots, while others are functionally more independent. Since our set of basic terms is not complete, we must assume that some of these roots represent archaic Tibeto-Burman elements, but this point is best discussed after the various secondary roots have been analyzed.

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The gP roots *p'i gM and *p'u gF have no serious rivals in Tibeto-Burman. A curious link between Tibetan and Southern Naki is suggested by the following set of terms: Tib. po ~ spo gF (literary or dialectical), rmo gM (literary), and Sho a-pö ~ a-pök gF, Chinbon kh-mo gM, Yindu ka-mo gF. A possible root *ai is indicated by Balti as-si (= a-si) ggM, Nung a-si gM, Khami a-um-si gF, and Kadu a-si MSi (i-si "woman"), Yindu ka-si FSi, Sho a-si FSi, oSi (cf. the roots *ta and *tei, infra). In general, gP terms show more variation than do P terms; thus, Kachin has developed distinct terms for both gM (woi) and gF (ji), and note forms such as Byangsi ti-ti gF, Bahing and Vayu ki-ki gF.

The most conspicuous of the secondary P roots is *nu M, which appears in Kachin, Miju, Sak, Konyak, Nukish, and perhaps Mikir and Meithei (in combination). The root *pui "mother, female" is restricted to Mikir and Nukish. The Nukish feminine affix *la, used especially of young females, seems to have given rise to Mongsen-Changki (Ao) a-la M, Ntenyi Rengma a-la ggM, Anyo Rengma a-la gM, and cf. Byangsi la-la gM, Sunwari a-la Si. The same root (*la) appears in Kachin, Burmish-Loloish, and elsewhere as a masculine affix. The Tibeto-Burman root *wa "male" serves to explain both Bunan and Kachin wa, Kadu a-wa, Garo (dialects of A type) a-wa F (Moshang and Ramsang wa F probably through Kachin influence), Aka au < *a-wa F, Burmese wa-kri[3] "term of address to old man" (Arakanese dialect), and Lepcha a-vo < *wa, Meithei (ma-)wa, Nukish wa H; cf. also Digaro ma-wa "male",

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Bhimal -ma "masculine suffix", Bodo homa "male". Some of these forms, however, may have resulted from a phonetic development from *p's F (probably via *ba).

A root *mei or *me appears sporadically in Tibeto-Burman, sometimes with a dental suffix. This root is parallel to, but distinct from, TB *ma M. The following forms belong here: Tibetan -med "woman" (in bud-med < *bu-med, paralleling bu-mmi), Gyarung to-mi ~ to-me "woman", Kanauri -med (suffix in "D" and "Ml"), Chamba Lahuli me "bitch", Limbu met W, Lepcha a-mit "woman", Kuki a-me M, Mung a-me M (cf. Mung a-p'e F), Burmese a-mi^{3} ~ a-me M, and Garo me-cik "woman, wife". Note also the series formed by Burmese ma-mi^{3}, Aka ma-mi, Mung ma-mi D (from *ma Ch). Garo ga-me Bl, Mikir me MiH correspond phonetically but can scarcely be fitted in otherwise.

In addition to the above, there are traces of a set of roots *ya and *yu, both applied to female relatives. The former is better attested than the latter; cf. Himalayish (Manchati, Kanashi, Chamba Lahuli) ya M, Aher-Miri and Dafla ya < *ya gM (but in Pagri Miri used for "M" in address), Tshiong (Konyak group) ya M, Naga *ya M, also Kanauri yas, Rai (Kiranti) ma-ya, Burmese ma-ya^{3} W, Digaro mi-ya "woman", ka-mi-ya W. The root *yu is represented only by Kanauri yu-med, Khambu (Kiranti) yuh, Lepcha a-yu W, Lepcha tA-yu "woman", and perhaps Tibetan yu-mo "female of a stag".

Nothing has yet been said of oth terms, which show a wide variety of forms contrasting with the standard yab root (*yam

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Much of the material in this connection is of a scattered nature from which it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Thus, Byangsi bya, Bahing ya oB, Mathwi ya-ma oB, Chawte (Old Kuki) a-ya B, ai-ya oSl, and Khami ya-at ~ ya-i oB suggest an archaic root *ya oB, yet this same element appears in another setting (supra). Burmese ata-hui < *ik-hui sB, Mikir ik oB lack cognates elsewhere, as do Maru pai oSl, Chonbok pai oSl(ws), unless the latter pair be connected with Burmese a-pai "under" and perhaps Mikir pei ~ pe M. The characteristic Kukish root u oSb (Central, Northern, and Old Kuki groups only) does not appear elsewhere in this setting, yet appears to be identical to Sha ü M, Taungtha u W, Mru u M, and Burmese u^3 MB (prefixed to names of men considerably older than the speaker), perhaps also Tanghkhul a-ŭ gF,MB.

Three or four roots, however, stand out more prominently than the above lot and deserve especial consideration. Tibetan e'o oSl(ws) has been compared with Himalayish *c'o "female" as represented by Kanauri c'ots "female, woman", Kanashi c'ots W (with diminutive suffix -ts) and with the Byangsi-Chaudangsi term c'o xC, as well as with Johar a-co F. The above terms all point to a TB root *c'ol. A similar root, but apparently with unaspirated initial (*coi), is represented by Konyak joi ~ coi oSb ~ oB, Maithei co oSl, Tangkhul coi oSb, Western Kuki *coi oSb, Anyo Rongma a-co oSb. The Tibetan term appears to be etymologically connected with the word c'e-ba "great", from which the respectful term gcen-po oB has been developed.

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A root *na ɴ̊i appears in Mural, Vayu, Kachin, Andro, and Konyak, while the Aluora and Abor-Miri-Dafla groups have *na N, and Lakher has the vocative term i-na N. Tibetan nna D1 perhaps also belongs here, though it may be of periphrastic origin (< nna "oath").

The Tibeto-Burman root *ta (often in the form da) is consistently applied to relatives older than Ego, if one regards the Bahing-Vayu root *ta CR as of distinct origin. The following terms can be grouped with this root: Tibetan ʼa-ta F (dialectical), oB (Eastern Tibet), Tsangla a-ta oB, Gyarung a-ta-ta F, Johar a-ta oS1, Byangsi ta-ta oS1, Newari ta-ta oS1, Miri and Dafla a-to < *ta gF, Digaro ta gF, da oB, Burmese t'e^{3}-t'e^{3} F (dialectical), Akha a-ta F, Independent Lolo a-da F, Sho a-ta oB, Ghinhon (hm-)t'a oB, Ihota a-ta oSb, Changki (Ao) a-ta FS1,oS1, Naung Rungum a-da FoB. Doublet forms are found only in Digaro (ta gF, da oB). Unlike *p'u gF,oB this root has also been applied to F in some languages (Tibetan, Gyarung, Burmese, Akha). Dengodine describes the Tibetan term ʼa-ta as a "children's word" (vox puerorum), and in Independent Lolo a distinction is made between a-ta F (used by children) and a-bu ~ a-bo F (used by adults).

Kanauri te-te gF, a-te oB are clearly of a type paralleling that described above. The suggested TB root is *tei, with which can be grouped Byangsi te-te xC(as), Dafla tĕ-tĕ FyB,oB (in different sources), Kadu a-te oS1, Bangaru a-tai oB, Nikir te oS1(ws), Meithei i-tei-ma oS1l, and Mru a-tai BW.

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An objection might be raised to the above discussion on the ground that forms such as *na, *ta, and *tai (te) are of "nursery word" ty[illegible] and should not be regarded as representing actual TB roots. The writer himself originally ascribed to this general point of view, but the collection of material on which this study is based has led him to discard it. Thus, ta F appears both in the West Tibetan dialects (Balti, Purik) and in the nomad dialects of Eastern Tibet, as well as in the aberrant Gyarung language, whence we can safely infer a Bodish root *ta F. The term na oSi appears in five distinct languages representing two different foci (Murmi-Vayu and Kachin-Andro-Konyak), and na H in two isolated groups (Almora and Abor-Miri-Dafla). Distributions of this type are scattered, to be sure, yet not entirely random. The cluster of connotations (gP,P,oSb) around these roots is also not without significance.

The majority of the terms for Sb(ds) are of limited distribution. Tibetan sring-mo Si(ms), dialectically used for ySi, appears also in Himalayish (Si) and Byangsi (ySi), with an additional possible occurrence in Chimal-Toto (Si). Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), often used for ySi, is directly related to Kukish *dzar Si(ms), which in Western Kuki is used for ySi, and to Meithei i-cal ~ i-can ySi, Kadu san, Sengmai cal ySi. Kachin jung B(ws) has been compared with the Garo-Dimasa root *yung yB. The tendency to equate Sb(ds) with ySb is reflected in all three roots.

The roots *nau ySb and *za Ch are of almost universal occurrence and have no serious rivals. The former is

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conspicuously absent in Burmish-Loloish, which has a root *nyi (ní), comparable with Lepcha nyi-t'i gCh. A root *nga is suggested by Murmi and Gurung a-nga ySi, Miri ǎng-ǎ ySb, Dafla ang-a Ch, Naga *nga Ch. Isolated roots *a Ch and *ka Ch are represented by Digaro a, Abor-Miri o < a Ch, and Newari ka, Abor-Miri ko < *ka Ch, respectively.

It will be noted that the set of basic terms presented above lacks all collateral terms as well as a gCh term. Our data on collateral terms are incomplete for many groups, so that negative evidence here is of relatively little value, but it would seem that no root or roots for xC have been developed. The only root of any extension here is *ning, which appears in Kachin (xCe,ws), Chang (xC), Nikir BW(ws), and perhaps Garo (Sbl). The Nikir and Garo affinal meanings can be explained in terms of cross-cousin marriage.

Three or perhaps four TB roots show a tendency to equate N with gCh. Tibetan ts'a Ne (probably SiS,ms),gCh furnishes an example of this tendency. Bahing and Newari have this root (*ts'a) in the meaning "gS", but in the Kiranti languages in general it is used for "S" (see the discussion in pt. 4). Kanauri c'ad Sl (with suffixed -d) has been brought into comparison via SiS(ms), equated with Sl under cross-cousin marriage. Kachin ta'a MB,MBS(ws) can be explained only on the basis of a reciprocal development from SiS(ms). Nikir c-sa SiS(ms),Sl shows an ideal agreement on the semantic side, but the comparison is phonetically dubious. The root *ts'a appears to be lacking in other groups.

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The roots *su and *tu have distributions which are almost, if not quite, mutually exclusive. *Su gCh appears in Kachin, Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei, while *tu appears in Nung (N), Burmish-Loloish (xN), and Kukish (FSiCh,SiCh,ms,gCh). Anu, a Southern Kuki language, has su xC,ySi(ws),SiCh(ws),gCh, and a-su-lai SiCh(ms), covering much the same ground as Kukish *tu. The roots *su and *tu must be regarded as distinct on general phonetic grounds, and this view is strengthened by the evidence from Meithei, which has i-su gCh as well as (ma-)tu W (cf. the Kuki use of *tu in the meaning "SI", through cross-cousin marriage). The root *su is perhaps also represented in the Naga languages, in much the same setting as Anu su, viz. Angami cu ~ tsu FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS, Nzong Rengma a-cu-gü, Ntenyi Rengma a-zu-wa, Anyo Rengma a-zü FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh, but our knowledge of Naga phonology is not sufficiently advanced to establish this comparison.

A fourth root of the same general type is *ma-li, which is found in Nung (gCh), Burmish-Loloish (gCh), Pyu (gCh), Chang (xN), Garo (SiS,ms), Mikir (xN, probably BCh,ws), and has an additional cognate in Kachin (ma-li "young man"). This root is in general lacking in Kukish, but may be represented by Taungtha lwi Ne,Ni and Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws). It cannot be traced in Tibetan or any of the northern languages.

The affinal root corresponding to *mak Sl is perhaps *nam Dl, but the evidence for the latter root is not altogether satisfactory. Lepcha has nyom < *snam Dl paralleling nyok < *smak Sl, and s- prefixed forms are also represented by

SA Kanauri stem < *snem (probably for snăm) Dl, and Barish
601 *snam Dl (based on Dimasa ba-ham, Garo nam). Cf. also
193 Gyarung snom < *snam Sl, Burmese hnam < *snam ySl(ms)
197 (inferred from mong-hnam "H and W", where mong means "yB,wa"),
ST Lashi tu-nam Dl, nam-mo ySl(ms), Nyi nŏ-mo < *nam-mo ySl(ms),
601 and Lushei hnăm < *snăm "clan". The unprefixed form appears
193 in Byangsi nam-sia Dl, Kachin nam Dl,ySil, and Nung nam Sb,
197 while Lepcha has both nyom < *snam Dl and nom < *nam cSl.
Magari ar-năm "girl" also belongs in this series.

Of more restricted distribution are the roots *mou Dl, represented by Kukish mou (Lushei mo), Meithei i-mau, and perhaps Tibetan mo "woman", and *k'rwi Sl, represented by Kachin k'ri Sl,SiCh(ms), Burmese k'rwe^{3}-ma^{3} < *k'rwi^{3}-ma^{3}, Lisu c'i-ma Dl (with feminine suffix -ma), and perhaps Lepcha tă-gri "male". The original meanings of these roots may have been simply "female" and "male", respectively.

There remain for consideration a few poorly represented roots connected primarily with the PSb nomenclature. Nung a-tsim MSi is comparable with Tsangla a-zim, id., and Nung a-wang FB with Garo a-wang FyB, also Lashi wang-mo HF,FoSiH, Maru vung ~ vun HF,FSiH (but the Lashi and Maru terms suggest a meaning "MB" rather than "FB"). The *wang series is perhaps connected with Tibetan 'a-bang FSiH,MSiH (literary), Limbu (am-)pang-a "uncle", Vayu pong-pong < *pang-pang FB.

Tibetan sru MSi has been compared with Kanauri and Chamba Lahuli ru Fl, Pyu sru "relatives", and the reconstructed

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Lolo root *ru MB. If these terms actually constitute a true series, we must reconstruct a root *sru ~ *ru "mother's relatives" (neuter), whence Kanauri ru F1 < MB through cross-cousin marriage, paralleling Kanauri o'ad S1 < SiS(ms). The presence of this root in Pyu, at approximately the year A.D. 1000, lends some weight to this view.

The fourth Tibetan PSb term, viz. ʔs-ǰang MB, is found in this form in Thebor and Lepcha, where it must be regarded as a loan-word, but not elsewhere. This form can be derived from an original *srang and thus compared with Mru ta-rang FSiH,HF, Kukish ta-rang ~ ma-rang, id., and probably Lhota o-nrã, Chengki (Ao) (kõ-)hrem S1(ws). Burmese a-hrang < *srang (archaic spelling is a-hsyang) "lord, master" also perhaps belongs here rather than with sring-mo S1 (supra). The writer has long suspected that Tibetan initial ǰz- and ǰs- have in many instances been derived from zr- and sr-, respectively, partly because of the general instability of these clusters in Tibetan (cf. srab-srib ~ hrab-hrib ~ rab-rib "dim, obscure"), and partly on the basis of comparative material, viz. Tib. ǰsig "louse", Bunan ǰsrig, Lushei hrik < *srik; Tib. ǰzag "day (24 hours)", Burmese rak, id.; Tib. ǰsags "joke, jest" (in sense of "ridicule"), Bunan ǰsrag "shame", Burmese hrak < *srak "to be ashamed". The root *-rang (prefixed) must have had a generalized honorific force (still retained in Burmese), and thus was admirably suited as a periphrastic term either for MB or for FSiH,HF (= MB under cross-cousin marriage).

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Having completed our review of Tibeto-Burman kinship roots, we are now faced with the problem of fixing the basic pattern of nomenclature for this linguistic family. The terms designating relatives in the central line of descent naturally form the most stable segment of the nomenclature, while the collateral terms show an intermediate, and the affinal terms a maximum, amount of variation.

Within this stable core of nomenclature we are able to distinguish two primary gP terms (gM and gF), two primary P terms (M and F), a neuter yGb term, and a neuter Ch term. The two neuter terms are often employed in a masculine sense (yB and B), with sex affixes used in forming the corresponding feminine terms (yBi and D), e.g. Tibetan bu B, bu-mo D, Burmese ma^3 B, $ma-mi^3$ D. No neuter P terms have been uncovered, but Chang has a neuter gP term (a-yi < ap'i gM) used only in address, and a neuter gP term is also found in Bema (a-pu-ma), and in the Southern Naki languages Sho (a-pǒ) and Ayaing Khami (a-ma-mi). Three Southern Naki languages (Chinbok, Yindu, Amu) make a distinction between FM and MM, but have a single term for gF (Amu FM < M, MM < gM). Four gP terms appear only in rare instances, and are never all primary. Both Tibetan and Kanauri show traces of three or four gP terms, but Kanauri has probably borrowed one or more of its gP terms from Tibetan, and the Tibetan material itself can be interpreted in more than one way. Kachin seems to employ four gP terms, perhaps because of Shan influence, but has only two primary terms (ji gF and woi gM). Garo distinguishes

SA between "gF" (= FF) and "gM" (= FM), and "my gF" (= MF) and
601 "my gM" (= MM), if we can trust our sources for this language.
193 In view of the fact that the Garo are a matrilineal group,
197 this point is of some interest. Chang, which uses the neuter
ST term a-pi gP in address, employs four terms in reference, the
601 FF and FM terms being formed through affixed sex elements,
193 and the MF and MM terms through analysis. Finally, Laiyo,
197 which has an almost exclusively analytical nomenclature,
employs four analytical gP terms.

A number of different arrangements of Sb terms have been encountered. Age distinctions appear everywhere and are, in general, more prominent than sex distinctions. Despite this, however, it would appear that the basic pattern has two primary terms for oB and oSi, contrasting with the single neuter ySb term (*mau). As has been shown above, the widespread tendency to equate oB and oSi with terms for relatives of ascending generations has obscured the general picture here and has made analysis almost impossible. The simplest possible arrangement (oSb and ySb) has been found only in Khami (Ayaing and Aya) and Anyo Rongma. A single primary term for oSb appears also in Naki proper (u) and in Burmese (ate-), but Burmish-Loloish in general has two primary oSb terms. Mzong Rongma shows a complete reversal of the ordinary pattern, with terms for oSb, yB, and ySi. Tibetan, Lepcha, Daffla, Kachin, Abu, Liqu, Chang, Chinbon, Ao and probably other less accurately recorded languages have what appears to be the basic arrangement, viz. oB, oSi, and ySb (three primary

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terms). The Burish languages in general employ the root *nau yŠb in the meaning "yŠi" and have developed a new term for yB (perhaps connected with the Kachin term for B,ws), while Meithei reverses this process in employing *nau for "yB" and the Kukish root *dzar·Si(ms) for yŠi. Simple terms for either B or Si are almost entirely lacking in Tibeto-Burman. Abor-Miri has terms for B and Si based on a root *buir (cf. a-buir "friend"), while in Dafla the cognate form *bŏr is used as the root for yŠb, but note that Abor-Miri also possesses especial terms for oŠb and yŠb. Mikir kor Šb, like Abor-Miri buir, also has the more general meaning "friend".

Though the principle of age distinctions can be established as a basic feature of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, the status of sex-of-speaker distinctions is not so readily settled. We are handicapped here by the fact that most of our sources can not be depended upon in showing non-European distinctions of this type, and that negative evidence is therefore of little value. Distinct terms for Si(ms) and B(ws) are found in Tibetan, Kachin, Lushei and Lakher (and probably other Kuki languages), and Angami. Lushei and Lakher also have a distinct term (of periphrastic origin) for Si(ms). In Burmese and Nyi the distinction is applied only to yŠb, viz. Burmese yB(ms), yB(ws), yŠi(ws), yŠi(ms), Nyi yŠb(ms), yB(ws), yŠi(ms), and Maru, in the same linguistic group, has a distinct term for yB(ws). Mikir distinguishes between oŠi(ms) and oŠi(ws), and has a distinct term for B(ws). Chinbok and Yindu, in the Southern

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Naga group, have a full set of eight Nb terms, showing complete distinctions both for age and for sex-of-speaker. The Chinbok system can be reduced to five primary terms, viz. pai oSi(ws), pwe oS(ms), nau ySb(ss), be Si(ms), and beng B(ws), i.e. the Tibetan-Kachin arrangement. Sex of speaker appears not to be distinguished in Kanauri, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Barish, Meithei, and some other languages, but our sources, as mentioned above, are not of the most dependable sort. In view of the weight of evidence above, from such key languages as Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Mikir, and Lushei, the writer is inclined to regard the sex-of-speaker distinction as an archaic Tibeto-Burman feature.

Despite the fact that no single gCh root can with certainty be reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman, one can surely regard the presence of a primary gCh term as a basic feature for this linguistic family. Aside from the tendency to equate gCh with N or C (vide infra), it can be stated that most Tibeto-Burman languages have a distinct, usually primary, term for gCh, e.g. Kachin ǰu, Burmese mrə̰³, Byangsi k'we, Newari c'ay, Lepcha a-son, Chang ǰi, Garo and Mikir su, Meithei i-su. If a single gCh root must be predicated, TB *su must be regarded as the most likely selection. Equations of gCh other than with N are exceptional, but note Sema a-nu gCh = Ch(< TB *nau ySb).

The above discussion is resumed in the following diagram:

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Tibeto-Burman Basic Pattern

gM (*p'i)		gF (*p'u)
M (*ma)		F (*p'a)
oSi(ws)		oB(ms)
Si(ms)	yZb (*nzu)	B(ws)
	Ch (*za)	
	gCh	

It would be a rather hazardous undertaking to attempt any general explanation of the pattern outlined above in terms of sociological factors. A broad theory of this type must be based on a comprehensive comparative survey of Tibeto-Burman with a number of other groups, and as such lies outside the scope of the present study. Many of the variations from this pattern are undoubtedly significant, but they involve those elusive culture-linguistic intangibles which do not lend themselves to arm-chair analysis. It is only in the collateral and affinal nomenclatures that obvious cultural correlations are available, and it is these that the writer proposes to consider in some detail.

The distinction between cross (FSi and MB) and parallel (FB and MSi) FSb terms is almost universal in Tibeto-Burman. No instances of an equation of FB with MB have been encountered, but FSi and MSi are equated in Bahing, Lepcha, and Chinbon, if we can trust our sources. Note that Lepcha also equates xC with pC, and that cross-cousin marriage is forbidden in this tribe.

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The parallel FB and MSi terms are usually either equated with the F and M terms (as in Chang, Lushei, Angami, Sema) or are based on these terms, with the addition of elements meaning "big" and "little" or the like. In other words, age distinctions are made in the parallel PSb terms precisely as in the Sb terms, though with categorical rather than primary elements. By way of contrast, the cross PSb terms seldom show these age distinctions, but note Burmese u^{3}-ri^{3} HoB (cf. a-ri^{3} FSi), u^{3}-mang^{3} HyB, Chinbok pu-srŏ HoB (= gF), pu-ko HyB (these distinctions are typical of Southern Kuki in general). Some of the more characteristic examples of age distinctions in FB terms are listed below:

Language	FoB	FyB
Balti	a-ta ts'ar-ma	a-ta tsun-tso
Lepcha	a-bo-tim	a-bo-cum
Kachin	wa-di	wa-doi
Burmese	p'ă-kri^{3}	p'ă-t'we^{3}
Nyi	a-ba-gi̇	a-ba-ɣe
Haka	pa-u	pa-nau
Siyin	pa-lien	pa-no
Chinbon	pa k-dŏm	pa k-cui
Tangkhul	a-va k'ŭ-rŭr	a-va ka-tui
Lhota	o-po-ra-mo	o-po-ro

One occasionally encounters what seem to be primary terms for FB or MSi, but most of these can be explained on the basis of ellipsis, e.g. Haru t'ong HySi but nye-t'ang HySi,

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p'a-t'ang FyB in the closely related Lushi language; Bodo a-yong FoB and a-doi FyB, but ma-yong MoSi and ma-doi MySi; Mzong Rengma a-nyo FyB (nyo Ch), and perhaps Changki (Ao) a-za FyB < *za Ch. Kanauri has a curious diminutive formation, viz. a-mats MSi < a-ma, and a-pats FB < a-pa. Tibetan and Nung, however, appear to have four true PSb terms. The Nung terms a-tsim MSi and a-wang FB have been compared with Tsangla a-zim MSi and Garo a-wang FyB, respectively. The Tibetan term sru MSi seems to have been derived from a root with the generalized meaning "mother's relatives", or "member of mother's clan, first ascending generation". Tibetan k'u FB, it can now be stated, has been developed from the TB root *k'u MB, and the Himalayish and Lepcha employment of this term in its Tibetan setting must be credited to Tibetan influence, which is conspicuous in both of these areas. Tibetan skud < *k'u Fl,Bl is to be explained in terms of xC marriage and the equation of MB with WF, as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Tibetan 'a-ne FSi,MBW further fits into this picture. In Himalayish, Kanauri ru Fl < *sru MSb, and c'ad Sl < *ts'a SiS(ms) suggest a like reconstruction. We have some material on xC marriage in the Tibetan area, but the term skud itself is, for the writer, the most significant single piece of evidence. Those who minimize the value of linguistic "fossils" in general might well take note of this term.

The semantic shift FB < MB in the Tibetan term k'u still requires explanation. Elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman the term has

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been demoted to affinal rank or dropped altogether, but nowhere else has it been applied to FB. Now there is but one marital feature in which the Tibetan area (including the Kanauri group of Himalayish) significantly differs from the remaining Tibeto-Burman area, viz. polyandry. Fraternal polyandry of Tibetan type is practised by the Kanauri, almost certainly through Tibetan influence, since this custom is explicitly stated to be absent among the Almora peoples (Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Johar). Among the Lepcha polyandry is an abnormal trait and can unhesitatingly be assigned a Tibetan origin. Among other Tibeto-Burman group for which we have any record, polyandry either is said to be lacking or is simply not mentioned. Since Tibetan polyandry is of fraternal type, the importance of FB can readily be understood. It would seem that the MB term, which is unstable in most TB groups, was first replaced by the honorific term ʾa-ǰang and later applied to FB. The collective term skud-po F1,B1, having already been semantically specialized in an affinal sense, was naturally retained.

Primary cross PSb terms are basic TB features, and are represented by the roots *ni FS1 and *k'u MB. The first of these two terms, however, is much more stable than the second, and significantly so (if statistically treated). Thus, Tibetan has transferred the MB term to FB and used an honorific for MB; Burmish-Loloish has retained the MB term only as an honorific applied to oB (in Burmese) or as an affinal term

SA (Ahi, Moso) and has developed new terms for MB (Burmese u^{3},
601 Lolo ₑru); the Kuki languages proper have dropped the MB term
193 altogether and equated MB with gF; in the Naga group the MB
197 term has been preserved in its original setting only in Ao,
ST while in Rongma and Sema it has been retained only in the
601 affinal nomenclature. All of these groups, however, have the
193 root ₑni FSi in its original setting. Burmese (but not
197 Burmish-Loloish) has replaced both the FSi and MB terms and dropped the former altogether, while Kachin has retained both terms only in its affinal nomenclature. The relatively greater stability of the FSi term is also evident in the borrowings made by various TB groups (infra).

This "differential variability" in the FSi and MB terms must be viewed in connection with the affinal application of these terms and the whole problem of cross-cousin marriage. Under bilateral xC marriage MB becomes Fl, and FSi becomes Ml, and it is not unlikely that honorific terms should become associated with these socially "pivotal" relationships. The fact that the MB=Fl term is more susceptible to this process than is the FSi=Ml term merely reflects the general patrilineal bias of Tibeto-Burman societies. The equation of MB with gP, which plays so prominent a role in Kukish, represents one aspect of this whole development, but teknonymy may also be a factor here ("Fl" designated as "gF of my son"). Teknonymy is hardly typical of Tibeto-Burman yet does occasionally occur. Lepcha, for example, employs a-bo F for Fl

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 where the couple are childless, but t'i-kung gF after the birth of a child, and the descriptive term a-fyŭt Fl has been derived from an original *sput, which in turn represents a morphological development from the TB root *p'u gF. Vayu ca-k'i Fl appears to be a combination of co < *ca Ch and ki-ki gF. Lahu, in the Southern Lolo group, has a-p'u gF= Fl, a-p'i gM=Ml, and Ahi, in the Northern Lolo group, has zu-p'o WF, also "paternal ancestor". The Chang Sbl terms are of teknonymous origin, e.g. hau-ko Bl(ms)="his MB", but the Chang Pl terms are simply Fl=MB and Ml= FSi. Chinbon equates WF with gF, and WM with gM (rather than with MB and MBW, as in most Kuki languages), but retains the Kuki pattern in the HM and HF terms (HF= FSi, and especial term for HF), i.e. the teknonymous (or honorific) terms are employed only by the husband. The Mirish languages (Abor, Miri, Dafla) afford the best illustration of teknonymy. In Miri the terms a-bu and a-nŭ are used for F and M, respectively, but in the closely related Abor language these terms are applied to gF and gM, though ta-ta (Miri to-to gF) is retained as the vocative term for gF. In this instance the child has taken over his parents' terms ("reverse teknonymy") rather than the parent his childrens' terms. Abor also uses the vocative gF term (ta-ta) for Fl, while Miri equates Fl either with gF or with MB, and Ml either with gM or with FSi (the equations with MB and FSi are probably only descriptive, though this is not stated in our sources). Dafla equates Ml with gM, probably also Fl with gF.

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Under a system of bilateral xC marriage we should expect to find both WF and HF equated with MB, and both WM and HM equated with FSi. This condition is fulfilled in Byangsi and Abor-Miri, where this type of marriage is in vogue. The terminological equation also appears, however, in Mung, Chang, Sema, Nzong Rengma, and Lhota, for all of which preferential MBD marriage is indicated, and in Tangkhul and Angami, for which xC marriage cannot be established.

A system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD should lead to the equation of WF with MB, HM with FSi, and separate terms for HF and WM, as well as distinctions between FSiH and MB, MBW and FSi. Kachin fulfills all these conditions admirably, with unilateral xC marriage coupled with the terminological equations indicated above. The same can be said for the Kuki pattern, as illustrated in Lakher, Thado, Chawte, Tarau, as well as in Mru and Khami, viz. WF=MB, WM=MBW, HM=FSi, HF=FSiH. Unilateral MBD marriage is found among the Thado, Chiru, Anal, Aimol, Purum, and probably the Anal, Shu, and Khami. In Thado this nomenclature is employed only where MBD marriage has actually occurred, P terms being employed under other conditions.

Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma have an intermediate type, with M1=FSi but WF=MB and a distinct term for HF, but in both languages the MB term is sometimes applied to HF as well as to WF. The closely related Nzong Rengma has a single term for F1 (WF,HF=MB), but retains a distinct term for FSiH. Sema has the same scheme as Nzong Rengma. The Sema term for FSiH,

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furthermore, is cognate with the Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma term for HF, and in Ao the same term appears in its original setting (MB). This Naga material thus shows various stages of the transformation of the affinal terminology through the development of unilateral xC marriage. The discrepancies found in Nung, Chang, and Lhota are perhaps more apparent than real, and in the case of Nung and Lhota, at any rate, our sources may be faulty. Even in these affinal features, however, we must expect to find a certain amount of disassociation, for we must allow for linguistic "lag", i.e. the simple scheme of equating F1 with MB and M1 with FSi tends to be perpetuated even where the development of a unilateral "skew" has rendered it theoretically illogical. This general point has been raised many times before, but will bear repetition in view of the fact that a number of modern theoreticians seem to object to this sort of reasoning.

It is fairly evident that the abandonment of xC marriage as an instutionalized norm has in several different groups resulted in the disappearance of categorical equations. In Tibetan and Kanauri we have only the "fossilized" terms skud-po and ru, respectively, which require comparative studies for a full appraisal of their significance. In Lahul, however, where we have a hint of xC marriage, the equations F1= MB and M1= FSi are in evidence. In Burmese itself categorical equations are lacking, and here also we have no evidence of xC marriage, but the situation is reversed in Arakanese (Chaungtha).

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Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, equate M1 with FSi, WF with MB, and have a distinct term for FSiH,HF (as in Maeng and Anyo Rengma). Kachin influence perhaps plays a role here, yet the Kachin distinguish between WM and HM, as is consistent with their unilateral xC marriage practice. Nyi, in the Northern Lolo group, has derived its terms for WF and WM from the terms for MB and FSi, respectively, plus the element mo "old", acting here as an honorific, while the Burmish-Loloish affinal root *yok is employed in the terms for HM and HF. Ahi seems to reverse this scheme, to judge from our faulty data on this language. For Lisu we have only what appear to be the vocative terms for F1 and M1 (ma-ma < a-ma M, ba-ba < a-ba F), and hence are not in a position to interpret this Lolo material. The use of respectful designations may be a complicating factor here; cf. Lushei pu-zon WF, pi-zon WM, conforming to the Kuki pattern (from pu MB and pi MBW plus an added element -zon), but pa HF (= F) and nu HM (= M), i.e. a woman equates her husband's relatives with her own blood kin.

Categorical equations in the P1 terms are present elsewhere, but our sources are often incomplete. Garo equates M1 with FSi,MBW, but has a distinct term for F1 (a-bu-di, perhaps "little gF"). Mikir equates WF with MB, WM with FSi (with or without the addition of an honorific suffix), and has a distinct term for HF. If we assume that HM (not given in our sources) is also equated with FSi, this system can be compared with that found in Rengma and Maru. Both Garo and Mikir have

SA 601 193 197 preferential MBD marriage. Meithei equates M1 with FSi, and has i-ku F1 < TB *k'u MB (the MB term is not known for sure, but may be the Indic loan-word māmā); the Meithei are not known to practice xC marriage.

ST 601 193 197 The rest of the collateral terminology (C and N terms) is even more poorly known than the PSb terminology, and presents even more serious problems. In view of the presence of basic TB roots for MB (*k'u) and FSi (*ni) one might expect to find one or more roots for xC, but such is hardly the case. The extension of Sb terms to include pC is practically universal and need not be examined in detail. The lack of especial xC terms is probably associated with the lack of xC marriage, but there are too many lacunae in our data to permit of any final judgment here. Tibetan apparently fails to distinguish between pC and xC, but Burmese perhaps has a distinct xC term (sa-mi^3-mrok-sa^3, lit. "D's spouse"!). By way of contrast, Chaungtha, one of the Arakanese dialects, has yauk-pa B1,xC corresponding to Burmese yok-p'a' B1(ms), in conformity with its equation of F1 with MB and M1 with FSi, i.e. an affinal term has "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature.

Terms for xCe and xCi in conjunction with xC marriage are found in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, Lisu, and Chang, while Dafla has this terminological pattern but without data on xC marriage. Chang appears to have preferential MBD marriage, but the bilateral type is found among the others.

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Byangsi-Chaudangsi makes a sex-of-speaker distinction, viz. xCi(ms), xCe(ws), xC(ss), and Abor-Miri makes an age distinction. None of the terms involved is associated with a PSb term or a N term. The Abor-Miri terms show "invasion" from the affinal terminology, as in Chaungtha, e.g. mag-bo xCe(os) = oBl,Sl, from TB *mak Sl. Note that in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, and Chang this xC pattern is associated with the simple Pl = PSb categorical equations (for Lisu we lack full information on the Pl terms).

Cross-cousin terminologies of Omaha type are found in two primary foci, viz. Kachin and Kukish. The correlation between the Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal descent, one of the few widely accepted anthropological generalizations, obtains both among the Kachin and the various Kuki and Naga tribes. Of the Tibeto-Burman peoples only the Garo and Kabha, in the Barish group, are known to have matrilineal descent, and unfortunately we know nothing of the cousin terminology in use among these tribes. There is a hint of the Crow type of terminology in Bodo, also in the Barish group, but we cannot be sure that the Bodo reckon descent in the matrilineal line. Bodo (nang-)a-doi "(thy) oBCh", (a-)doi FyB show reciprocity, as has already been pointed out, but Bodo nam-ba-noi "(thy) SiS", (nang-)a-noi "(thy) SiD", and a-noi FSi cannot be explained on this basis and suggest rather the Crow pattern. It is greatly to be regretted that our Garo sources fail us at this critical point.

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The Kachin system, which is quite distinct from that found in Kukish, merits especial examination. The key terms are as follows:

Kachin Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

moi	FSi	ts'a	MB,MBS(ws)
ning	xCi(ws)	k'au	xCe(ms)
k'ri	FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms)		
rut	MBD(oms)		
nam	MBD(yms),BCh(ws)		

(Affinal)

ni	WM,MBW,WBW	ku	HF,FSiH,HoB,oSiH(ws)
moi	HM	ts'a	WF,BWB(ws)
ning	HSi,BW(ws)	k'au	WB,SiH(ms)
nam	Dl,WySi,yBW(ms),WBCh	k'ri	Sl,HSiCh,FSiHSi
rut	WoSi,ySiH(ws),oBW(ms),HyB		

The main features of this system have already been discussed in pt. 7. It will be observed that the lineal equations characteristic of the Omaha pattern appear only in the terms for non-marriageable cross-cousins under the Kachin unilateral xC marriage arrangement, i.e. a man equates his (non-marriageable) FSiD with his SiCh, while a woman equates her (non-marriageable) MBS with her MB. The terms applied by a woman to her (marriageable) FSiS are not known, but a man equates his (marriageable) MBD with his WSi. Distinct terms are used by speakers of each sex for xC(ss).

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On the basis of comparative material, the terms nam and k'ri must be regarded as originally affinal (D1 and S1, respectively). Both terms have "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature via the categorical equations D1=BD(ws) and S1=S1S(ms), as are consistent with the practice of MBD marriage. Note that both terms have become neuter in the course of this transformation. We must next enquire of the fate of the original xN terms thus displaced. The terms moi FS1 and ts'a MB can be called upon at this point. We lack comparative material on moi, but Tibetan has ts'a S1S(ms) corresponding to the Kachin term, and we can therefore interpret Kachin ts'a MB as a product of reciprocal usage. We have conclusive support for this view in the term k'ri HS1Ch,FS1HS1, which at first puzzled the writer. Under the Kachin tripartite organization, as described by Gilhodes, FS1HS1 becomes MBW, and MBW ~ HS1Ch are reciprocal terms. Since moi FS1 closely parallels ts'a MB, we are justified in interpreting this term analogically as a reciprocal development from BD(ws).

To continue our analysis, moi and ts'a have displaced the original cross FSb terms ni and ku, which are retained in the affinal nomenclature. An original system of bilateral xC marriage must be postulated to account for ni WM,MBW < FS1, and ku BF,FS1H < MB. The categorical equations shown by ning xC1(ws)= S11(ws) and k'au xCe(ms)=B1(ms) also call for this type of marriage.

To complete our reconstruction, the terms ning, k'au, and rat must be regarded as originally consanguineal rather

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than affinal. We have comparative material only for ning, which is represented by Chang (Konyak) nyăng < *ning xC, Nikir nang < *ning BW(ws). We must further reconstruct rat as the term for xC(ds), i.e. the marriageable xC under the original bilateral xC marriage arrangement. This yields the theoretical categorical equations xCl(ms)=Sil(ms) and xCe(ws)=Bl(ws). Under the conventional type of levirate, which is found among the Kachin, a distinction must be made between the (marriageable) oBW and the (non-marriageable) yBW. In Kachin this distinction is made, in the case of a man, by equating yBW with Dl (nam) and in retaining the term rat for oBW, and, in the case of a woman, by equating HoB with HF (ku) and in retaining the term rat for HyB. Since a man marries his MBD, the distinction between rat MBD(oms) and nam MBD(yms) is the natural result of that described above. It is a fair inference that the missing terms for FSiS(ws) are ku FSiS(ows) and rat FSiS(yws). Note that the equation of MBD(yms) with BCh(ws) is a by-product, so to speak, and is not to be taken as a 'Crow' feature.

We are now in a position to evaluate the Omaha features of the Kachin system. It has been demonstrated that the Kachin have developed a unilateral xC marriage system from an original bilateral arrangement, and that this shift has produced a profound transformation in the kinship terminology. The equating of MBS(ws) with MB, and of FSiD(ms) with SiCh(ms) serves to distinguish the non-marriageable from the marriageable

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cross-cousins. These equations closely parallel those already noted in the Sbl terminology, and appear to form part of the same pattern. If this inference be correct, we must regard the institution of the levirate as a contributing factor here.

The Kachin terminology under the original bilateral xC marriage system can be reconstructed as follows:

Reconstructed Kachin System

(Consanguineal)

ni FSi	ka MB
ning xCi(ws)	k'au xCo(ms)
ret xC(ds)	
noi BD(ws)	ts'a SiS(ms)

(Affinal)

ni MBW,Ml	ka FSiH,Fl
ning Sil(ss)	k'au Bl(ss)
ret Sbl(ds)	
nam Dl	k'ri Sl

Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, show Omaha features of Kachin type, e.g. Lashi so-ok FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms) and zo-auk Sl (a variant of so-ok), directly comparable with the Kachin term k'ri. Our material here is too uncertain to justify any further investigation of this point, and we have no data on the Maru and Lashi marriage practices. Both tribes are closely identified with the Kachin, and have even incorporated Kachin loan-words into their kinship nomenclatures, so that direct Kachin influence must be reckoned with in this

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matter. To judge from what little we know of the collateral terms of other Burmish-Loloish languages, Omaha features are not present. There is some evidence suggesting that the root *tu is applied both to N and C in Lisu and in Ulu (Northern Lolo), but the Lisu material is inconsistent and the Ulu material is not precise

The Omaha nomenclatures found among the Kukish tribes are quite distinct in type from the Kachin nomenclature. The Kuki tribes proper, including Southern Kuki and Tangkhul, employ the following basic scheme (in many varieties):

<u>Kuki Omaha Pattern</u>

(Consanguineal)

pi gM,MBD pu gF,MB,MBS

ni FSi

tu FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh

(Affinal)

pi MBW,WM,WSi pu WF,WB

ni HM -rang FSiM,HF

mou DI,BW(ws) mak SI,SiH(ws)

Lushei has an especial term for BCh(ws), viz. va' (apparently connected with the root *wa-M), and Yindu has an especial term for BD(ws), viz. (ka-)li, which has been compared with the root *ma-li gCh (Burmese, Mung), xM (Akir). In Siyin and Charto, however, BCh(ws) is equated with Ch. The analyzing development in Laiyo has entirely obliterated all traces of the Omaha system, yet the term tu FSiCh is

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retained. Haka has both (k-)tu FSiCh and the analytical term (k-)ni fa as an alternative. Lakher applies Sb terms (in address) to FSiCh and occasionally to MBCh, and both Thado and Aimol sometimes apply the oSb term to FSiCh(os). Chinbok employs an analytical term for WBS, but equates MBD with MySi. Thado resembles Chinbok in equating MBD with MSi, but elsewhere the regular equation is with MBW = gM. Chinbok is further aberrant in equating FSiS with SiS(ms) but having a distinct term for gS. Yindu equates DS with SiS, FSiS, but employs an analytical term for SS. Yindu has distinct terms for MBCh, and Kyaw has distinct terms both for MBCh and FSiCh(i.e. Omaha features are lacking). Aimol, if we can trust our sources, has reversed the Kuki pattern, with (ka-)pu FSiS and (ka-)tu-pa MBS. Chinbon has MoBS = MyB, MyBS = WB, reflecting the stress placed on age distinctions in Southern Kuki. Our Chawte material, which is not reliable, indicates a distinction between FSiS(ws) and FSiD(ms), and the equation of SiCh(mws) with gCh. The affinal term mak Sl is commonly replaced by the consanguineal term tu SiS(ms), as in Haka, Chawte, and Sho, and the reverse process whereby an affinal term "invades" the consanguineal nomenclature (as in Kachin) is illustrated by Kyaw sa-mǎk SiCh(ms) = Sl, and Ayaing Khami mok-sa FSiCh, SiCh(ms) = Sl, both from the root *mak Sl. The latter language has retained the root *tu, however, in the term (ka-)tu FSiCh(ws), gS.

It is evident from the above citations that this Omaha pattern is extremely susceptible to variation at all points.

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Nothing approaching the specific Kachin variety has been encountered, however, and the two systems seem to have little in common. In the Kuki system the equations FSiCh=SiCh(ms) and MBS=MB obtain regardless of the sex or speaker, there are additional equations of MB with gF and SiCh(ms) with gCh, and ni FSi is retained as a consanguineal term. In addition, distinct terms for xC(ss) and Sbl are lacking. The historical developments of the two systems have been quite different, if we are permitted to draw inferences from comparative data. The terms pi and pu are the original gP terms (TB *p'i gM, *p'u gF), and the term -rang (prefixed) can be regarded as the original term for MB, cognate with Tibetan ʾa-žang < *zrang MB (cf. Kachin ku HF, FSiH=MB). The term tu occasions some difficulty, since we have only the Burmish-Loloish root *tu and the Nung term pa-du, both applied to N (xM in Burmese) for comparison. In view of the parallelism in the equations MB=gF and xM=gCh, however, we must fix the original meaning of tu as "gCh" rather than "xM". The clue to those equations seems to be teknonymy in conjunction with xC marriage, i.e. we must suppose that a man applied the teknonymous terms pu gF and pi gM to his wife's parents, whereas a woman applied the consanguineal terms ni FSi and -rang MB. With the development of unilateral marriage with MBD, a feature found in the Kuki area as well as in Kachin, the two sets of Fl terms were fully differentiated in function, and the term pu Fl=gF replaced the consanguineal term -rang MB, with pi coming into

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use for MBW. The equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh was the natural result of the above development. Since the term ni FSi was retained in its original setting, no comparable term was developed for the reciprocal relationship BCh(ws). The evidence for the use of teknonymous terms in Tibeto-Burman in general has been resumed above and need not be discussed at this point. Within the Kuki group, note Chinbon (ka-)mo-pauk WH=gF and (ka-)mu-bok MoB (probably a variant of the foregoing), (ka-)mo WM=gM and (ka-)mok MoBW (probably a variant of the foregoing), but (ka-)ze HF (analysis uncertain), (ka-)zi HM=FSi. Chinbon thus makes use of teknonymous terms precisely as suggested above for the Kuki group in general.

We are still faced with the problem of explaining the equations MBS=MB, MBD=MBW (or MSi), and FSiCh=SiCh(ms). Here again we must take into account the affinal setting of these terms under a system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD. The funlamental equation seems to have been that between WF and WB (pu) rather than between MB and MBS, i.e. these kin were identified because of the similarity of their roles as wife's father and brother rather than as mother's brother and mother's brother's son. In other terms, the especial position of MB and MBS among the Kuki groups seems in large measure to have arisen through xC marriage. The equation of FSiCh with SiCh(ms) reflects the equation of MBS with MB, just as the equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh reflects the equation of MB with gF.

It is possible to conceive of the Kuki development without recourse to teknonymy simply by assuming that pu gF was

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applied to MB and MBS in an honorific sense, with tu gCh SiCh(ms)=FSiCh as a complementary equation. In any event, the equation in the MB line must be regarded as the primary one, and the equation in the FSi line as complementary. The same situation was found to obtain among the Kachin (supra).

The Naga languages, which make up the northern division of the Kukish group, also reveal Omaha features, which are of Kuki rather than Kachin type. MBD is equated with MSi or MySi rather than with gN=MBW. In Ao (all three dialects) the terms for gF (o-pu) and gCh (sam-cir) are distinct, i.e. there is no teknonymy, the TB root *k'u is retained in the consanguineal nomenclature (o-k'u MB,MBS) while MBD is equated with MySi, and the affinal terms for Sl (a-nok) and Dl (a-mu) are applied to FSiS,SiS(ms) and FSiD,SiD(ms), respectively, precisely as in Ayaing Khami. Sema has a distinct term for gF (neuter) and equates gCh with Ch, but has developed a new root for MB,MBS (a-ngu) and has retained the root *k'u only in the affinal meaning "FSiH" (a-ci). Thus both Ao and Sema show full Omaha features without distinction of sex of speaker (as in Kuki) but also without teknonymy (as in Kachin). The Angami, Rengma, and Lhota systems, however, all show teknonymous features. Rengma (all three dialects) equates MB,MBS(os) with gF (ggF in Nsong), and FSiCh,SiCh(ms) with gCh. Lhota shows a partial equation of MB,MBS with gF (o-mo and o-mo-tsü) and at least similar terms for FSiS,SiS(ms) and gS (o-hro and o-hre). Angami equates FSiS,ySiS(ms) with gS, but distinguishes between

SA gF and MB, yet the term for the latter (mi) is connected with
601 the Rengma term for gF,MB (a-mi ~ a-mui) and the Lhota term
193 for MB (o-mo) and gF (o-mo-tsü). We can thus interpret Angami
197 mi MB as the original term for gF,MB and in this way explain
ST the lack of symmetry in the Angami nomenclature as it now
601 stands (a man calls his sister's child "gCh", but a child
193 calls his mother's brother "uncle"). Angami lacks the Omaha
197 traits on one side, since MBCh is addressed or described by name, or analytically if the need arises. The Rengma equations on the MB side appear only in the vocative nomenclature, and only when the cousin (MBS or MBD) addressed is older than speaker.

As noted in pt. 16, Majumder attempted to explain some of the features of the Sema nomenclature in terms of marriage with F's widow, after the fashion instituted by Rivers. Almost no instances of marriages of this type have been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman area, however, and the writer fails to see how Rivers' theories are of any relevancy in the present situation. The most curious form of marriage noted is the Lisu marriage with FSi cited by Fraser, and this is not reflected in the Lisu nomenclature. Omaha features among the Omaha and Miwok are perhaps based on WBD marriage, but for the American evidence there is no unanimity of opinion, and at least three recent writers on the subject (White, Gifford, Tax) have attacked this as a general explanation. Of this trio White alone suggests a general explanation, viz. that the Omaha type

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is developed from the Dakota-Iroquois type (pC=Sb, xC distinct term) under the influence of a mature and vigorous patrilineal clan system. Gifford has successfully attacked this view on the basis of the American material, and the same general strictures are applicable in the Tibeto-Burman field, where no correlation can be established between strong patrilineal clans and the Omaha type of terminology.

The Kuki equation of xN with gCh is also encountered in Miri (ā < o-i "child below") and Tibetan (ts'a). Miri has retained the TB root *k'u MB (a-kū), but does apply teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml (= MB and FSi under the Miri bilateral xC marriage system). In Tibetan, however, teknonymy has been found only in the dialect of Bathang (eastern Tibet) as recorded by Desgodins, who cites rmo-rmo Ml = MM (hence a man's term for his WM). Abor shows reverse teknonymy in the shifts a-bu gF < F and a-nā gM < M, reflected in the equation o Ch = M = gCh (Abor, like Miri, applies teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml).

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We are perhaps not justified in concluding that all equations of xN with gCh are based on teknonymy involving the affinal nomenclature (gF > Fl = MB), but no better general explanation can be suggested. The general thesis outlined above conforms to the basic Tibeto-Burman sociological pattern of cross-cousin marriage, and thus enjoys an initial advantage over any alternative theories of a more <u>an hoc</u> nature.

Reciprocal terminology has already been mentioned in connection with Kachin ts'a MB < SiCh(ms), k'ri HBiCh, FSiHBi,

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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[317] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

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563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race; the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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people hardly to be distinguished from the Chinese, and the 186
fact that many Ta Li Min Chia are bi-lingual, or have a store 197
of "market Chinese" has strengthened this impression. It is
none the less false. The language itself, though using many 197
Chinese loan words, pronounces them in accordance with definite rules, and in a manner unintelligible to the Chinese, while more than half the vocabulary and the grammar of Min Chia is wholly unlike the Chinese language. As it is not and never has been a written language it has no doubt changed very extensively in the course of centuries, but a critical examination of the vocabulary and grammar shows that three elements originally quite distinct are found in the Min Chia language of to-day. These elements may be classified as :—

(1) A non-Sinitic polysyllabic language which may be called "Old Min Chia".
(2) Monosyllabic words resembling Cantonese, perhaps "old Chinese" loan words.
(3) Chinese loan words, derived from the Yunnanese dialect of Mandarin but which are pronounced in a Min Chia manner according to set rules.

These three elements are used, broadly, for three different categories of words. "Old Min Chia" words for example are confined to simple and primary ideas, the most used verbs, the names of animals, plants and parts of the body, and the prepositions. Many of these Old Min Chia words are polysyllabic, or it would be more accurate to say, appear to be so. As Min Chia has never been written down it is only possible to distinguish between monosyllabic words and polysyllabic by analysing the syllables which compose the latter class. If these syllables are not identifiable as words in themselves, then the word is classed as a polysyllabic word, and where the syllables can be shown to be

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197 separate words combined to make a compound word, such words are not here classed as truly polysyllabic.

An example will make this distinction clear.

Gudaiji, the Min Chia word for "throat" is a polysyllable, because neither *gu* nor *dai* nor *ji* can be shown in this instance to be separate words in themselves. *Dao-ser-dser-domo*, the long Min Chia word for the "thumb" can, on the other hand, be proved to be a compound word composed of three separate words, *dao*, "big", *ser-dser* a "finger" and *domo* "before", the whole word really meaning "before the big finger"—an interesting proof that the Min Chia word for thumb explicitly recognises the essential value of that little limb, the fact of its apposition to the long finger.

The second large element in the Min Chia language is the class of monosyllabic words faintly resembling their Chinese counterparts, which I have named "Old Chinese Loan Words". The resemblance between this class and Cantonese words of the same meaning is often close, and as it is generally recognised that Cantonese retains many old forms of Chinese pronunciation, it is perhaps not incorrect to attribute this class of Min Chia words to borrowing from Chinese at an earlier period, when the spoken language of the Chinese in Yunnan was more like modern Cantonese than modern Mandarin.

Many names of animals are found in this class as are also the points of the compass and some verbs, usually of the more abstract type.

In such words as *der*, "east" and *ser* a "rat" the connection with the Chinese forms *tung* and *shu* is slight, but *ber*, "north" *sai* "west" *gai* a "chicken" and *gai* a "bowl", also *ngur* a "cow" and *mer* a "horse" are not far from their Chinese and Cantonese equivalents, as a table of comparison will show.

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Min Chia	*Chinese and Cantonese*		*English*
ber	po		north
sai	hsi	sai	west
gai	chi	gai	chicken
gai		gai	bowl
ngur	niu		cow
mer	ma	ma	horse

The third, and perhaps almost the largest class of Min Chia words are loan words from Yunnanese Mandarin, a slightly variant dialect of the widespread speech of all western and northern China. Such words in Min Chia cover all modern terms, Chinese place names, many of the abstract nouns and verbs, and a large class of common nouns covering many of the objects and utensils of ordinary life.

Though quite easily identified as Chinese in origin such words would not for the most part be understood by a Chinese unacquainted with Min Chia, for loan words are changed and pronounced by the Min Chia in accordance with their own rules. There is no final *n* or *ng* in Min Chia, and these common Chinese terminals are dropped in the loan words. Min Chia has also very few initial *n* words, the *n* being changed to *l* as in many parts of South China. But whereas Chinese words such as *wang* and *nan* are pronounced by the Min Chia simply as *wa* and *la*, those which end in *ing* or *eng* become in Min Chia *iu* and *o*. Thus Nan King is in Min Chia *La Chiu*, unrecognisable to a Chinese, but none the less a Chinese loan term. *Ch'en* becomes *tso*, and *Ch'eng* also. *Sheng Ch'eng* the Chinese colloquial term for the "Provincial Capital" is *So Tso* to the Min Chia.

A short vocabulary of Min Chia words of the three types with their Chinese counterparts will illustrate both the affinities and the wide differences between the two languages.

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OLD MIN CHIA

	Min Chia	Chinese	English
197	Dilulu	ying	hawk
192	Digulai	Ch'iao shu	squirrel
	Salagai	huang shu	locust
	Serdserler	hai tzu	boy
	Niepi	Jih, yat	sun
	Shier	no separate term	day
	Gao	hu, hai	lake or sea
	Lao	shang	on
	Dso	shang	up
	Urdaobai	hou	behind
	Boru	hou	after
	Gupu	chiao	leg

OLD CHINESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	Chinese	English
Kwa	Kou	Dog
Sur	Shan	Mountain
Mo	Meng	Dream

YUNNANESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	Chinese	English
Zer do	Chih tao	know
Wai Shieh	Wei hsien	danger
Dsua jia	Chuang chia	crops
Tsu miu	Tsung ming	intelligence
Mier dser	Ming tzu	life
Yao jiu	Yao chin	important
Fa ni	Fa lu	law
Da biu	Tang ping	to enlist as a soldier
Gai bieh	Kai pien	to change

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It will be observed that Min Chia is much richer than Chinese in prepositions, and that these words are invariably of the "Old Min Chia" type. In Min Chia indeed there are prepositions for all shades of meanings ; on, onto, up, upon; and back, behind, after ; are distinguished as in English, whereas Chinese uses one word for these ideas. On the other hand Min Chia appears to have lacked most of the abstract nouns, and even words for such a common and vital activity as farming, perhaps a proof that in the earliest times the Min Chia were not an agricultural people. The names of most of the domestic animals, except the pig, are also "Old Chinese" and this may suggest that the Min Chia at one time had no other livestock. 197

Grammatically there are also certain marked differences between Chinese and Min Chia. In Min Chia the adjective may precede or follow the noun, the choice depending on euphony, whereas in Chinese it always comes first. Thus a fat pig and a fat goose in Min Chia are respectively *go dai a der* and *O a der go* and no rule can be framed to cover this usage. The preposition follows the noun, as in Chinese, although this is not necessary to distinguish meaning as in Chinese, because the Min Chia prepositions are differentiated. (*Shan shang*—on the mountain, in Chinese, *Shang shan*, the upper mountain, or to go up the mountain). Unlike the Chinese, the Min Chia put the negative after the noun or verb. *Bai mu*—not going, *hu mu*—not good, whereas in Chinese the reverse would be the case. In Min Chia the pronouns are still declined, there being a nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative case, not found in any other nouns, and non-existent now in Chinese. The Min Chia, of course, even those with Chinese education, are unaware of this fact, since they have no knowledge of grammatical terms, but a study of the usage of the pronoun words makes it clear that declensions exist. 193 197

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193 Both languages use the device which has been called
197 "numerical adjuncts" or "classifiers" unknown to European tongues, but familiar from the pidgin English expression "one piecee" preceding the noun. In Chinese the most part of the nouns use the classifier *i ke* which pidgin English has translated as "one piecee" but certain others exist also. In Min Chia the variety is extreme. More than sixty separate classifiers are in use (there may be many more) and of these only twelve are used for more than one or two nouns, and the greater number are only applied to a single noun. There are about six in which the application can be strictly covered by a rule, for example all animals have the classifier *a der* which follows the noun, not as in Chinese preceding it. *Mer a der* = a horse, *mer sa der* = three horses. *A ni*, the classifier for human beings is applied not only to the word for man, woman, etc, but also to nouns describing vocations, which is not the colloquial Chinese practice, e.g. *biu a ni* = a soldier. Two exceptions to this rule for animals and humans exist. Bandits are given the classifier *a der* thus ranking them with the animals and insects, and spirits and gods have the human *a ni* classifier. Malignant ghosts *ger* are on the other hand given *a der*, like animals, perhaps a distinction having the same origin as the *hun* and *po*, the spiritual and animal souls of men which the ancient Chinese distinguished.

563 That the Min Chia are therefore a distinct people is established, and as will be shown in subsequent chapters, their social and kinship systems show radical differences from the Chinese, while their religion retains many features unknown to China proper. Nor is there much evidence to connect them at all closely with the neighbouring non-Chinese peoples of Yunnan. The Na Khi or Mo So who border on the Min Chia to the north speak a very different language and their religion and social customs are equally distinct. All

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

THE BASIC SPIRITUAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE RELIGION OF THE CHIANG.*

T. TORRANCE.

174 In my research work among the Chiang tribesmen in the N. W. of Szechwan I early came to the conclusions; (1) that they came originally from somewhere in Asia Minor, and (2) that their Old-Testament pattern of religion represented an early patriarchal type, known to the Hebrews before their settlement in the holy land, and followed by them more or less after arrival there. To this opinion we still mainly adhere. Though much more has been learnt in recent years about their customs and ritual nothing has come to light to change this view in any radical sense.

•[197] It is known that they speak a language allied to that of the Tibetans, Chiarong and Nosu. The presumption is that they are [144] of one stock. But, nevertheless, they have certain racial characteristics of their own. They are finer in physique and frequently show Semitic features of countenance which these races fail to do. Many of their customs, too, indicate a closer affinity to those of the Hebrews. Even if it be asserted that the Tibetans and Chiarong came also from the West—which we believe—yet, because of these facts, caution is needed before sweepingly including them in the same racial stock as these three races. The Chiang is a sort of a Jew among our West China peoples. You can scarcely hide him even when his blood has been mingled with a strain of Chinese. He has a way with him, an appearance and a religious outlook that marks him out from others around him.

We admit we have been criticised for doubting the classification. But the language test does not always hold. There are many races talking English to-day who cannot be called Anglo-Saxon. Did the Chiang always speak the language they do to-day? He would be bold who asserted they did without sufficient proof of the same. The suspicion is strong that they did not. To-day, as we hear more of their wonderful religion this suspicion may grow stronger than ever.

000 What then is the nature of the Chiang religion? It is simply that of the olden-time worship in the high-places. We know that this was followed by the nations of Canaan and after their day by

*Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1934.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

177 186 [197] Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

173 I. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 人, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 人. A small third character is sometimes added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An [231] interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

174 There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理藩廳志 卷四 邊防志二
Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Cai, Part Four.
史記四 周本紀第四
Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
中國民族史 第十一章 羌族
Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 301-2

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but 439 they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. 796 Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. 796 Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. 871 The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan 212 knowledge. 792 Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect 177 of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; 804 as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) How- 177 805 796

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

ever, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

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131 For four or five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

● 197 212 The Lu-tzu 獠子 have no written language, while the spoken language itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] 262 273 The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor. They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan T'i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 瓦麥基 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野夷). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃蓮 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

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and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Hirelyst]

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inkabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

~~Another~~ sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. ROCK, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li. S 487* 133* 137*

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lö-bü. Beyond Lö-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory. S [312]

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent. S [342]

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dü. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been dumped on a rock pile. ST [342] [351] ST [197]

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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng, described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, and where the distinction between them lies.

S ST 197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

S ST 101

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and Cochin China.

S ST

291 301 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

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/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Moso, Lisu, Nyi, Ahi, and Lolopho, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 205-235./

SA 121 601 ST 121 601

a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the task of investigating each element of that system, both independently and correlatively.

In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendents, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements are based largely on "partial equations" and must thus be held in reserve until a basic framework has been set up. Nine roots, eight of which are applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete Tibeto-Burman series as culled from the foregoing review. These roots constitute the following system

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Tibeto-Burman Terms

*p'i	gH	*p'u	gF
*ma	M	*p'a	F
*ni	FSi	*k'u	HB
*mma	yOb		
*ma	Ch		
		*mak	Sl

The forms given above can be accepted with some confidence as fair approximations of the archaic Tibeto-Burman roots. All except the affixal term *mak have vocalic finals, and it was on the basis of finals or "rhymes" (medial vowel + final consonant), especially of vocalic finals, that Shafer and the writer were able to work out the main features of Tibeto-Burman phonology. Earlier writers had in general attacked the problem from the most difficult angle, that of initials and tones. Thus, no less a scholar than Laufer is responsible for the following absurd dictum:

> Prefixes as well as final consonants....are of minor importance in the comparative study of Indo-Chinese languages.... the staff of comparison remains the initial consonant and the tone conditioned by it. (TP 17, p. 115).

Prefixes have shown to be of basic importance, while both the initials and the tones have been so influenced by the prefixes that our analysis of them still lags far behind our analysis of the finals. In the above set of terms, however, the only problems <u>in re</u> initials concern the aspiration or lack of aspiration, voicing or unvoicing, of the stop initials of *p'i, *p'u, *p'a, and *k'u. Kukish has *pi gV and *pu gF,

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but initial aspiration is not well preserved in this group. Mikir has p'i gH, p'u gF, hm < *k'u HB, but po < *pa F. Meithei, which ordinarily preserves aspiration, has pu gF, pa F, and hm F1 (< HB). Kachin has hm HF (< HB) rather than the anticipated *k'u, and Burmese has (sta-)hui o3 rather than *k'ui. Tibetan has p'yi gl, p'a F, and k'u FB (< HB), while both Tibetan and Kachin have p'u o3 (< gF). It may be that one or more of these roots had a sonant rather than a surd initial. Initial g-, a rare element in our comparative material, is perhaps indicated for the HB root (*gu ~ *g'u), but at present nothing definite can be said on this point.

Only one of the above terms is uncertain as regards final, viz. *ni F31. Classical Tibetan has no rather than *ni, and Meithei has hna ~ na rather than *ni, both of which point to an archaic form *noi rather than *ni. The weight of evidence, however, speaks in favor of the reconstruction *ni, from which *noi may have been developed as a doublet root; cf. Kukish *nun yoh, *nou "young, tender", which tend to be confused (vide pt. 15).

The basic gF terms *p'i and *p'u are found together in Garish, Mikir, Meithei, Bru, Kukish, and Duruish-Loloish (but p'e^{3} gF < *p'i in Burmese itself, which has a new term [p'wa^{3}] for gF). The root *p'i is further retained in its basic meaning in Tibetan, Bunnuri (perhaps Tibetan loan-word), Bahing, and Vayu, while Cheng has retained it in the meaning "gF". In northern TB groups the root *p'u has been applied

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to oB, viz. in Tibetan, Limbu, Newari (only in combination), Digaro, and Kachin. This semantic interchange also appears in Burmish-Loloish, viz. Moso p'u gF, bu oB, Nyi bu gF, bu oB. The interplay of surd and sonant initials in these Moso and Nyi forms indicates that doublets are involved. In Barish the root *p'i gM (in the form bi) has been applied to oSi, both in the Bodo-Dimasa and Garo divisions of this group, and also retained in its basic meaning. It is clear that these usages are connected with the especial position held by oSb, and that the gP terms function here simply as honorifics. Other TB roots, less widely distributed than the above, show the same type of semantic shift (vide infra). In societies with a patrilineal bias it is only natural that the role of oB should be of more significance than that of oSi, thus perhaps accounting for the relative stability of *p'i as compared with *p'u. It can hardly be without significance that in the single matrilineal group encountered (Barish) the term *p'i gM should have been applied to oSi, in contrast to all other TB groups.

Of the two basic P terms *p'a F and *ap M, the former is the most widely distributed and shows fewer variations. The following groups have this root (*p'a): Tibetan, Kanauri, Byangsi, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Miri, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish. This root commonly appears as a masculine affix, but no instance of a transference to "oB" has been uncovered. The

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root *ma M appears in Tibetan, Kanauri, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Barish, and Meithei. In Burmese itself it is retained only in the terms ma' Si and a-ma' "feminine suffix", and in the closely-related Maru only in the meaning "MSi". Kru has preserved this root only in the feminine suffix -ma. A transference to the meaning "oSi" is found in the contiguous North Assam groups Dafla and Aka. In Kachin and the extensive Kukish group this root appears to have vanished without leaving a trace.

The two PSb terms *ni and *k'u are also unequally represented in Tibeto-Burman. The root *ni FSi is of almost universal occurrence. In its basic meaning it appears in Tibetan, Gyarung, Kanauri, Thebor, Vayu, Newari, Abor-Miri, Nung, Burmish-Loloish (but not in Burmese itself), Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, and Kukish. Kachin has retained it only in the affinal meaning "WM". Aka, if we can trust our inadequate sources, has applied this root to M, while Limbu has applied it to oSi. Replacement by the term for "oSi" is seen in Dafla, Sho, Changki (Ao), and probably Kadu, while Mongsen (Ao) shows replacement by the term for "oSb". The Dafla material indicates that this is an analytical development ("oSi of F"). Lepcha equates FSi with WSi in the term nyu ~ nyo, applied to female relatives in the uterine line. This unusual equation also appears in Bahing, which has no-no MSi, FSi (from no < *na M), and po-po FB (from po < *pa F), yet has ku-ku MB. Distinct terms have been

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developed in Kachin (mui), which preserves *mi as an affixal term (Wi), and in Burmese (ri³), but *mi is retained in the closely related Maru. The Dimasa term de-de FBi (be-de MB) is likewise distinct.

The much more restricted root *k'u MB is found in its primary meaning in Bahing, Vayu, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Digaro, Mung, Mikir, and Ao. Tibetan has k'u FB, but skud < *k'u Fl,Bl. Himalayish and Lepcha also have k'u FB, probably because of Tibetan influence. Kachin, Meithei, Mtenyi Rengma, and Anyo Rengma have retained the term in the affixal meaning "HF" (Meithei Fl), and Sema in the affixal meaning "FSiH". Chang (Konyak) has the form ko MB, which cannot with certainty be connected with this root. In the Burmish-Loloish group we can cite only Burmese kui "prefix used with names of persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (ats-kui sB), Akha a-kö B, Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH, and Moso a-gu Bl. The Moso usage is paralleled in the Barish group, where we find Bodo gu-mi, Garo gu-ma Bl. This root cannot be traced in the Naki languages proper, yet can be reconstructed for Kukish on the basis of the Naga terms (supra), and for Kukis in general on the basis of the Mikir and Meithei terms.

The root *nau ySb, occasionally applied either to yB or ySi alone, also to Ch, is well represented in Tibeto-Burman. It appears in the following groups: Tibetan (nu ∼ no), Byangsi (yB), Limbu, Lepcha, Aka, Kachin, Konyak, Barish (ySi), Meithei, Mru (yB), and Kukish (ySb ∼ Ch). The most conspicuous gaps are those in Abor-Miri-Dafla, Mung, and Burmish-Loloish.

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The eighth and last of the basic consanguineal terms is *sa Ch, which is found in Tsangla, Magari, Miju, Abu, Kachin, Kadu, Bung (sa-mi D), Pyu, Burmish-Lololish, Konyak, Barish, Nikir, Meithei, Mru, and Mukish (rarely used for yBb, as in Poeren and Kyaw). Lepcha has a-so < *sa ggF, a-son gCh (with suffixed -n). This root is conspicuously absent in Tibetan and its dialects (but present in Tsangla, a Bodish language), Himalayish, and Kiranti, i.e. the northern or northwestern band of Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in the Abor-Miri-Dafla group.

The affinal term *mak Sl appears in Tibetan, Lepcha (< *smak), Dhimal (< *smak), Miri, Kachin (da-ma < *de-mak), Burmese (sa-mak), Meithei, Mru, and Mukish, with an additional uncertain occurrence in Byengsi. In view of our generally inadequate data on affinal nomenclatures (e.g. we do not have the term for "Sl" in Bung, where we should expect to find this root), the widespread distribution of this root is of increased significance. It would appear that the root is lacking in Himalayish, Nikir, Konyak, and Barish.

The above set of basic terms is supplemented by a series of roots of restricted distribution. Some of these serve mainly as replacements for the basic roots, while others are functionally more independent. Since our set of basic terms is not complete, we must assume that some of these roots represent archaic Tibeto-Burman elements, but this point is best discussed after the various secondary roots have been analyzed.

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The gF roots *p'i gM and *p'u gF have no serious rivals in Tibeto-Burman. A curious link between Tibetan and Southern Naki is suggested by the following set of terms: Tib. po ~ spo gF (literary or dialectical), rmo gM (literary), and Sho a-pŏ ~ a-pŏk gF, Chinbon ka-mo gM, Yindu ka-mo gF. A possible root *si is indicated by Balti as-si (= a-si) ggM, Rung a-si gM, Khami a-um-si gF, and Kadu a-si MSi (i-si "woman"), Yindu ka-si FSi, Sho a-si FSi,cSi (cf. the roots *ta and *tei, infra). In general, gF terms show more variation than do F terms; thus, Kachin has developed distinct terms for both gM (woi) and gF (ji), and note forms such as Byangsi ti-ti gF, Bahing and Vayu ki-ki gF.

The most conspicuous of the secondary F roots is *nu M, which appears in Kachin, Miju, Sak, Konyak, Nukish, and perhaps Mikir and Meithei (in combination). The root *pui "mother, female" is restricted to Mikir and Nukish. The Nukish feminine affix *la, used especially of young females, seems to have given rise to Mongsen-Changki (Ao) a-la M, Mtonyi Rengma a-la ggM, Anyo Rengma a-la gM, and cf. Byangsi la-la gM, Sunwari a-la Si. The same root (*la) appears in Kachin, Burmish-Loloish, and elsewhere as a masculine affix. The Tibeto-Burman root *wa "male" serves to explain both Bunan and Kachin wa, Kadu a-wa, Garo (dialects of A type) a-wa F (Mosheng and Rangsang wa F probably through Kachin influence), Aka au < *a-wa F, Burmese wa-kri[3] "term of address to old man" (Arakanese dialect), and Lepcha a-vo < *wa, Meithei (ma-)wa, Nukish wa H; cf. also Digaro ma-wa "male",

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Shimal -ma "masculine suffix", Bodo hma "male". Some of these forms, however, may have resulted from a phonetic development from *p'a F (probably via *ba).

A root *mei or *ma appears sporadically in Tibeto-Burman, sometimes with a dental suffix. This root is parallel to, but distinct from, TS *ma M. The following forms belong here: Tibetan -med "woman" (in bud-med 'a *bu-med, paralleling bu-mmed), Gyarung to-mi ~ to-me "wife", Kanauri -med (suffix in "D" and "Ml"), Chaudon Lahuli me "bitch", Limbu met W, Lepcha a-mit "woman", Kuki a-ma M, Mung a-ma M (cf. Mung a-p'a F), Burmese a-mi^3 ~ a-ma M, and Garo ma-cik "woman, wife". Note also the series formed by Burmese za-mi^3, Ahu za-mi, Mung za-mi D (from *ma Ch). Garo ga-ma Bl, Mikir ma SiH correspond phonetically but can scarcely be fitted in otherwise.

In addition to the above, there are traces of a set of roots *ya and *yu, both applied to female relatives. The former is better attested than the latter; cf. Himalayish (Manchati, Kanashi, Chaudon Lahuli) ya M, Abor-Miri and Dafla ya < *ya gM (but in Pagri Miri used for "M" in address), Tshiang (Konyak group) ya M, Naga *ya M, also Kanauri yas, Rai (Kiranti) ma-ya, Burmese ma-ya^3 W, Digaro mi-ya "woman", ka-mi-ya W. The root *yu is represented only by Kanauri yu-med, Khambu (Kiranti) yuh, Lepcha a-yu W, Lepcha tA-yu "woman", and perhaps Tibetan yu-ma "female of a stag".

Nothing has yet been said of oSb terms, which show a wide variety of forms contrasting with the standard ySb root (*mau

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Much of the material in this connection is of a scattered nature from which it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Thus, Byangsi bya, Dulong ya oB, Maithai ya-an oB, Chauto (Old Kuki) a-ya B, ai-ya oBi, and Khami ya-at ~ ya-i oB suggest an archaic root *ya oB, yet this same element appears in another setting (supra). Burmese sta-hui < *tjh-hui oB, Mikir ik oB lack cognates elsewhere, as do Maru pai oBi, Chonbok pai oBi(ws), unless the latter pair be connected with Burmese a-pei "mother" and perhaps Mikir pei ~ pe M. The characteristic Kukish root u oBb (Central, Northern, and Old Kuki groups only) does not appear elsewhere in this setting, yet appears to be identical to Sho ê M, Taungtha u W, Mru u M, and Burmese u^3 MB (restricted to names of men considerably older than the speaker), perhaps also Tanghkul a-wŏ gF,MB.

Three or four roots, however, stand out more prominently than the above lot and deserve especial consideration. Tibetan a'a oBi(ws) has been compared with Himalayish *a'a "female" as represented by Kanauri a'ets "female, woman", Kanashi a'ets F (with diminutive suffix -ts) and with the Byangsi-Chaudangsi term a'a xC, as well as with Johar a-ce F. The above terms all point to a TB root *a'ai. A similar root, but apparently with unaspirated initial (*cei), is represented by Konyak jei ~ cei oBb ~ oB, Maithai ce oBi, Tanghkul cei oBb, Western Kuki *cei oBb, Angu Rangma a-ce oBb. The Tibetan term appears to be etymologically connected with the word a'a-ba "great", from which the respectful term gsen-po oB has been developed.

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A root *ma mi appears in Maruai, Vayu, Kachin, Andro, and Konyak, while the Aimaru and Abor-Miri-Dafla groups have *ma M, and Lakher has the vocative term i-ma M. Tibetan mma D1 perhaps also belongs here, though it may be of periphrastic origin (< mma "death").

The Tibeto-Burman root *ta (often in the form da) is consistently applied to relatives older than Ego, if one regards the Bahing-Vayu root *ta CH as of distinct origin. The following terms can be grouped with this root: Tibetan 'a-ta F (dialectical), oB (Eastern Tibet), Tsangla a-ta oB, Gyarung a-ta-ta F, Jokar a-ta oBi, Byangsi ta-ta oBi, Newari ta-te oBi, Miri and Dafla a-te < *ta gF, Digaro ta gF, da oB, Burmese t'a^{3}-t'a^{3} F (dialectical), Akha a-ta F, Independent Lolo a-da F, Sho a-ta oH, Chinhon (ha-)t's oB, Lhota a-ta oBb, Changki (Ao) a-ta FBi,oBi, Rongmei Rengma a-da FoB. Doublet forms are found only in Digaro (ta gF, da oB). Unlike *p'u gF,oH this root has also been applied to F in some languages (Tibetan, Gyarung, Burmese, Akha). Desgodins describes the Tibetan term 'a-ta as a "children's word" (vox puerorum), and in Independent Lolo a distinction is made between a-da F (used by children) and a-bu ~ a-bo F (used by adults).

Kanauri te-te gF, a-te oB are clearly of a type paralleling that described above. The suggested TB root is *tai, with which can be grouped Byangsi te-te xC(ss), Dafla tĕ-tĕ FyB,oB (in different sources), Kadu a-te oBi, Bangaru a-tai oB, Mikir te oBi(ws), Meithei i-tai-ma oBil, and Kru a-tai BW.

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An objection might be raised to the above discussion on the ground that forms such as *na, *ta, and *tai (te) are of "nursery word" type and should not be regarded as representing actual TB roots. The writer himself originally ascribed to this general point of view, but the collection of material on which this study is based has led him to discard it. Thus, ta F appears both in the West Tibetan dialects (Balti, Purik) and in the nomad dialects of Eastern Tibet, as well as in the aberrant Gyarung language, whence we can safely infer a Bodish root *ta F. The term na oSi appears in five distinct languages representing two different foci (Murmi-Vayu and Kachin-Andro-Konyak), and na N in two isolated groups (Almora and Abor-Miri-Dafla). Distributions of this type are scattered, to be sure, yet not entirely random. The cluster of connotations (gP,P,oSb) around these roots is also not without significance.

The majority of the terms for Sb(ds) are of limited distribution. Tibetan sring-mo Si(ms), dialectically used for ySi, appears also in Himalayish (Si) and Byangsi (ySi), with an additional possible occurrence in Dhimal-Toto (Si). Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), often used for ySi, is directly related to Kukish *dzar Si(ms), which in Western Kuki is used for ySi, and to Meithei i-cal ~ i-can ySi, Kadu san, Sengmai cǎl yǐ i. Kachin yung B(ws) has been compared with the Garo-Dimasa root *yung yB. The tendency to equate Sb(ds) with ySb is reflected in all three roots.

The roots *nau ySb and *za Ch are of almost universal occurrence and have no serious rivals. The former is

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conspicuously absent in Burmish-Loloish, which has a root *nyi (ní), comparable with Lepcha nyi-t'i gCh. A root *nga is suggested by Murmi and Gurung a-nga ySi, Miri ǎng-ǎ ySb, Dafla ang-a Ch, Naga *nga Ch. Isolated roots *a Ch and *ka Ch are represented by Digaro a, Abor-Miri o < a Ch, and Newari ka, Abor-Miri ko < *ka Ch, respectively.

It will be noted that the set of basic terms presented above lacks all collateral terms as well as a gCh term. Our data on collateral terms are incomplete for many groups, so that negative evidence here is of relatively little value, but it would seem that no root or roots for xC have been developed. The only root of any extension here is *ning, which appears in Kachin (xCe,ws), Chang (xC), Mikir BW(ws), and perhaps Garo (Sbl). The Mikir and Garo affinal meanings can be explained in terms of cross-cousin marriage.

Three or perhaps four TB roots show a tendency to equate N with gCh. Tibetan ts'a Ne (probably SiS,ms),gCh furnishes an example of this tendency. Bahing and Newari have this root (*ts'a) in the meaning "gS", but in the Kiranti languages in general it is used for "S" (see the discussion in pt. 4). Kanauri e'ad Sl (with suffixed -d) has been brought into comparison via SiS(ms), equated with Sl under cross-cousin marriage. Kachin ta'a MB,MBS(ws) can be explained only on the basis of a reciprocal development from SiS(ms). Mikir c-sa SiS(ms),Sl shows an ideal agreement on the semantic side, but the comparison is phonetically dubious. The root *ts'a appears to be lacking in other groups.

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The roots *su and *tu have distributions which are almost, if not quite, mutually exclusive. *Su gCh appears in Kachin, Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei, while *tu appears in Nung (N), Burmish-Loloish (xN), and Kukish (FSiCh,SiCh,ms,gCh). Anu, a Southern Kuki language, has su xC,ySi(ws),SiCh(ws),gCh, and a-su-lai SiCh(ms), covering much the same ground as Kukish *tu. The roots *su and *tu must be regarded as distinct on general phonetic grounds, and this view is strengthened by the evidence from Meithei, which has i-su gCh as well as (ma-)tu W (cf. the Kuki use of *tu in the meaning "Sl", through cross-cousin marriage). The root *su is perhaps also represented in the Naga languages, in much the same setting as Anu su, viz. Angami cu ~ tsu FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS, Nzong Rengma a-cu-gü, Ntenyi Rengma a-zu-wa, Anyo Rengma a-zü FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh, but our knowledge of Naga phonology is not sufficiently advanced to establish this comparison.

A fourth root of the same general type is *ma-li, which is found in Nung (gCh), Burmish-Loloish (gCh), Pyu (gCh), Chang (xN), Garo (SiS,ms), Mikir (xN, probably BCh,ws), and has an additional cognate in Kachin (ma-li "young man"). This root is in general lacking in Kukish, but may be represented by Taungtha lwi Ne,Ni and Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws). It cannot be traced in Tibetan or any of the northern languages.

The affinal root corresponding to *mak Sl is perhaps *nam Dl, but the evidence for the latter root is not altogether satisfactory. Lepcha has nyom < *snam Dl paralleling myok < *smak Sl, and s- prefixed forms are also represented by

SA Kanauri stem < *snem (probably for snăm) Dl, and Barish
601 *snam Dl (based on Dimasa ba-ham, Garo nam). Cf. also
193 Gyarung snom < *snam Si, Burmese hnam < *snam ySi(ms)
197 (inferred from mong-hnam "H and W", where mong means "yB,wa"),
ST Lashi tu-nam Dl, nam-mo ySi(ms), Nyi nŏ-mo < *nam-mo ySi(ms),
601 and Lushei hnăm < *snăm "clan". The unprefixed form appears
193 in Byangsi nam-sia Dl, Kachin nam Dl,ySil, and Nung nam Sb,
● 197 while Lepcha has both nyom < *snam Dl and nom < *nam oSi.
Magari ar-năm "girl" also belongs in this series.

Of more restricted distribution are the roots *mou Dl, represented by Kukish mou (Lushei mo), Meithei i-mau, and perhaps Tibetan mo "woman", and *k'rwi Sl, represented by Kachin k'ri Sl,SiCh(ms), Burmese k'rwe^{3}-ma^{1} < *k'rwi^{3}-ma^{1}, Lisu c'i-ma Dl (with feminine suffix -ms), and perhaps Lepcha tă-gri "male". The original meanings of these roots may have been simply "female" and "male", respectively.

There remain for consideration a few poorly represented roots connected primarily with the PSb nomenclature. Nung a-tsim MSi is comparable with Tsangla a-tim, id., and Nung a-wang FB with Garo a-wang FyB, also Lashi vang-mo HF,FoSiH, Maru vung ~ vun HF,FSiH (but the Lashi and Maru terms suggest a meaning "MB" rather than "FB"). The *wang series is perhaps connected with Tibetan 'a-bang FSiH,MSiH (literary), Limbu (am-)pang-a "uncle", Vayu pong-pong < *pang-pang FB.

Tibetan sru MSi has been compared with Kanauri and Chamba Lahuli ru Fl, Pyu sru "relatives", and the reconstructed

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Lolo root *ru MB. If these terms actually constitute a true series, we must reconstruct a root *sru ~ *ru "mother's relatives" (neuter), whence Kanauri ru F1 < MB through cross-cousin marriage, paralleling Kanauri c'ad S1 < S1S(ms). The presence of this root in Pyu, at approximately the year A.D. 1000, lends some weight to this view.

The fourth Tibetan PSb term, viz. ʾa-žang MB, is found in this form in Thebor and Lepcha, where it must be regarded as a loan-word, but not elsewhere. This form can be derived from an original *srang and thus compared with Mru ta-rang FSiH,HF, Kukish ta-rang ~ ma-rang, id., and probably Lhota o-ʂrã, Changki (Ao) (kŭ-)hram B1(ws). Burmese a-hrang < *srang (archaic spelling is a-hsyang) "lord, master" also perhaps belongs here rather than with sring-mo S1 (supra). The writer has long suspected that Tibetan initial ž- and š- have in many instances been derived from zr- and sr-, respectively, partly because of the general instability of those clusters in Tibetan (cf. srab-srib ~ hrab-hrib ~ rab-rib "dim, obscure"), and partly on the basis of comparative material, viz. Tib. šig "louse", Bunan šrig, Lushei hrik < *srik; Tib. žag "day (24 hours)", Burmese rek, id.; Tib. šags "joke, jest" (in sense of "ridicule"), Bunan šrag "shame", Burmese hrak < *srak "to be ashamed". The root *-rang (prefixed) must have had a generalized honorific force (still retained in Burmese), and thus was admirably suited as a periphrastic term either for MB or for FSiH,HF (= MB under cross-cousin marriage).

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Having completed our review of Tibeto-Burman kinship roots, we are now faced with the problem of fixing the basic pattern of nomenclature for this linguistic family. The terms designating relatives in the central line of descent naturally form the most stable segment of the nomenclature, while the collateral terms show an intermediate, and the affinal terms a maximum, amount of variation.

Within this stable core of nomenclature we are able to distinguish two primary gP terms (gM and gF), two primary P terms (M and F), a neuter yBb term, and a neuter Ch term. The two neuter terms are often employed in a masculine sense (yB and B), with sex affixes used in forming the corresponding feminine terms (yBi and D), e.g. Tibetan bu B, bu-mo D, Burmese sa^3 B, $sa-mi^3$ D. No neuter P terms have been uncovered, but Chang has a neuter gP term (a-pi < ap'i gM) used only in address, and a neuter gP term is also found in Sema (a-pu-za), and in the Southern Kuki languages Sho (a-pŏ) and Ayaing Khami (a-[illegible]). Three Southern Kuki languages (Chinbok, Yindu, Anu) make a distinction between FM and MM, but have a single term for gF (Anu FM < M, MM < gM). Four gP terms appear only in rare instances, and are never all primary. Both Tibetan and Kanauri show traces of three or four gP terms, but Kanauri has probably borrowed one or more of its gP terms from Tibetan, and the Tibetan material itself can be interpreted in more than one way. Kachin seems to employ four gP terms, perhaps because of Shan influence, but has only two primary terms (ji gF and woi gM). Garo distinguishes

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between "gP" (= FF) and "gM" (= FM), and "my gP" (= MF) and "my gM" (= MM), if we can trust our sources for this language. In view of the fact that the Garo are a matrilineal group, this point is of some interest. Chang, which uses the neuter term a-pi gP in address, employs four terms in reference, the FF and FM terms being formed through affixed sex elements, and the MF and MM terms through analysis. Finally, Laiyo, which has an almost exclusively analytical nomenclature, employs four analytical gP terms.

A number of different arrangements of Sb terms have been encountered. Age distinctions appear everywhere and are, in general, more prominent than sex distinctions. Despite this, however, it would appear that the basic pattern has two primary terms for oB and oSi, contrasting with the single neuter ySb term (*nsu). As has been shown above, the widespread tendency to equate oB and oSi with terms for relatives of ascending generations has obscured the general picture here and has made analysis almost impossible. The simplest possible arrangement (oSb and ySb) has been found only in Khami (Ayaing and Awa) and Anyo Rongma. A single primary term for oSb appears also in Kuki proper (u) and in Burmese (ate-), but Burmish-Loloish in general has two primary oSb terms. Nzong Rongma shows a complete reversal of the ordinary pattern, with terms for oSb, yB, and ySi. Tibetan, Lepcha, Dafla, Kachin, Aka, Liga, Chang, Chinbon, Ao and probably other less accurately recorded languages have what appears to be the basic arrangement, viz. oB, oSi, and ySb (three primary

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terms). The Barish languages in general employ the root *nau ySb in the meaning "ySi" and have developed a new term for yB (perhaps connected with the Kachin term for B,ws), while Meithei reverses this process in employing *nau for "yB" and the Kukish root *dzar Si(ms) for ySi. Simple terms for either B or Si are almost entirely lacking in Tibeto-Burman. Abor-Miri has terms for B and Si based on a root *buir (cf. a-buir "friend"), while in Dafla the cognate form *bŏr is used as the root for ySb, but note that Abor-Miri also possesses especial terms for oSb and ySb. Mikir kor Sb, like Abor-Miri buir, also has the more general meaning "friend".

Though the principle of age distinctions can be established as a basic feature of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, the status of sex-of-speaker distinctions is not so readily settled. We are handicapped here by the fact that most of our sources can not be depended upon in showing non-European distinctions of this type, and that negative evidence is therefore of little value. Distinct terms for Si(ms) and B(ws) are found in Tibetan, Kachin, Lushei and Lakher (and probably other Kuki languages), and Angami. Lushei and Lakher also have a distinct term (of periphrastic origin) for Si(ws). In Burmese and Nyi the distinction is applied only to ySb, viz. Burmese yB(ms), yB(ws),ySi(ws),ySi(ms), Nyi ySb(ms),yB(ws),ySi(ms), and Maru, in the same linguistic group, has a distinct term for yB(ws). Mikir distinguishes between oSi(ms) and oSi(ws), and has a distinct term for B(ws). Chinbok and Yindu, in the Southern

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Naga group, have a full set of eight Hb terms, showing complete distinctions both for age and for sex-of-speaker. The Chinbok system can be reduced to five primary terms, viz. pai oSi(ws), pwe oB(ms), nau yBb(ws), be Si(ms), and bang B(ws), i.e. the Tibetan-Kachin arrangement. Sex of speaker appears not to be distinguished in Kanauri, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Barish, Meithei, and some other languages, but our sources, as mentioned above, are not of the most dependable sort. In view of the weight of evidence above, from such key languages as Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Mikir, and Lushei, the writer is inclined to regard the sex-of-speaker distinction as an archaic Tibeto-Burman feature.

Despite the fact that no single gCh root can with certainty be reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman, one can surely regard the presence of a primary gCh term as a basic feature for this linguistic family. Aside from the tendency to equate gCh with N or C (vide infra), it can be stated that most Tibeto-Burman languages have a distinct, usually primary, term for gCh, e.g. Kachin ǰu, Burmese mrɔ̃³, Byangsi k'we, Kanauri o'ay, Lepcha a-som, Chang ǰi, Garo and Mikir su, Meithei i-su. If a single gCh root must be predicated, TB *su must be regarded as the most likely selection. Equations of gCh other than with N are exceptional, but note Sema a-nu gCh = Ch(< TB *nau yBb).

The above discussion is resumed in the following diagram:

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Tibeto-Burman Basic Pattern

gM (*p'i)		gF (*p'u)
M (*ma)		F (*p'a)
oS1(ws)	y3b (*nau)	o(ms)
S1(ms)		B(ws)
	Ch (*za)	
	gCh	

It would be a rather hazardous undertaking to attempt any general explanation of the pattern outlined above in terms of sociological factors. A broad theory of this type must be based on a comprehensive comparative survey of Tibeto-Burman with a number of other groups, and as such lies outside the scope of the present study. Many of the variations from this pattern are undoubtedly significant, but they involve those elusive culture-linguistic intangibles which do not lend themselves to arm-chair analysis. It is only in the collateral and affinal nomenclatures that obvious cultural correlations are available, and it is these that the writer proposes to consider in some detail.

The distinction between cross (FS1 and MB) and parallel (FB and MS1) FSb terms is almost universal in Tibeto-Burman. No instances of an equation of FB with MB have been encountered, but FS1 and MS1 are equated in Bahing, Lepcha, and Chinbon, if we can trust our sources. Note that Lepcha also equates xC with pC, and that cross-cousin marriage is forbidden in this tribe.

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The parallel FB and MSi terms are usually either equated with the F and M terms (as in Chang, Lushei, Angami, Sema) or are based on these terms, with the addition of elements meaning "big" and "little" or the like. In other words, age distinctions are made in the parallel PSb terms precisely as in the Sb terms, though with categorical rather than primary elements. By way of contrast, the cross PSb terms seldom show these age distinctions, but note Burmese u^{3}-ri^{3} MoB (cf. a-ri^{3} FSi), u^{3}-mang^{3} MyB, Chinbok pu-srŏ MoB (= gF), pu-ko MyB (these distinctions are typical of Southern Kuki in general). Some of the more characteristic examples of age distinctions in FB terms are listed below:

Language	FoB	FyB
Balti	a-ta ts'ar-ma	a-ta tsun-tso
Lepcha	a-bo-tim	a-bo-cum
Kachin	wa-di	wa-doi
Burmese	p'ă-kri^{3}	p'ŭ-t'we^{3}
Nyi	a-ba-giĕ	a-ba-ɣə
Haka	pa-u	pa-nau
Siyin	pa-lien	pa-no
Chinbon	pa k-dŏm	pa k-cwi
Tangkhul	a-va k'ŭ-rŭr	a-va ka-tui
Lhota	o-po-ra-mo	o-po-ro

One occasionally encounters what seem to be primary terms for FB or MSi, but most of these can be explained on the basis of ellipsis, e.g. Maru t'ong MyBi but mya-t'ang MySi,

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p'a-t'ang FyB in the closely related Lashi language; Bodo a-yong FoB and a-doi FyB, but ma-gung MoSi and ma-doi MySi; Mzong Rengma a-nyo FyB (nyo Ch), and perhaps Changki (Ao) a-sa FyB < *za Ch. Kanauri has a curious diminutive formation, viz. a-mats MSi < a-ma, and a-pats FB < a-pa. Tibetan and Nung, however, appear to have four true PSb terms. The Nung terms a-tsim MSi and a-wang FB have been compared with Tsangla a-zin MSi and Garo a-wang FyB, respectively. The Tibetan term sru MSi seems to have been derived from a root with the generalized meaning "mother's relatives", or "member of mother's clan, first ascending generation". Tibetan k'u FB, it can now be stated, has been developed from the TB root *k'u MB, and the Himalayish and Lepcha employment of this term in its Tibetan setting must be credited to Tibetan influence, which is conspicuous in both of these areas. Tibetan skud < *k'u Fl,Bl is to be explained in terms of xC marriage and the equation of WB with WF, as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Tibetan 'a-ne FSi,MBW further fits into this picture. In Himalayish, Kanauri ru Fl < *sru MSb, and o'ad Sl < *ts'a SiS(me) suggest a like reconstruction. We have some material on xC marriage in the Tibetan area, but the term skud itself is, for the writer, the most significant single piece of evidence. Those who minimize the value of linguistic "fossils" in general might well take note of this term.

The semantic shift FB < MB in the Tibetan term k'u still requires explanation. Elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman the term has

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been demoted to affinal rank or dropped altogether, but nowhere else has it been applied to FB. Now there is but one marital feature in which the Tibetan area (including the Kanauri group of Himalayish) significantly differs from the remaining Tibeto-Burman area, viz. polyandry. Fraternal polyandry of Tibetan type is practised by the Kanauri, almost certainly through Tibetan influence, since this custom is explicitly stated to be absent among the Almora peoples (Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Johar). Among the Lepcha polyandry is an abnormal trait and can unhesitatingly be assigned a Tibetan origin. Among other Tibeto-Burman group for which we have any record, polyandry either is said to be lacking or is simply not mentioned. Since Tibetan polyandry is of fraternal type, the importance of FB can readily be understood. It would seem that the MB term, which is unstable in most TB groups, was first replaced by the honorific term ˀa-ǰang and later applied to FB. The collective term skud-po F1,B1, having already been semantically specialized in an affinal sense, was naturally retained.

Primary cross PSb terms are basic TB features, and are represented by the roots *ni FSi and *k'u MB. The first of these two terms, however, is much more stable than the second, and significantly so (if statistically treated). Thus, Tibetan has transferred the MB term to FB and used an honorific for MB; Burmish-Loloish has retained the MB term only as an honorific applied to oB (in Burmese) or as an affinal term

SA (Ahi, Moso) and has developed new terms for MB (Burmese u³,
601 Lolo ʷru); the Kuki languages proper have dropped the MB term
193 altogether and equated MB with gF; in the Naga group the MB
197 term has been preserved in its original setting only in Ao,
ST while in Rengma and Sema it has been retained only in the
601 affinal nomenclature. All of these groups, however, have the
193 root ʷni FSi in its original setting. Burmese (but not
197 Burmish-Loloish) has replaced both the FSi and MB terms and dropped the former altogether, while Kachin has retained both terms only in its affinal nomenclature. The relatively greater stability of the FSi term is also evident in the borrowings made by various TB groups (infra).

This "differential variability" in the FSi and MB terms must be viewed in connection with the affinal application of these terms and the whole problem of cross-cousin marriage. Under bilateral xC marriage MB becomes Fl, and FSi becomes Ml, and it is not unlikely that honorific terms should become associated with these socially "pivotal" relationships. The fact that the MB=Fl term is more susceptible to this process than is the FSi=Ml term merely reflects the general patrilineal bias of Tibeto-Burman societies. The equation of MB with gF, which plays so prominent a role in Kukish, represents one aspect of this whole development, but teknonymy may also be a factor here ("Fl" designated as "gF of my son"). Teknonymy is hardly typical of Tibeto-Burman yet does occasionally occur. Lepcha, for example, employs a-bo F for Fl

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 where the couple are childless, but t'i-kung gF after the birth of a child, and the descriptive term a-fyat Fl has been derived from an original *sput, which in turn represents a morphological development from the TB root *p'u gF. Vayu ca-k'i Fl appears to be a combination of co < *ca Ch and ki-ki gF. Lahu, in the Southern Lolo group, has a-p'u gF = Fl, a-p'i gM = Ml, and Ahi, in the Northern Lolo group, has zu-p'o WF, also "paternal ancestor". The Chang Sbl terms are of teknonymous origin, e.g. hau-ko Bl(ms) = "his WF", but the Chang Fl terms are simply Fl = MB and Ml = FSi. Chinbon equates WF with gF, and WM with gM (rather than with MB and MBW, as in most Kuki languages), but retains the Kuki pattern in the HM and HF terms (HF = FSi, and especial term for HF), i.e. the teknonymous (or honorific) terms are employed only by the husband. The Mirish languages (Abor, Miri, Dafla) afford the best illustration of teknonymy. In Miri the terms a-bu and a-nǎ are used for F and M, respectively, but in the closely related Abor language these terms are applied to gF and gM, though ta-ta (Miri ta-to gF) is retained as the vocative term for gF. In this instance the child has taken over his parents' terms ("reverse teknonymy") rather than the parent his childrens' terms. Abor also uses the vocative gF term (ta-ta) for Fl, while Miri equates Fl either with gF or with MB, and Ml either with gM or with FSi (the equations with MB and FSi are probably only descriptive, though this is not stated in our sources). Dafla equates Ml with gM, probably also Fl with gF.

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Under a system of bilateral xC marriage we should expect to find both WF and HF equated with MB, and both WM and HM equated with FSi. This condition is fulfilled in Byangsi and Abor-Miri, where this type of marriage is in vogue. The terminological equation also appears, however, in Nung, Chang, Sema, Nzong Rengma, and Lhota, for all of which preferential MBD marriage is indicated, and in Tangkhul and Angami, for which xC marriage cannot be established.

A system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD should lead to the equation of WF with MB, HM with FSi, and separate terms for HF and WM, as well as distinctions between FSiH and MB, MBW and FSi. Kachin fulfills all these conditions admirably, with unilateral xC marriage coupled with the terminological equations indicated above. The same can be said for the Kuki pattern, as illustrated in Lakher, Thado, Chawte, Tarau, as well as in Mru and Khami, viz. WF = MB, WM = MBW, HM = FSi, HF = FSiH. Unilateral MBD marriage is found among the Thado, Chiru, Anal, Aimol, Purum, and probably the Anal, She, and Khami. In Thado this nomenclature is employed only where MBD marriage has actually occurred, P terms being employed under other conditions.

Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma have an intermediate type, with M1 = FSi but WF = MB and a distinct term for HF, but in both languages the MB term is sometimes applied to HF as well as to WF. The closely related Nzong Rengma has a single term for F1 (WF, HF = MB), but retains a distinct term for FSiH. Sema has the same scheme as Nzong Rengma. The Sema term for FSiH,

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furthermore, is cognate with the Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma term for HF, and in Ao the same term appears in its original setting (MB). This Naga material thus shows various stages of the transformation of the affinal terminology through the development of unilateral xC marriage. The discrepancies found in Nung, Chang, and Lhota are perhaps more apparent than real, and in the case of Nung and Lhota, at any rate, our sources may be faulty. Even in these affinal features, however, we must expect to find a certain amount of disassociation, for we must allow for linguistic "lag", i.e. the simple scheme of equating F1 with MB and M1 with FSi tends to be perpetuated even where the development of a unilateral "skew" has rendered it theoretically illogical. This general point has been raised many times before, but will bear repetition in view of the fact that a number of modern theoreticians seem to object to this sort of reasoning.

It is fairly evident that the abandonment of xC marriage as an instutionalized norm has in several different groups resulted in the disappearance of categorical equations. In Tibetan and Kanauri we have only the "fossilized" terms skud-po and ru, respectively, which require comparative studies for a full appraisal of their significance. In Lahul, however, where we have a hint of xC marriage, the equations F1= MB and M1= FSi are in evidence. In Burmese itself categorical equations are lacking, and here also we have no evidence of xC marriage, but the situation is reversed in Arakanese (Chaungtha).

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Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, equate M1 with FSi, WF with MB, and have a distinct term for FSiH, HF (as in Maeng and Anyo Rengma). Kachin influence perhaps plays a role here, yet the Kachin distinguish between WM and HM, as is consistent with their unilateral xC marriage practice. Nyi, in the Northern Lolo group, has derived its terms for WF and WM from the terms for MB and FSi, respectively, plus the element mo "old", acting here as an honorific, while the Burmish-Loloish affinal root *yok is employed in the terms for HM and HF. Ahi seems to reverse this scheme, to judge from our faulty data on this language. For Lisu we have only what appear to be the vocative terms for F1 and M1 (ma-ma < a-ma M, ba-ba < a-ba F), and hence are not in a position to interpret this Lolo material. The use of respectful designations may be a complicating factor here; cf. Lushei pu-zon WF, pi-zon WM, conforming to the Kuki pattern (from pu MB and pi MBW plus an added element -zon), but pa HF (= F) and nu HM (= M), i.e. a woman equates her husband's relatives with her own blood kin.

Categorical equations in the F1 terms are present elsewhere, but our sources are often incomplete. Garo equates M1 with FSi, MBW, but has a distinct term for F1 (a-bu-di, perhaps "little gF"). Mikir equates WF with MB, WM with FSi (with or without the addition of an honorific suffix), and has a distinct term for HF. If we assume that HM (not given in our sources) is also equated with FSi, this system can be compared with that found in Rengma and Maru. Both Garo and Mikir have

SA preferential MBD marriage. Meithei equates M1 with FSi, and
601 has i-ku F1 < TB *k'u MB (the MB term is not known for sure,
193 but may be the Indic loan-word māmā); the Meithei are not
197 known to practice xC marriage.

ST The rest of the collateral terminology (C and N terms)
601 is even more poorly known than the PSb terminology, and
193 presents even more serious problems. In view of the presence
197 of basic TB roots for MB (*k'u) and FSi (*ni) one might expect to find one or more roots for xC, but such is hardly the case. The extension of Sb terms to include pC is practically universal and need not be examined in detail. The lack of especial xC terms is probably associated with the lack of xC marriage, but there are too many lacunae in our data to permit of any final judgment here. Tibetan apparently fails to distinguish between pC and xC, but Burmese perhaps has a distinct xC term (sa-mi^3-mrok-sa^3, lit. "D's spouse"!). By way of contrast, Chaungtha, one of the Arakanese dialects, has yauk-pa B1,xC corresponding to Burmese yok-p'a$^{\lceil}$ B1(ms), in conformity with its equation of F1 with MB and M1 with FSi, i.e. an affinal term has "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature.

Terms for xCe and xCi in conjunction with xC marriage are found in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, Lisu, and Chang, while Dafla has this terminological pattern but without data on xC marriage. Chang appears to have preferential MBD marriage, but the bilateral type is found among the others.

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 Byangsi-Chaudangsi makes a sex-of-speaker distinction, viz. xCi(ms), xCe(ws), xC(ss), and Abor-Miri makes an age distinction. None of the terms involved is associated with a PSb term or a N term. The Abor-Miri terms show "invasion" from the affinal terminology, as in Chaungtha, e.g. mag-bo xCe(os) = oBl,Sl, from TB *mak Sl. Note that in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, and Chang this xC pattern is associated with the simple Pl = PSb categorical equations (for Lisu we lack full information on the Pl terms).

Cross-cousin terminologies of Omaha type are found in two primary foci, viz. Kachin and Kukish. The correlation between the Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal descent, one of the few widely accepted anthropological generalizations, obtains both among the Kachin and the various Kuki and Naga tribes. Of the Tibeto-Burman peoples only the Garo and Mabha, in the Barish group, are known to have matrilineal descent, and unfortunately we know nothing of the cousin terminology in use among these tribes. There is a hint of the Crow type of terminology in Bodo, also in the Barish group, but we cannot be sure that the Bodo reckon descent in the matrilineal line. Bodo (nang-)a-doi "(thy) oBCh", (a-)doi FyB show reciprocity, as has already been pointed out, but Bodo nam-ba-noi "(thy) SiS", (nang-)a-noi "(thy) SiD", and a-noi FSi cannot be explained on this basis and suggest rather the Crow pattern. It is greatly to be regretted that our Garo sources fail us at this critical point.

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The Kachin system, which is quite distinct from that found in Kukish, merits especial examination. The key terms are as follows:

Kachin Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

moi	FSi	ts'a	MB,MBS(ws)
ning	xCi(ws)	k'zu	xCe(ms)
k'ri	FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms)		
rut	MBD(oms)		
nam	MBD(yms),BCh(ws)		

(Affinal)

ni	WL,MBW,WBW	ku	HF,FSiH,HoB,oSiH(ws)
moi	HM	ts'a	WF,BWB(ws)
ning	HSi,BW(ws)	k'zu	WB,SiH(ms)
nam	Dl,WySi,yBW(ms),WBCh	k'ri	Sl,HSiCh,FSiHSi
rut	WoSi,ySiH(ws),oBW(ms),HyB		

The main features of this system have already been discussed in pt. 7. It will be observed that the lineal equations characteristic of the Omaha pattern appear only in the terms for non-marriageable cross-cousins under the Kachin unilateral xC marriage arrangement, i.e. a man equates his (non-marriageable) FSiD with his SiCh, while a woman equates her (non-marriageable) MBS with her MB. The terms applied by a woman to her (marriageable) FSiS are not known, but a man equates his (marriageable) MBD with his WSi. Distinct terms are used by speakers of each sex for xC(ss).

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On the basis of comparative material, the terms nam and k'ri must be regarded as originally affinal (D1 and S1, respectively). Both terms have "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature via the categorical equations D1=HD(ws) and S1=SiS(ms), as are consistent with the practice of MBD marriage. Note that both terms have become neuter in the course of this transformation. We must next enquire of the fate of the original xW terms thus displaced. The terms moi FSi and ts'a MB can be called upon at this point. We lack comparative material on moi, but Tibetan has ts'a SiS(ms) corresponding to the Kachin term, and we can therefore interpret Kachin ts'a MB as a product of reciprocal usage. We have conclusive support for this view in the term k'ri HSiCh,FSiHSi, which at first puzzled the writer. Under the Kachin tripartite organization, as described by Gilhodes, FSiHSi becomes MBW, and MBW ~ HSiCh are reciprocal terms. Since moi FSi closely parallels ts'a MB, we are justified in interpreting this term analogically as a reciprocal development from HD(ws).

To continue our analysis, moi and ts'a have displaced the original cross PSb terms ni and ku, which are retained in the affinal nomenclature. An original system of bilateral xC marriage must be postulated to account for ni WW,MBW < FSi, and ku HF,FSiH < MB. The categorical equations shown by ning xCi(ws)=Sil(ws) and k'au xCe(ms)=Bl(ms) also call for this type of marriage.

To complete our reconstruction, the terms ning, k'au, and rat must be regarded as originally consanguineal rather

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them affinal. We have comparative material only for ning, which is represented by Chang (Konyak) nyăng < *ning xC, Nikir neng < *ning BW(ws). We must further reconstruct rat as the term for xC(ds), i.e. the marriageable xC under the original bilateral xC marriage arrangement. This yields the theoretical categorical equations xCi(ms)=Sil(ms) and xCe(ws)=Bl(ws). Under the conventional type of levirate, which is found among the Kachin, a distinction must be made between the (marriageable) oBW and the (non-marriageable) yBW. In Kachin this distinction is made, in the case of a man, by equating yBW with Dl (nam) and in retaining the term rat for oBW, and, in the case of a woman, by equating HoB with HF (ku) and in retaining the term rat for HyB. Since a man marries his MBD, the distinction between rat MBD(oms) and nam MBD(yms) is the natural result of that described above. It is a fair inference that the missing terms for FSiS(ws) are ku FSiS(ows) and rat FSiS(yws). Note that the equation of MBD(yms) with BCh(ws) is a by-product, so to speak, and is not to be taken as a 'Crow' feature.

We are now in a position to evaluate the Omaha features of the Kachin system. It has been demonstrated that the Kachin have developed a unilateral xC marriage system from an original bilateral arrangement, and that this shift has produced a profound transformation in the kinship terminology. The equating of MBS(ws) with MB, and of FSiD(ms) with SiCh(ms) serves to distinguish the non-marriageable from the marriageable

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cross-cousins. These equations closely parallel those already noted in the Sbl terminology, and appear to form part of the same pattern. If this inference be correct, we must regard the institution of the levirate as a contributing factor here.

The Kachin terminology under the original bilateral xC marriage system can be reconstructed as follows:

Reconstructed Kachin System

(Consanguineal)

ni FS1	ku MB
ning xC1(ws)	k'au xCe(ms)

ret xC(ds)

moi BD(ws)	ts'a S1S(ms)

(Affinal)

ni MBW,M1	ku FS1H,F1
ning S11(ss)	k'au B1(ss)

ret Sb1(ds)

nam D1	k'ri S1

Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, show Omaha features of Kachin type, e.g. Lashi so-ok FS1D(ms),S1Ch(ms) and zo-auk S1 (a variant of so-ok), directly comparable with the Kachin term k'ri. Our material here is too uncertain to justify any further investigation of this point, and we have no data on the Maru and Lashi marriage practices. Both tribes are closely identified with the Kachin, and have even incorporated Kachin loan-words into their kinship nomenclatures, so that direct Kachin influence must be reckoned with in this

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matter. To judge from what little we know of the collateral terms of other Burmish-Loloish languages, Omaha features are not present. There is some evidence suggesting that the root *tu is applied both to N and C in Lisu and in Ulu (Northern Lolo), but the Lisu material is inconsistent and the Ulu material is not precise

The Omaha nomenclatures found among the Kukish tribes are quite distinct in type from the Kachin nomenclature. The Kuki tribes proper, including Southern Kuki and Tangkhul, employ the following basic scheme (in many varieties):

<u>Kuki Omaha Pattern</u>

(Consanguineal)

pi gH,MBD pu gF,MB,MBS

ni FSi

tu FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh

(Affinal)

pi MBW,WI,WSi pu WF,WB

ni HM -rang FSiH,HF

mou DI,BW(ws) mak SI,SiH(ws)

Lushei has an especial term for BCh(ws), viz. va' (apparently connected with the root *wa H), and Yindu has an especial term for BD(ws), viz. (ka-)li, which has been compared with the root *ma-li gCh (Burmese, Hung), xH (Jikir). In Siyin and Chawto, however, BCh(ws) is equated with Ch. The analyzing development in Laiyo has entirely obliterated all traces of the Omaha system, yet the term tu FSiCh is

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retained. Haka has both (k-)tu FSiCh and the analytical term (k-)ni fa as an alternative. Lakher applies Sb terms (in address) to FSiCh and occasionally to MBCh, and both Thado and Aimol sometimes apply the oSb term to FSiCh(os). Chinbok employs an analytical term for MBS, but equates MBD with MySi. Thado resembles Chinbok in equating MBD with MSi, but elsewhere the regular equation is with MBW = gM. Chinbok is further aberrant in equating FSiS with SiS(ms) but having a distinct term for gS. Yindu equates DS with SiS,FSiS, but employs an analytical term for SS. Yindu has distinct terms for MBCh, and Kyaw has distinct terms both for MBCh and FSiCh(i.e. Omaha features are lacking). Aimol, if we can trust our sources, has reversed the Kuki pattern, with (ka-)pu FSiS and (ka-)tu-pa MBS. Chinbon has MoBS = MyB, MyBS = WB, reflecting the stress placed on age distinctions in Southern Kuki. Our Chawte material, which is not reliable, indicates a distinction between FSiS(ws) and FSiD(ms), and the equation of SiCh(mws) with gCh. The affinal term mak Sl is commonly replaced by the consanguineal term tu SiS(ms), as in Haka, Chawte, and Sho, and the reverse process whereby an affinal term "invades" the consanguineal nomenclature (as in Kachin) is illustrated by Kyaw sa-mǎk SiCh(ms) = Sl, and Ayaing Khami mok-sa FSiCh,SiCh(ms) = Sl, both from the root *mak Sl. The latter language has retained the root *tu, however, in the term (ka-)tu FSiCh(ws),gS.

It is evident from the above citations that this Omaha pattern is extremely susceptible to variation at all points.

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Nothing approaching the specific Kachin variety has been encountered, however, and the two systems seem to have little in common. In the Kuki system the equations FSiCh = SiCh(ms) and MBS = MB obtain regardless of the sex or speaker, there are additional equations of MB with gF and SiCh(ms) with gCh, and ni FSi is retained as a consanguineal term. In addition, distinct terms for xCl(ss) and Sbl are lacking. The historical developments of the two systems have been quite different, if we are permitted to draw inferences from comparative data. The terms pi and pu are the original gP terms (TB *p'i gM, *p'u gF), and the term -rang (prefixed) can be regarded as the original term for MB, cognate with Tibetan ʾa-ǰang < *zrang MB (cf. Kachin ku HF, FSiH = MB). The term tu occasions some difficulty, since we have only the Burmish-Loloish root *tu and the Nung term pa-du, both applied to M (xM in Burmese) for comparison. In view of the parallelism in the equations MB = gF and xM = gCh, however, we must fix the original meaning of tu as "gCh" rather than "xM". The clue to these equations seems to be teknonymy in conjunction with xC marriage, i.e. we must suppose that a man applied the teknonymous terms pu gF and pi gM to his wife's parents, whereas a woman applied the consanguineal terms ni FSi and -rang MB. With the development of unilateral marriage with MBD, a feature found in the Kuki area as well as in Kachin, the two sets of Fl terms were fully differentiated in function, and the term pu Fl = gF replaced the consanguineal term -rang MB, with pi coming into

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use for MBW. The equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh was the natural result of the above development. Since the term ni FSi was retained in its original setting, no comparable term was developed for the reciprocal relationship BCh(ws). The evidence for the use of teknonymous terms in Tibeto-Burman in general has been resumed above and need not be discussed at this point. Within the Kuki group, note Chinbon (ka-)mo-pauk WH=gF and (ka-)mu-bok MoB (probably a variant of the foregoing), (ka-)mo WM=gM and (ka-)mok MoBW (probably a variant of the foregoing), but (ka-)ze HF (analysis uncertain), (ka-)zi HM=FSi. Chinbon thus makes use of teknonymous terms precisely as suggested above for the Kuki group in general.

We are still faced with the problem of explaining the equations MBS=MB, MBD=MBW (or MSi), and FSiCh=SiCh(ms). Here again we must take into account the affinal setting of these terms under a system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD. The fundamental equation seems to have been that between WF and WB (pu) rather than between MB and MBS, i.e. these kin were identified because of the similarity of their roles as wife's father and brother rather than as mother's brother and mother's brother's son. In other terms, the especial position of MB and MBS among the Kuki groups seems in large measure to have arisen through xC marriage. The equation of FSiCh with SiCh(ms) reflects the equation of MBS with MB, just as the equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh reflects the equation of MB with gF.

It is possible to conceive of the Kuki development without recourse to teknonymy simply by assuming that pu gF was

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applied to MB and MBS in an honorific sense, with tu gCh SiCh(ms)=FSiCh as a complementary equation. In any event, the equation in the MB line must be regarded as the primary one, and the equation in the FSi line as complementary. The same situation was found to obtain among the Kachin (supra).

The Naga languages, which make up the northern division of the Kukish group, also reveal Omaha features, which are of Kuki rather than Kachin type. MBD is equated with MSi or MySi rather than with gM=MBW. In Ao (all three dialects) the terms for gF (o-pu) and gCh (sam-cir) are distinct, i.e. there is no teknonymy, the TB root *k'u is retained in the consanguineal nomenclature (o-k'u MB,MBS) while MBD is equated with MySi, and the affinal terms for Sl (a-nok) and Dl (a-mu) are applied to FSiS,SiS(ms) and FSiD,SiD(ms), respectively, precisely as in Ayaing Khami. Sema has a distinct term for gF (neuter) and equates gCh with Ch, but has developed a new root for MB,MBS (a-ngu) and has retained the root *k'u only in the affinal meaning "FSiH" (a-ci). Thus both Ao and Sema show full Omaha features without distinction of sex of speaker (as in Kuki) but also without teknonymy (as in Kachin). The Angami, Rengma, and Lhota systems, however, all show teknonymous features. Rengma (all three dialects) equates MB,MBS(os) with gF (ggF in Nzong), and FSiCh,SiCh(ms) with gCh. Lhota shows a partial equation of MB,MBS with gF (o-mo and o-mo-tsü) and at least similar terms for FSiS,SiS(ms) and gS (o-hro and o-hre). Angami equates FSiS,ySiS(ms) with gS, but distinguishes between

SA gF and MB, yet the term for the latter (mi) is connected with
601 the Rengma term for gF,MB (a-mi ~ a-mui) and the Lhota term
193 for MB (o-mo) and gF (o-mo-tsü). We can thus interpret Angami
197 mi MB as the original term for gF,MB and in this way explain
ST the lack of symmetry in the Angami nomenclature as it now
601 stands (a man calls his sister's child "gCh", but a child
193 calls his mother's brother "uncle"). Angami lacks the Omaha
● 197 traits on one side, since MBCh is addressed or described by name, or analytically if the need arises. The Rengma equations on the MB side appear only in the vocative nomenclature, and only when the cousin (MBS or MBD) addressed is older than speaker.

As noted in pt. 16, Majumder attempted to explain some of the features of the Sema nomenclature in terms of marriage with F's widow, after the fashion instituted by Rivers. Almost no instances of marriages of this type have been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman area, however, and the writer fails to see how Rivers' theories are of any relevancy in the present situation. The most curious form of marriage noted is the Lisu marriage with FSi cited by Fraser, and this is not reflected in the Lisu nomenclature. Omaha features among the Omaha and Miwok are perhaps based on WBD marriage, but for the American evidence there is no unanimity of opinion, and at least three recent writers on the subject (White, Gifford, Tax) have attacked this as a general explanation. Of this trio White alone suggests a general explanation, viz. that the Omaha type

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197 is developed from the Dakota-Iroquois type (pC=Sb, xC distinct term) under the influence of a mature and vigorous patrilineal clan system. Gifford has successfully attacked this view on the basis of the American material, and the same general strictures are applicable in the Tibeto-Burman field, where no correlation can be established between strong patrilineal clans and the Omaha type of terminology.

The Kuki equation of xN with gCh is also encountered in Miri (ā < o-i "child below") and Tibetan (ts'a). Miri has retained the TB root *k'u MB (a-kū), but does apply teknonymous terms to F1 and M1 (= MB and FSi under the Miri bilateral xC marriage system). In Tibetan, however, teknonymy has been found only in the dialect of Bathang (eastern Tibet) as recorded by Desgodins, who cites rmo-rmo M1 = MM (hence a man's term for his WM). Abor shows reverse teknonymy in the shifts a-bu gF < F and a-nā gM < M, reflected in the equation o Ch = N = gCh (Abor, like Miri, applies teknonymous terms to F1 and M1).

SA 601 ST 601 We are perhaps not justified in concluding that all equations of xN with gCh are based on teknonymy involving the affinal nomenclature (gF > F1 = MB), but no better general explanation can be suggested. The general thesis outlined above conforms to the basic Tibeto-Burman sociological pattern of cross-cousin marriage, and thus enjoys an initial advantage over any alternative theories of a more ad hoc nature.

Reciprocal terminology has already been mentioned in connection with Kachin ts'a MB < SiCh(ms), k'ri HSiCh, FSiHSi,

SA 601 ST 601

some tribes of the Nama marriage with MBD "is said to have been far more common" (p. 244). For the replacement of the MB term by the Dutch loan-word (omob < oom), cf. the widespread Tibeto-Burman borrowing of the Indic term māmā MB (infra).

The BaThonga evidence (Junod, pp. 216 and ff.) is complicated by the existence of dialectical differences. The regular MB term is malume (Zulu malume MB), applied also to MBS. The Northern BaThonga, however, have kokwana gF,MB,MBS, ntukulu SiS(ms),gS. The BaRonga clans are in a neatly transitional stage, with alternative sets of terms. Radcliffe-Brown (1924) has made an illuminating analysis of the BaThonga material, in which the significance of the terms malume ("male mother") and rarana ("female father") is pointed out (cf. also Firth's discussion of the FSi as "male father" in Tikopia). The BaThonga do not practice xC marriage, according to Junod, and the parallelism with Kuki thus breaks down at this point. Since the application of kokwana gF to MB is apparently of late origin here, the teknonymy principle is of no avail in this instance, and we must accept Radcliffe-Brown's mode of reasoning. Note that neither the Nama nor the BaThonga system is of true Omaha type.

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SA 197 601 ST 197 601

Loan-words appear in many of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, and include terms of Indic, Chinese, and Shan origin, as well as of Tibeto-Burman origin. Indic loan-words are found in a string of languages extending from Baltistan

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and Kanawur in the northwest to the Garo Hills in the southeast, all exposed to direct Indian influence. The extent of borrowing in kinship nomenclature is in general correlated with the rate of borrowing in general, but this is not necessarily so, e.g. Magari has preserved a large proportion of its original TB vocabulary yet has retained only a single kinship term (za Ch), if we can trust our sources. The tendency to borrow terms for male kin rather than female kin has been observed in Balti, Kanauri, Newari (less well marked), Miri, and Barish. Terms for relatives older than speaker are also more likely to be borrowed than those for relatives younger than speaker. Probably both points can be explained on the basis of the honorific connotations associated with loan-words in general, which go to make up the "respectable" idiom as opposed to the vulgar. The term mama MB has been borrowed by Balti, Kanauri, Dhimal, Bodo, Garo, and perhaps Meithei, whereas the Indic FSi term has been borrowed only once (Dhimal).

The most prominent instances of borrowings made within Tibeto-Burman are those of Lepcha from Tibetan, and Atsi from Kachin. To illustrate the vagaries in the borrowing process, Atsi borrows its MB and FSi terms from Kachin but retains its native FB and MSi terms, whereas Byangsi (Almora group) borrows from Indic (Khasiya) its terms for FoB and FyB but employs a native term for MB. The borrowing of a term in a specialized sense only is exemplified by the following curious series: Kanauri mak-pa "Sl living in Fl's house" (from Tibetan); Lepcha ku-mok, id. (from Tibetan); Kachin

SA 197 601 ST 197 601 luk-k'i, id. (from Shan). All three languages have distinct S1 terms applied under normal conditions. Contrast Garo nok-rong "S1 living in F1's house" (native term), cowari "S1 other than above" (from Indic); note that among the Garo the nok-rong is a formalized institution in a matrilineal society. It would be difficult to find a more ideal illustration of the mirroring of sociological features in linguistic phenomena.

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1 [For abbreviations see this source in Cat, 113, ALl Southeast Asia ALl -- Analyst]

SECTION B

KAREN AND CHINESE

1. Introduction

ST 197 [121] K 197 [121]

Having completed a review of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, the writer now proposes to discuss in summary fashion the salient points of the Karen and Chinese nomenclatures. Karen and Tibeto-Burman together constitute the western branch of the Sino-Tibetan stock, the eastern branch of which is represented by Chinese (Sinitic) and the Sinitic element in Thai. The term "Indo-Chinese" has been employed in a somewhat broader sense to include Thai itself, and the latter family is commonly coupled with Chinese in contrast to Tibeto-Burman. This view has been developed in a masterly study by Wulff and is shared by Maspero, a pioneer in Thai linguistics. The writer himself was originally partial toward this view, but more intensive investigations of the Thai languages have led to the conviction that a wholly distinct substratum is involved here, and that the Sinitic elements constitute little more than a veneer, albeit an ancient one. A rapprochement with Indonesian has been initiated, largely on the basis of a newly discovered linguistic group in southern China, northern Tonkin, and the island of Hainan. This newly recognized group, consisting of Kelao (southern China), Laqua (northern Tonkin), and Dai or Loi (Hainan), has been named "Kadai". Kadai is notable for its retention

ST 197 K 197

of a numeral system based on Indonesian roots in connection with numerous Thai features, and serves to explain certain resemblances between Thai and Indonesian.

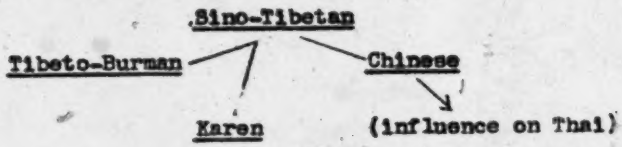
The connection between Tibeto-Burman and Chinese, long a favorite theme with philological speculators, can now be regarded as established (Simon, Shafer, Benedict). The relationship is an ancient one, however, comparable with that between Indo-European and Hittite or between Semitic and Hamitic, and generalizations covering the phonological relations of the two families can be drawn only with the utmost difficulty. Karen stands in an altogether different type of relationship with Tibeto-Burman, and these two families must be derived from a common origin (Tibeto-Karen) as opposed to Chinese (vide the discussion in pt. 2). The following set of roots illustrates the lexical affinities of Chinese with Tibeto-Burman and Karen; forms are cited for Ancient Chinese (6th century), Archaic TB (as reconstructed by the writer), and five Karen dialects.

	Chinese	TB	Taungthu	Zayein	Sgaw	Pwo	Mopgha
five	nguo (五)	*l-nga *b-nga	ngat	ngä nyä	yä	yai	zä
I	nguo (吾)	*nga	-	nga nya	ya	ya	za
fish	ngiwo (魚)	*ngya	-	-	nya	ya	-
plantain	-	*ngak	nga	-	ya	ya	za

Note Sgaw y- < ng- but ny- < ngy-, and cf. Tib. nga < *nga "I" but nya < *ngya "fish". The root for "plantain" illustrates the type of "partial equation" between Tibeto-Burman and Karen

ST 197 which is frequently encountered (in this instance the root is perhaps an old loan-word in Karen).

K 197 The relationships among Tibeto-Burman, Karen, Chinese, and Thai can conveniently be diagrammed as follows:



Sh 197 (60) In view of the peculiar linguistic position occupied by Thai, the kinship terminologies of the several Thai languages have been omitted from consideration in the present study. The writer has examined the kinship terms used in Siamese, Lao, Shan, Khamti, Ahom, Black Tai, Tho, Nung, and Dioi, however, and is thus able to make a few general observations. The Thai system is remarkable for its uniformity from group to group, though it must be remembered that the Thai languages in general are fairly uniform. Age distinctions are even more prominent than in Tibeto-Burman, and appear both in the Sb and PSb terms (*bi oSb, *nong ySb; *lung FoB,MoB, *pa MoSi,FoSi). The collateral lines tend to be merged in the PSb terminology, as in Lowie's "lineal" type, yet the Sb terms are extended to include both pC and xC, e.g. Siamese nong is defined as "kindred of a younger branch, younger brother or sister, cousins, spouse, mistress" (in the standard Siamese lexicon by Pallegoix). Four gP terms are found in some Thai languages though not in all and undoubtedly must be regarded as forming part of the basic pattern, e.g.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate. 20 487 482 [203]

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes. 491

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow and Yin Shiu Wan 秧秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries. 502

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills. 436

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

439 yak tails, skins of sheep, of lambs and unborn lambs, of dogs, foxes
237 and groundhogs, more rarely skins of goats, gazelles and wolves. After New Year, for which pigs were slaughtered, they also sell pig bristles. Finally, they sell musk, field mushrooms, the chüo-ma root (Potentilla anserina) and hsiao-hsiang, a plant used in making incense candles.

439 The Chinese sell to the Fantzu: dress goods (silk and cotton), leopard skins for the men's fur coats, ornaments, weapons, kitchen utensils, especially cooking pots, needles, thread, matches, bridles with snaffle and stirrup. Tsamba is purchased from the sedentary Fantzu, often also wood. Woodenware, especially saddles, eating bowls and spoons come chiefly from the sedentary Fantzu who live in southern Kansu and northern Szechuan.

201 Bargaining is carried on very cautiously. The Tibetans do not
439 come out with the price immediately, but /37/ according to a custom also widespread in China, the two parties shake hands under their long sleeves, and the price demanded of the buyer is indicated by stretching out the fingers. They keep a dead-pan expression, so that they will not betray toward one another their real feelings about the transaction. Often such a transaction in sign language is carried on not by the two partners alone; bystanders act as go-betweens or lend support to one of the two parties, but likewise only in sign language under their sleeves.

439 The Mohammedan and Chinese traders come to the tent camps of the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) But the Fantzu also often go to the

1. For details see Ekvall 4).

Chinese settlements next to the temples on the caravan road from Ho-chou to Labrang, or to the nearest Chinese cities. An important trading station for the Mewu-Fantzu is the Chinese-Mohammedan settlement next to the large monastery of He-tso; somewhat farther away and less important is the trading station near the monastery of Ka-chia-chiu-szu; a large trading center still farther away is the one near the large temple city of Labrang. The more sizeable Chinese cities visited by the Mewu-Fantzu are the district cities of T'ao-chou (the old part of the city), Ho-chou and Ning-hou. In T'ao-chou they buy chiefly metalware, for example, copper and brass kettles. Frequently the nomads bring wood with their yaks from the sedentary Fantzu of the lower areas to Ho-chou and Ning-hou, and buy goods with the money they have thus earned. The nomads

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
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3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove and as The Agent who medi'es between them and God.

At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the sacrifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang, as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but 439 they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. 796 Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet. 796

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal. 871 212 792

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i. e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way. 797 804

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether 797 805 796

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

776 accordance with their appearance, they may be the images we see in a dream, the shape of a particular thing, or without any shape at all. The corner of the clothes, the dirt on the human body, the air we exhale, insects, fallen leaves, any animal, or any man-made article can all represent gods. In a word, the Ch'iang beliefs remain in the stage of animsim and fetishism. Some say that the Ch'iang beliefs have reached the stage of monotheism. (1) This

1. T. Torrance, "The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Ch'iang," (Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1924). In this article, the author considers the Ch'iang as a monotheistic people like the Jews and denies that the Ch'iang have animism.

view is not correct. Moreover, the fact that the Ch'iang have sorcerers and sorcery fits into this kind of beliefs. If there were no such beliefs, the Ch'iang sorcerers and sorcery would have no reason for their existence. The so-called witchcraft religion is the general term for this kind of beliefs and sorcery. There are numerous examples like this among primitive peoples of the world.

1. The White Stone God and the Sacred Forest

•[212] The Ch'iang tribesmen have only a spoken language but no
776 written one. Therefore, so far as their past is concerned, we have
773 to search for it among their folk songs, stories, and legends. The origin of the beliefs in the White Stone God and the Sacred Forest can also be found in their legends and folk songs. According to legends, the Ch'iang once had a great migration, in which they were scattered in all directions. A group of them, after having settled down, met a rival tribe called "Ko-jen" (2) who were dumb but

2. "Ko" is a phonetic transcription. The Ch'iang's victory over the Ko-jen was a crucial event in their national regeneration. So, up to now, the Ch'iang are still very happy to talk about it. It is said that the physiological traits of the Ko tribesmen are: big and hard bones; high eyebrow bones; a high forehead; teeth as big as a thumb; a very thick skull; a very short neck; hairs as

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

131 For four or
five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 The Lu-tzu 鹿子 have no written language, while the spoken language
212 itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and
262 their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor.
273 They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan Fei-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 麻麥苴 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野彝). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

2: Rock R-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. ROCK, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

231/476 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 ton of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574 3/2 222 224 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窝, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窝, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活棚, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything, I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The
222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to
313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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[534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them
[415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147]
women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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Ch'iang

4. Occupations.

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[462] members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

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226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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Mewu

> In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782 224

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a bŏm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 224
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunting rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 563
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu. Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge. It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge. They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago (1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese. However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral, respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place with 692
in the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for permission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work together in such cases.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

They are crude and savage: they use cross-bows

and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high."

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190), the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween.—Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

313 nightly markets in Ta Li. The cedars in the rain forest which begins near 13,000 ft. and continues to the crest are cut for building timber to some extent. As they grow on steep and often almost sheer slopes and precipices, much of the timber cannot be cut, or if cut cannot be fetched down. This industry is therefore very limited, and the lengths obtainable small. Large beams for house building and boat building are more easily obtained from the forests on Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain behind the eastern shore of the lake.

824 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which
261 grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

313 In recent years the *hsien* government, which acts as trustee for such public land as the mountain, has done something towards reafforesting the lower slopes with pines. Much of the ancient pine forest has been cleared by woodcutters, but re-planting undertaken within the last twenty years has restored the lower slopes to forest, and strict licensing of wood cutting is now enforced. On the other hand no attempt has been made to exterminate or even reduce the wolves which infest Ts'ang Shan and not only prey upon the small flocks of sheep, but also raid the villages of the plain
312 for pigs and chickens. The main value of Ts'ang Shan, in Min
316 Chia eyes, is as a source of perennial streams for irrigating the rice land, its secondary value as the source of the famous Ta Li marble for which the city is known all over China.

226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous 226
and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large [342]
boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population en- [361]
gages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no 443
shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

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313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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able, and cotton growing could not be attempted there. Silk, 231
which can also be conveniently and profitably transported 185
long distances on mule back, has been suggested. A few families on the Ta Li plain have taken up cocoon raising, but the technique is not generally understood, there are no large groves of mulberry trees, and many years will be needed before the production of silk can be of any commercial importance. So far the Min Chia have found no alternative to the opium crop. The government, as is now well known, have 489
completed the remarkable motor road from Yunnanfu to Burma, which is connected with Ta Li by a short branch. The road was built by forced labour and as a war measure. A railway, which however will not pass within forty miles of Ta Li, is now under construction. The eventual benefits of these improved communications will no doubt be felt by the Min Chia, but at present they are more conscious of the demands on their time and energies.

The suppression of opium has therefore left the Min Chia 243
for the present at the mercy of the rice standard, unalleviated by any cash crop raised for export. It is the working of this almost closed economy, as yet unaffected by any serious volume of intercourse with the outside world, which forms the subject of this chapter. Since rice is the dominating factor in this system it must have pride of place.

The method of rice cultivation is well known, nor do the Min Chia differ in this respect from other rice growing peoples. The rice is grown in seed beds planted in the latter part of March, the second lunar month, when frost need no longer be expected. The fields are cleared of the wheat and bean crop in May, and are then ploughed in readiness for the flooding, which is either effected by irrigation on land nearest the mountain, or by the monsoon rains which begin, on the average, at the end of May. As soon as the fields are flooded the rice seedlings are transplanted from the seed

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the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147] women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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231 Shan is public land. On the lower slopes, easily reached from the plain, some cattle are grazed, but as they are driven down to the city or villages every night, and no attempt has ever been made to build cow byres on the mountain itself, they cannot reach the middle slopes, where the pasture is 234 much better. On the other hand the Min Chia, in sharp contrast to the Chinese, milk their cattle, and make two kinds of cheese, called *niuzai* or "milk cakes," and *zerbiu*. Although the Chinese in other parts of the country regard cow's milk as unfit for human consumption, and milk drinking as a disgusting habit, the Yunnanese have taken to *niuzai* or "*Ju san*", as it is called in Chinese, which is even brought up to Yunnanfu, where it is a delicacy.

231 The steepness of the slopes of Ts'ang Shan accounts in some manner for the Min Chia failure to raise more cattle, but the neglect of sheep raising cannot be explained on these grounds. Small flocks of sheep and goats—always more goats than sheep—are driven up daily to about the 9,000 ft. level, but they are always brought back to the villages or the city at night. They cannot therefore reach the fine pastures lying below the rain forest between 9,000 and 11,000 feet, where rich grass remains uncropped from year to year. The small flocks that do exist are not large enough to graze the area in daily reach of the plain, and they largely consist of that rather useless animal, the goat. When asked why they do not raise more sheep, the Min Chia shepherds give a reply which reveals the mental habits bred of long isolation. They say "there are no more sheep". In other words the small flocks they own, are, to them, the only existing flocks of sheep. Other places, remote beyond the encircling mountains, may have sheep also, but this has no practical importance. Sheep from such districts are not available, cannot be, or at least never are, brought to Ta Li, and have no more bearing on their problem than sheep in Australia.

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231 236 The quality of the wool produced by the Ta Li sheep is hairy and poor, and the few hundreds of sheep in their flocks do not give any appreciable amount. The demand for mutton, especially since the Moslem population has declined, is small. Though these points are always put forward as an explanation of why there are so few sheep and so much wasted pasture, the manner in which the Min Chia answer these questions shows that they have never really thought about them before. "There are no more sheep" ; this expresses their attitude, and the reasons why there are no more only occur to them as afterthoughts, when some stranger takes it into his head to dispute or argue about a fact which to them is as satisfying as it is obvious.

314 Stock raising in fact is only a minor side line of the villages lying at the base of the mountain. Those families who have not enough rice land to live on engage in a little stock raising, or woodcutting, or cutting the mountain grass for fodder. But these activities are rather despised. Only the very poor, one was constantly told, would try to earn a living on the mountain, and the implication that this sort of livelihood was in some way rather barbarous was clearly present. That the returns are poor is certainly true. A woman or girl—such work is usually left to them—who goes up the mountain at dawn, perhaps to 10,000 or 11,000 ft., a three hour climb, and cuts a load of hay, only gets two nickel, or a halfpenny, for her fodder when she gets down to the city by four o'clock in the afternoon to sell it to the muleteers at the caravan inns. So much work for so poor a reward would obviously only be undertaken by those reduced to great poverty.

313 Bamboo cutting, which involves going still higher, to the bamboo forest at 12,000 ft., under snow and inaccessible in winter, is a little more paying. Bamboos are made into brooms, or cut for sticks, and these can be sold at the fort-

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443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia Towards
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0s. 0d. a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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231/476 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable
342 harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not
222 enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high
224 mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窩, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窩, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything, I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

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177
186 Chinese and freely intermarry with them. In many villages only
[197] Chinese is now spoken, and only a few of the oldest people understand the Ch'iang language. The Government has opened primary schools where the Chinese language and culture are taught, and in Wei Chow there is a normal school which the brightest Ch'iang students are encouraged to attend. The writer is much pleased at the improvement in the attitude and relations of the Ch'iang towards the Chinese and of the Chinese towards the Ch'iang.

II. Introduction.

173 I. History. The first references to the Ch'iang people are on the oracle bones. They lived to the west of the Shang dynasty Chinese who made war upon them, took them captives and even offered them as sacrifices to the ancestors of the Shang people. On the oracle bones the upper part of the word meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and the lower part is man 人, meaning people who raise sheep or goats.[1] The Chinese word for Ch'iang today consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and below is the character for man 人. A small third character is sometimes
[231] added 羌, and this character is sometimes abbrevited to a dot. An interesting fact is that while the Ch'iang are all farmers, they depend for a livelihood very much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

174 There is ample evidence to show that the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in the war that resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.[2] Later there were wars with the Chinese, and at least some of the Ch'iang migrated westward and to the southwest. At this point let us quote the tradition of the Ch'iang. The writer first heard it from Kou P'in-shan 苟聘三, who mentioned a year and a half as the time of the migration. He has heard it from several Ch'iang people and took it down in this form from Mr. Ch'en Chen-shu, who lives above the village of K'a Gu.

I. Creel, Herrlee Glessner The Birth of China, 1936, p. 213.

II. Li Fan T'in Chih, Book Four, History of the Border Section 2.
理番廳志 卷四 邊防志二
Shih Chi, Book Four, Chou Ben Cai, Part Four.
史記四 周本紀第四
Chung Kuo Min Ch'u Shih, Chapter II, The Ch'iang Race.
中國民族史 第十一章 羌族
Creel, Herrlee Glessner, The Birth of China, 1936, p. 215-6
Legge, James, D. D., The Chinese Classics, Vol. III., Part II., The Book of History, pp. 301-2

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and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

5. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in the valleys. 241 231 262 [243]

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten. Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet. 262 252

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Sai. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees. 291

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a woman is lower behind, reaching almost to the

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine
years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow
Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If con-
ditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats,
peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats,
horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe
begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is
formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system.
West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
241 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan
barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With
increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about
3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock
farmers. (1)

1. Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese adminis-
tration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and
are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided
into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall
describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery
of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso
monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic
Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited
two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new
Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I
pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery
in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor,
made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is
equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed
from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are
connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 362
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden
box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters
long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and
small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall
is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which pro-
visions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear
for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a
separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored
are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of
the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centi-
meters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special
resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these
tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the
sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a
large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top
and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Sus-
pended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag
of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from
the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent,
made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ 342
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two
meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

Mewu

The women of the tent nomads do not go out to work like the 462
wives of the sedentary Fantzu. Year in and year out their whole time is taken up by caring for the animals.

The children are put to work early tending the animals. The 857
girls must, in addition, also gather dung, but the boys do not help in this occupation. The girls start to milk when they are 12 or 13 years old.

Animal Husbandry

The Mewu-Fantzu live exclusively from the products of their 231
livestock. They keep yaks, cattle, sheep and horses, also dogs, of course. The most important animal is the yak. The yaks of the Mewu region are generally pure black, occasionally /24/ spotted with white. There are yaks with and without horns. Lack of horns seems to be a recessive hereditary characteristic. There are wealthy families who own more than 100 yaks; but the average number is much less. The 20 tents in the community where I lived together owned 700 yaks, which means an average of 35 per family. The highest number of yaks per family in this community was 70, the lowest 7. It can also happen that poor people do not own any yaks at all, but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows.

Not all families have bulls, but the owner of a bull does not get paid for covering. A cow drops her first calf when she is 2 to 3 years old. The gestation period of the yak is 9 months. Most calves are born in the third or fourth month. In the seventh or eighth month the cows are again covered. Good cows are allowed to grow very old; they are alsughtered only when they are 17 or 18 years old. The calf is gradually weaned, but the amount of milk it gets is reduced very soon after birth. When it is one or two months old the calf gets a nose plug, to prevent it from sucking. The adult yak gets a nose ring made of a bent length of a sturdy withe. Calves and young bulls are often driven to pasture in pairs with their fore-legs tied together, so that they cannot stray too far away.

The oxen are used as pack animals when they are three years old. At the age of 15 or 16 they are fattened and killed. The yaks graze all the year round; only when there is deep snow, which may happen every year in January and February, do they get some green cut oats. The yaks are never given any salt, and therefore always show a definite hunger for it. Milking is done exclusively by the 234
women and girls. The yak cow will let itself be milked only when her calf is tethered near by. A very good milch cow gives a bucket

234 of milk three times a day; an average cow gives two bucketfuls for the day. A milk bucket holds an average of /25/ 2 1/2 liters. The [415] buckets are made and repaired by Chinese. Good buckets are made of pine wood, first-class ones of cypress. Osiers are used as hoops.

The milk is drunk boiled or eaten as clabber. But most of the milk is used to make butter. Casein is derived from the buttermilk, and is filtered through a coarse bag, whereupon it is dried, stored in the form of coarse powder, and eaten. The whey is fed to the dogs. The butter is stored in mutton or yak maws, often for a long time, "up to more than 10 years." This old butter which gets very rancid is chiefly used in the lamaseries to feed guests at the festivals or to make Buddha images. Surplus butter is sent to the temple in which the son of the family is a lama. Lamas also often come to the tents and beg for butter, which is always willingly given to them. The price for old and new butter is the same. It comes to $0.50 per chin. (1) At home as well as in the temples old butter is made into

1. Chin, the Chinese pound, equals 605 grams.

lard in order to clarify it. This lard is used only as fuel for the sacrificial lamps.

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Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231 a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231 only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411 carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231 from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak, a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243 As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The 462
only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. 463
Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used 225
for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They 231
have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences 476
between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of 651
the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese [441] [463] [563]
chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are 436
purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: 439
sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 237

234 of milk three times a day; an average cow gives two bucketfuls for the day. A milk bucket holds an average of /25/ 2 1/2 liters. The [445] buckets are made and repaired by Chinese. Good buckets are made of pine wood, first-class ones of cypress. Osiers are used as hoops.

The milk is drunk boiled or eaten as clabber. But most of the milk is used to make butter. Casein is derived from the buttermilk, and is filtered through a coarse bag, whereupon it is dried, stored in the form of coarse powder, and eaten. The whey is fed to the dogs. The butter is stored in mutton or yak maws, often for a long time, "up to more than 10 years." This old butter which gets very rancid is chiefly used in the lamaseries to feed guests at the festivals or to make Buddha images. Surplus butter is sent to the temple in which the son of the family is a lama. Lamas also often come to the tents and beg for butter, which is always willingly given to them. The price for old and new butter is the same. It comes to $0.50 per chin. (1) At home as well as in the temples old butter is made into

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his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used 233 during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone 361 can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope 342 of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1.30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1.80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

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682 Quarrels leading to murder happen more often, according to my interpreter, among the Mewu-Fantzu than among the neighboring Chinese. The Fantzu above all tend to become brutal when they are drunk. Murder also occurs. The motive for murder is either jealousy or covetousness (murder attended with robbery). It also happens that a man shoots another because he honestly believes he has been harmed by him through magic.

682 If a murder has been committed, the family of the victim does
628 not relax its efforts until it has revenged itself on the murderer, if possible by killing him. Blood revenge is taken also if murders have been committed in a state of intoxication or if a person suspected of black magic has been murdered. If /82/ blood revenge is not taken, one loses respect. However, blood revenge rarely occurs in actual fact, for the murderer usually flees beyond the borders of the tribal territory, seeking refuge with some other tribe. If the murderer is caught before the victim's family was able to carry out blood revenge, he is first of all soundly thrashed and held captive until he can pay a penalty of 80 yaks. Thereupon he is banished from the tribal territory for four years. There is no death penalty inflicted except by the clan of the blood avengers. The property of the murderer is seized if he was captured or if he escaped. Blood revenge is not considered murder and is not punished. The custom of blood revenge among the Mewu-Fantzu is thus already very much mitigated. It seems to be largely replaced by an indemnity in the form of yaks. For example, if a member of a ts'aowa group kills a member of another group, the two ts'aowa chieftains decide on the indemnity, which is usually a penalty of 80 yaks, at least 40 of which must be first-class, the rest can be less good. If the relatives of the murderer cannot meet the payment in full, the entire ts'aowa group to which the murderer belongs must make up the rest.

421 Foremost among the property rights of the nomads is, of course,
233 the question of the right to pasturelands. The pastureland is divided among the individual tent communities by the t'ou-mu. The land used for planting oats near the winter pastures is divided among the individual families. There is enough land for planting oats, and everyone can cultivate as much as he needs for his stock. The t'ou-mu divides the various families into tent communities. The lamaseries have their own pastures for yaks; they do not raise sheep. The boundaries of the pasturelands of individual tent communities must be respected just as strictly as those of the entire

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-
lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished
by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every
yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner
must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 224
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting
of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunt-
ing rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught
violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are
usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 563
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu.
Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted
directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official
by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge.
It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the
Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for
their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge.
They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago
(1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the
t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese.
However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer
acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man
slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral,
respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place with 692
in the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another
territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority
as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial
cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The
ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for per-
mission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work
together in such cases.

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

S ST [439]

S ST 563 101 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

S ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

231 Shan is public land. On the lower slopes, easily reached from the plain, some cattle are grazed, but as they are driven down to the city or villages every night, and no attempt has ever been made to build cow byres on the mountain itself, they cannot reach the middle slopes, where the pasture is 234 much better. On the other hand the Min Chia, in sharp contrast to the Chinese, milk their cattle, and make two kinds of cheese, called *niuzai* or "milk cakes," and *zerbiu*. Although the Chinese in other parts of the country regard cow's milk as unfit for human consumption, and milk drinking as a disgusting habit, the Yunnanese have taken to *niuzai* or "*Ju san*", as it is called in Chinese, which is even brought up to Yunnanfu, where it is a delicacy.

231 The steepness of the slopes of Ts'ang Shan accounts in some manner for the Min Chia failure to raise more cattle, but the neglect of sheep raising cannot be explained on these grounds. Small flocks of sheep and goats—always more goats than sheep—are driven up daily to about the 9,000 ft. level, but they are always brought back to the villages or the city at night. They cannot therefore reach the fine pastures lying below the rain forest between 9,000 and 11,000 feet, where rich grass remains uncropped from year to year. The small flocks that do exist are not large enough to graze the area in daily reach of the plain, and they largely consist of that rather useless animal, the goat. When asked why they do not raise more sheep, the Min Chia shepherds give a reply which reveals the mental habits bred of long isolation. They say "there are no more sheep". In other words the small flocks they own, are, to them, the only existing flocks of sheep. Other places, remote beyond the encircling mountains, may have sheep also, but this has no practical importance. Sheep from such districts are not available, cannot be, or at least never are, brought to Ta Li, and have no more bearing on their problem than sheep in Australia.

mewu

with the customary fork and with a stock that often has a beautiful 411
silver mounting. These old-fashioned guns are still being made in Ho-chou. Within the last four years, however, many comparatively modern guns have been sold to the Fantzu by escaped Chinese soldiers who were racked with hunger. /16/ These modern weapons often still have forks which are chiefly made in Labrang.

Their swords (2) are about one meter long. They are not worn

2. Rockhill, Plate 22.

on a sword belt, but are stuck through the belt or the hip cord in front, so that they rest almost horizontally. The haft and scabbard are usually richly decorated with silver mountings set with corals.

A knife about 30 centimeters long hangs at their side, its handle and sheath consisting of brass or silver.

The women wear large silver ear pendants, richly set with corals 301
and turquoises. Little girls at the age of 7 or 8 get their first ear- 302
rings, mostly of simple brass. Finger rings (3) of silver or copper,

3. Rockhill, Plate 5.

also set with corals and turquoises, are worn on the left hand. Neck rings or necklaces are not worn. Special emphasis is put on hair ornaments. When the young girls get their first hairdo, the side braids are, as we have said, held together by a special ornament. This consists of cloth which the women themselves sew and trim with corals. (4)

4. For a description of women's hairdo compare Rockhill, page 690.

An important tool of the women, which has at the same time 301
developed into an ornament, is an anchor-shaped double hook of 234
brass, known in Tibètan as sao-sou (Chinese: nai-k'o, "milking 413
hook"). (1) It is usually set with a few corals. It is always worn

1. Illustrated in Futterer 6), Vol. I, page 34.

at the belt and is used by the women to hold the pail when milking. Sometimes their belt or hip cord is also ornamented with strips of red cloth and tassels.

mewu

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 352
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ 342
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

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237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

Mewu

The women of the tent nomads do not go out to work like the 462
wives of the sedentary Fantzu. Year in and year out their whole time is taken up by caring for the animals.

The children are put to work early tending the animals. The 857
girls must, in addition, also gather dung, but the boys do not help in this occupation. The girls start to milk when they are 12 or 13 years old.

Animal Husbandry

The Mewu-Fantzu live exclusively from the products of their 231
livestock. They keep yaks, cattle, sheep and horses, also dogs, of course. The most important animal is the yak. The yaks of the Mewu region are generally pure black, occasionally /24/ spotted with white. There are yaks with and without horns. Lack of horns seems to be a recessive hereditary characteristic. There are wealthy families who own more than 100 yaks; but the average number is much less. The 20 tents in the community where I lived together owned 700 yaks, which means an average of 35 per family. The highest number of yaks per family in this community was 70, the lowest 7. It can also happen that poor people do not own any yaks at all, but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows.

Not all families have bulls, but the owner of a bull does not get paid for covering. A cow drops her first calf when she is 2 to 3 years old. The gestation period of the yak is 9 months. Most calves are born in the third or fourth month. In the seventh or eighth month the cows are again covered. Good cows are allowed to grow very old; they are alsughtered only when they are 17 or 18 years old. The calf is gradually weaned, but the amount of milk it gets is reduced very soon after birth. When it is one or two months old the calf gets a nose plug, to prevent it from sucking. The adult yak gets a nose ring made of a bent length of a sturdy withe. Calves and young bulls are often driven to pasture in pairs with their fore-legs tied together, so that they cannot stray too far away.

The oxen are used as pack animals when they are three years old. At the age of 15 or 16 they are fattened and killed. The yaks graze all the year round; only when there is deep snow, which may happen every year in January and February, do they get some green cut oats. The yaks are never given any salt, and therefore always show a definite hunger for it. Milking is done exclusively by the 234
women and girls. The yak cow will let itself be milked only when her calf is tethered near by. A very good milch cow gives a bucket

234 of milk three times a day; an average cow gives two bucketfuls for the day. A milk bucket holds an average of /25/ 2 1/2 liters. The [415] buckets are made and repaired by Chinese. Good buckets are made of pine wood, first-class ones of cypress. Osiers are used as hoops.

The milk is drunk boiled or eaten as clabber. But most of the milk is used to make butter. Casein is derived from the buttermilk, and is filtered through a coarse bag, whereupon it is dried, stored in the form of coarse powder, and eaten. The whey is fed to the dogs. The butter is stored in mutton or yak maws, often for a long time, "up to more than 10 years." This old butter which gets very rancid is chiefly used in the lamaseries to feed guests at the festivals or to make Buddha images. Surplus butter is sent to the temple in which the son of the family is a lama. Lamas also often come to the tents and beg for butter, which is always willingly given to them. The price for old and new butter is the same. It comes to $0.50 per chin. (1) At home as well as in the temples old butter is made into

1. Chin, the Chinese pound, equals 605 grams.

lard in order to clarify it. This lard is used only as fuel for the sacrificial lamps.

236 The long yak hair from the animal's belly, back, and legs is plucked once a year in the fifth or sixth month. This is done by tying down the yak and winding the hair around a stick of wood and thus pulling it out in tufts. Yak hair is used to make cloth for the tent and for ropes. The latter are used to pull the tent widths taut, and as halters and hobbles for horses.

231 A four-year-old milch cow costs $15 to $20, an old ox ready 435 to be slaughtered, $12 to $13. Calves are not sold. Yaks are slaughtered mostly in September and October. Some of the fresh meat is eaten, most of it is hung up to dry. The dried meat is either hung in the tent or is packed in leather. In this packed state it is often given to a temple for /26/ safekeeping. A yak skin costs $1 to $4; a good yak tail costs 10 cents, a white one, 20 to 30 cents. Yak horns are used as snuff containers, rarely as drinking horns. They also serve as milk bottles for babies.

232 Cattle are raised only by the sedentary Fantzu, not by the tent nomads. But the tent nomads buy individual bulls for breeding, because they like very much to use crossbreeds between beef cattle and yaks. A cross between a male beef and a female yak is particularly valued (Chinese: pien-niu). The pien-niu grows larger than a yak and has somewhat shorter and more curly hair than the

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231 236 The quality of the wool produced by the Ta Li sheep is hairy and poor, and the few hundreds of sheep in their flocks do not give any appreciable amount. The demand for mutton, especially since the Moslem population has declined, is small. Though these points are always put forward as an explanation of why there are so few sheep and so much wasted pasture, the manner in which the Min Chia answer these questions shows that they have never really thought about them before. "There are no more sheep" ; this expresses their attitude, and the reasons why there are no more only occur to them as afterthoughts, when some stranger takes it into his head to dispute or argue about a fact which to them is as satisfying as it is obvious.

314 Stock raising in fact is only a minor side line of the villages lying at the base of the mountain. Those families who have not enough rice land to live on engage in a little stock raising, or woodcutting, or cutting the mountain grass for fodder. But these activities are rather despised. Only the very poor, one was constantly told, would try to earn a living on the mountain, and the implication that this sort of livelihood was in some way rather barbarous was clearly present. That the returns are poor is certainly true. A woman or girl—such work is usually left to them—who goes up the mountain at dawn, perhaps to 10,000 or 11,000 ft., a three hour climb, and cuts a load of hay, only gets two nickel, or a halfpenny, for her fodder when she gets down to the city by four o'clock in the afternoon to sell it to the muleteers at the caravan inns. So much work for so poor a reward would obviously only be undertaken by those reduced to great poverty.

313 Bamboo cutting, which involves going still higher, to the bamboo forest at 12,000 ft., under snow and inaccessible in winter, is a little more paying. Bamboos are made into brooms, or cut for sticks, and these can be sold at the fort-

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[476] help each other in this task without charge. It takes an average of two days to shear the herd of one family. A wether gives 1 chin of wool annually, a ewe, 1/2 chin. A chin of fleece costs 20 to 50 cents. At the time of my visit the demand for wool was so great
237 that the highest price was paid. A sheepskin costs $0.60 to $1.
435 However, skins of unborn lambs cost $2 to $4. A sheep gut is sold for $0.20 to $0.30; in He-tso, the nearest large town, the price goes
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[476] the winter. If a family loses all its animals, everybody helps out by giving them others. The tent nomads do not often keep goats, but the sedentary Fantzu often do, and they also drink goat's milk.

Every family has at least one horse. The Mewu-Fantzu have a small breed of horses that measures about 130 centimeters at the withers. These Tibetan ponies are somewhat smaller and lighter than the Mongolian ponies or those from the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. They are closer to the tarpan (Equus gmelini) than the Przewalski type (1). These horses have a great deal of endurance

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 164 ff.

and are especially adapted for use in mountainous terrain. They
232 have hard hoofs which are not shoed in the steppes. Good stallions
435 are selected for breeding, the rest are castrated at four years. These horses live an average of 10 years; the men break them in at 3 years. The average price of a riding horse is $40 to $50; the highest price is $100. No horses are imported, but horse traders come from T'ao-chou and He-tso, and the Mewu-Fantzu sell them horses. Mules are not used by the tent nomads; asses cannot stand the high altitude.

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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0*s.* 0*d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

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mewu

Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231
a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231
only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411
carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231
from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak, a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243
As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat

Mewu

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas. 462 463

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu. 285

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials. 231 476

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given. 651

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials. [441] [463] [563] 436

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 439 237

439 yak tails, skins of sheep, of lambs and unborn lambs, of dogs, foxes
237 and groundhogs, more rarely skins of goats, gazelles and wolves. After New Year, for which pigs were slaughtered, they also sell pig bristles. Finally, they sell musk, field mushrooms, the chüo-ma root (Potentilla anserina) and hsiao-hsiang, a plant used in making incense candles.

439 The Chinese sell to the Fantzu: dress goods (silk and cotton), leopard skins for the men's fur coats, ornaments, weapons, kitchen utensils, especially cooking pots, needles, thread, matches, bridles with snaffle and stirrup. Tsamba is purchased from the sedentary Fantzu, often also wood. Woodenware, especially saddles, eating bowls and spoons come chiefly from the sedentary Fantzu who live in southern Kansu and northern Szechuan.

201 Bargaining is carried on very cautiously. The Tibetans do not
439 come out with the price immediately, but /37/ according to a custom also widespread in China, the two parties shake hands under their long sleeves, and the price demanded of the buyer is indicated by stretching out the fingers. They keep a dead-pan expression, so that they will not betray toward one another their real feelings about the transaction. Often such a transaction in sign language is carried on not by the two partners alone; bystanders act as go-betweens or lend support to one of the two parties, but likewise only in sign language under their sleeves.

439 The Mohammedan and Chinese traders come to the tent camps of the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) But the Fantzu also often go to the

1. For details see Ekvall 4).

Chinese settlements next to the temples on the caravan road from Ho-chou to Labrang, or to the nearest Chinese cities. An important trading station for the Mewu-Fantzu is the Chinese-Mohammedan settlement next to the large monastery of He-tso; somewhat farther away and less important is the trading station near the monastery of Ka-chia-chiu-szu; a large trading center still farther away is the one near the large temple city of Labrang. The more sizeable Chinese cities visited by the Mewu-Fantzu are the district cities of T'ao-chou (the old part of the city), Ho-chou and Ning-hou. In T'ao-chou they buy chiefly metalware, for example, copper and brass kettles. Frequently the nomads bring wood with their yaks from the sedentary Fantzu of the lower areas to Ho-chou and Ning-hou, and buy goods with the money they have thus earned. The nomads

511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s.* 0*d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147] women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

THE SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES PEOPLE AS AFFECTED BY THEIR CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

A. THE CLIMATIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LIFAN

131 Lifan ranks second in area among the 138 counties of Szechwan Province. It is situated at the northwest corner of Szechwan, with an indefinite boundary to the north in the wild expanse of grasslands. The Ta-chin River 大金川 (Big Gold River) acts as part of its western boundary, and also Sikang as its western neighbor. In the south, it is separated from Wenchwan 汶川 County by a continuous mountain range with its highest peak named Hsueh-lung-p'ao 雪龍袍 or the Snow Dragon Mountain, because it is perpetually covered by snow. The Min River 岷江 serves as part of its eastern boundary, and a mountain range divides Lifan from Sungpan 松潘 in the northeast.

133 The county is divided into three natural regions according to the three large river systems: the Min in the east, the Ta-chin to the west and the Yellow River to the north. The three natural regions are really three drainage basins. They are the drainage basins of the Cha-ku 雜谷 and the Hei-shui 黑水 or Black Rivers as tributaries of the Min River in the southeast, the drainage basin of the So-mo 梭磨 River as tributary to the Ta-chin River in the west, and the drainage basin of the Mei River 梅 as tributary to the Yellow River in the north.

The topography, on the whole, may be classified as a dissected plateau, and it is sloping from the west to the east. The altitude of Wei-chow 威州, the eastern entrance of Lifan, is 4,500 ft. and that of Ma-tang 馬塘, about 150 miles west of Weichow, is over 10,000 ft. But this highland is badly dissected by streams and has formed many deep valleys. In the drainage basins of the Cha-ku and Black Rivers, the valleys are narrow and deep, while those in the other two drainage areas are broad and shallow. For example, while the So-mo and other valleys in the grasslands are all open U-shaped, those in the southeast area are entrenched V-shaped valleys.

The result is that very little flat land is to be found in the lower altitudes of the southeast. In the grasslands the lands are comparatively level, but the [132] altitudes are high, and the temperature is low throughout the year. Even during the height of summer, the night temperatures are usually around 40°. •241 During the day the temperature might rise to 70° or more. Thus the growing 133 season is too short for the ordinary types of agricultural crops, and both the

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 relief and the low temperatures limit the cultivation on any large scale. Most
241 of the cultivated lands are located in the southeast, in the drainage area of the Cha-ku and the Black Rivers, on gentle slopes between an altitude of 5,000 to 9,000 ft.

133 Roughly speaking, over 50% of the total agricultural food stuffs produced
241 in Lifan are produced along the Cha-Ku valley, between Weichow and Cha-ku-
433 nao 茶谷脑, a distance of not more than 50 miles. And these crops are mostly grown on slopes rather than on alluvial plains at the valley bottoms. The total area of alluvial plains at the valley bottom between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao is smaller in area than the cultivated mountain slopes of even one mountain settlement, as for instance Chia-shan-chai 佳山寨. This shows the insignificance of alluvial lowlands and the importance of slope cultivation in the region. Besides the Cha-ku valley, the Black River valley which is the other tributary to the Min also has some fertile slope lands under cultivation. As all the valleys are separated by high mountains with steep slopes, the cultivated area on slopes is nowhere very extensive.

241 Besides the topographic limits of land utilization, climatic influences are
132 also very strong. Though the climate varies from valley to valley, yet it is
433 controlled by definite climatic laws. In regions where the altitude is below 6,000 ft., the summer temperature can go up as high as 86° F (30° C) and the minimum temperature during the hottest month, August, could go down to 57° F (14° C). On the average, the temperatures for six months, from the middle of October to the middle of April, are below the critical temperature for vegetation growth. That leaves a growing season of only about six months.

In the grasslands the annual average temperature is below 39° F. Even during the height of summer, the maximum temperature goes only as high as 74° or 75° during the day, and can go as far down as 33° F. The growing season is thus shortened to less than four months.

As far as moisture is concerned, the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft., being hidden between high mountain walls, are usually very dry, because little moisture can reach them. The average relative humidity for August last summer was below 50%. Between an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000, due to the orographic effect of air that is rising along the slopes, the average relative humidity for August last summer was below 60%, while the slopes above 7,000 ft. during the same period had an average relative humidity of about 80%. Thus during the severe drought in the summer, while the crops on the lower slopes were all withered and with no hope for any harvest, the oats, potatoes, and barley were flourishing on the upper slopes. The relative humidity is still higher as the altitude goes higher until it reaches the altitude of about 10,000 feet, when it begins to decrease again. Therefore, according to moisture distribution, the mountainous country is classified into four zones: the arid zone, the semi-arid zone, the humid zone, and the sub-humid zone.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Taing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Chim-Pa [illegible]. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese,
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, --Analyst]

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432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the orrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

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4. Occupations.

463 All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers
[423] have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses,
and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the
[462] members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing,
for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

5. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in the valleys. 241 231 262 [243]

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten. Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet. 262 252

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Sau. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees. 291

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a women is lower behind, reaching almost to the

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
● [241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

1. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

S ST 311 [161] ST [241] [312]

Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒吸河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hĕr-dü, the Har-lĕr-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

S ST 131

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

[p. 388]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER 2

THE RICE STANDARD

RICE IS THE real standard of wealth among the Min Chia. 436
Direct barter of rice for commodities is common, rents 243
are paid and calculated in rice, and rice producing land is the chief investment of the wealthy, and the principal source of revenue for the government. No other crop compares 243
with rice either in actual value or in the estimation of the 311
people. Land which is unsuitable for rice cultivation is hardly regarded as anything better than waste. In consequence of this preoccupation with the rice crop the Min Chia neglect the development of other forms of agriculture and have failed to exploit all the possibilities of land on which rice cannot be grown.

The Min Chia are rarely if ever found on land where rice cultivation is impossible, they avoid the mountains, and when the excess of population makes its impossible for all to engage in rice farming, they prefer to emigrate to distant parts of the Province rather than cultivate other crops upon the mountain sides. Whether this is to be explained as the failure of an immigrant people of lowland origin to adapt itself to the life of mountaineers, or as the whole-hearted conversion of a people, once pastoral hillmen, to the advantages of intensive agriculture, there is no direct evidence to show. The Min Chia lack any tradition of immigration to their present home, and it may be regarded as certain that they have practised their present mode of life for at least seven centuries.

Although there is thus an ancient tradition in support of 243
rice farming, and an almost psychological aversion to living on the mountains, there are also strong economic arguments

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

243

Ploughing flooded rice fields.

Transplanting rice seedlings.

[Face p. 24]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

243 in favour of rice cultivation. The yield of rice, very much higher per acre than that of wheat or maize, the alternative cereal crops, enables a larger population to live in a restricted area. Furthermore, the climate of Ta Li (though not of the northern Min Chia areas) makes it possible to grow wheat and beans on the rice lands in winter, so that two crops a year can be harvested off the same land. A comparatively small holding of rice land, ten Chinese acres (*mu*) or an English acre and a half, is sufficient to support a family of five persons.[1] Consequently there was little incentive to undertake the cultivation of maize or fruit on the mountain sides while population still remained low, or fresh rice land in adjoining valleys was easily available. When these conditions ceased to apply the tradition of rice farming had secured so strong a hold upon the people that they preferred to emigrate to great distances rather than abandon their manner of life.

243 311 423 Other considerations have combined to enhance the value of rice land and reinforce the hold which the "rice standard" has obtained on the Min Chia mind. Since the area suitable for rice is limited, and was long ago brought under cultivation, good land has acquired a scarcity value, and this in turn has been enhanced by the universal will to ownership. The poor seek to buy land even at great sacrifice, the rich regard land purchase as the only safe investment. To be landless is regarded as a grave misfortune, and even to have to rent additional land is considered regrettable. It is of course true that in a community without banks or joint stock companies, land is the best investment, indeed the only really safe one. Land will survive most calamities. Fire may destroy merchandise or a hoard of treasure, and insur-

804 [1] The *Mu* or Chinese Acre by which land all over China is measured, is not, however a fixed unit. The *Mu* varies slightly in every district, and even in different villages. In Yunnan the equivalent of ⅙ of an English acre to the *Mu* is approximately correct for the Ta Li district.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

able, and cotton growing could not be attempted there. Silk, which can also be conveniently and profitably transported long distances on mule back, has been suggested. A few families on the Ta Li plain have taken up cocoon raising, but the technique is not generally understood, there are no large groves of mulberry trees, and many years will be needed before the production of silk can be of any commercial importance. So far the Min Chia have found no alternative to the opium crop. The government, as is now well known, have completed the remarkable motor road from Yunnanfu to Burma, which is connected with Ta Li by a short branch. The road was built by forced labour and as a war measure. A railway, which however will not pass within forty miles of Ta Li, is now under construction. The eventual benefits of these improved communications will no doubt be felt by the Min Chia, but at present they are more conscious of the demands on their time and energies.

The suppression of opium has therefore left the Min Chia for the present at the mercy of the rice standard, unalleviated by any cash crop raised for export. It is the working of this almost closed economy, as yet unaffected by any serious volume of intercourse with the outside world, which forms the subject of this chapter. Since rice is the dominating factor in this system it must have pride of place.

The method of rice cultivation is well known, nor do the Min Chia differ in this respect from other rice growing peoples. The rice is grown in seed beds planted in the latter part of March, the second lunar month, when frost need no longer be expected. The fields are cleared of the wheat and bean crop in May, and are then ploughed in readiness for the flooding, which is either effected by irrigation on land nearest the mountain, or by the monsoon rains which begin, on the average, at the end of May. As soon as the fields are flooded the rice seedlings are transplanted from the seed

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

243 beds, an arduous task for which all the labour of the village, men and women, is needed. Once the transplanting is over, the crop, apart from a little weeding, is left to grow until it matures in October. The harvest at Ta Li is usually ripe by the beginning of November, when the fields are drained, and the crop gathered. One kind of rice, which has become popular in recent years owing to its higher yield, is called "Tiao Ku," "Dropping rice" because the grain falls very readily when ripe, and therefore has to be threshed in the fields and cannot be carried back to the farm house. Large baskets are taken out to the fields and the grain is beaten out into them as the sheaves are reaped. The usual method with other kinds of rice is to bring the sheaves back to the village where they are threshed on a prepared floor with the flail. The rice is then taken to the mill to be husked, or stored [376] until required. Husking is always done at a water mill on the Ta Li plain, as the abundant water power makes the use of the treadmill found in other parts of Yunnan unnecessary.

804 In the vicinity of Ta Li it is calculated that in a normal year one *mu* yields from ten to twelve Chinese pecks or *tou* of rice. The *tou*, like other weights and measures in Yunnan varies from one locality to the next, for though it is always made up of ten *sneng* or measures, these in turn contain a varying number of rice bowls, which being the only constant measure are the best standard for comparison. The following table sets out the measures as used in the Ta Li district and their equivalents in English measures.

Measures and weights compared

12 bowls	= 1 *sheng*	= 9 lb	avoirdupois
120 bowls	= 1 *tou*	= 90 lb	,,

243 One sixth of an English acre (one *mu*) produces on average ten *tou* or 900 lbs of rice. If it be calculated that each member of a family consumes daily eight bowls of rice (four at

1: Fitzgerald.H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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each of the two meals) it requires approximately 25 *tou* to 243
feed one man for a year, or 125 *tou* to feed a family of five persons. Taking the yield of the *mu* at 12 *tou* per year it follows that the produce of 10 *mu* (1 and 2-3rds English acres) is just sufficient to feed a family of five persons, but allows no margin for other expenditure. As the winter wheat crop also brings in a certain return it is possible for a family to live off 10 *mu*, which is confirmed by the testimony of Min Chia farmers themselves, who state that 10 *mu* is in fact the minimum holding necessary for a family to be self sufficient.

A poor farmer owning only 10 *mu* must however set aside 243
one *tou* of his yield as seed grain, it being calculated that one 427
tou of seed grain is sufficient to sow ten *mu*. It follows that most families having only 10 *mu* must in practice rent more land. Rents are paid in kind, at the rate of from five to six *tou* per *mu* of the rice crop and half a *tou* of wheat. Beans are not accepted as rent for the winter crop, wheat rents being calculated at about one tenth of rice rents, although the cash value of wheat is usually about one fifth of the price of rice out of season, and one tenth the price of rice just after the wheat harvest.

Large holdings are unknown in the Ta Li region, but many 243
families have more than the minimum ten *mu*. Holdings of 423
more than fifty *mu* are almost unknown, forty *mu* is the average of the most wealthy, and from this upper limit all gradations down to those who have less than five *mu*, under one English acre, are to be found. These small holdings are explained partly by the long process of subdivision occasioned by the break up of families, partly by the very high price of the land. The best rice land, that lying midway between the 434
mountain and the lake, sells, even since the fall of values 243
after opium suppression, for 200 Yunnan silver dollars the 423
mu. At the rate of exchange prevailing before the war with Japan started, the Yunnan silver dollar was worth about

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. 0d. or £45 0s. 0d. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 $ Nat. = 2 $ New Paper = 10 $ Old Paper	= 1*s.* 2*d.*	sterling
1 $ Yunnan Silver = 3 $ Nickel	= 0*s.* 9*d.*	,,
1 $ Nickel = 10 nickel cents	= 3*d.*	,,

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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provide the labourers with three meals of rice. Labour is 243 engaged mainly in the planting and harvest seasons, and even 465 large farms do not have hired hands permanently on the pay roll. A farm of forty *mu*, or about seven acres, which is large in the Ta Li region, would pay out not more than fifty dollars nickel in the year or about 12*s*. To which must be added the rice for the labourers' meals.

Taxation in Yunnan is light. The land tax and a tax on 651 slaughtering animals are the only direct taxes paid by the people. The newly introduced income tax, first collected in 1938, only applies to the salaries of government officials and teachers, who can ill afford to pay it, and to merchants whose income exceeds 10,000 National Dollars per annum. There are none in this category at Ta Li. The land tax is levied only on cultivated land, and was formerly graded into three categories, applied to the best, medium, and poor land. In 1938 this was changed to a flat rate applied to all cultivated land without distinction. Collected in two equal instalments twice annually, the old tax was as follows:

Grade	*Tax per mu*	*Sterling equivalent*
Best land	4.00 dollars nickel	One shilling (6.0*s*. an acre)
Medium land	3.00 ,, ,,	ninepence (4*s*. 6*d*. an acre)
Poor land	2.00 ,, ,,	sixpence (3*s*. 0*d*. an acre)

The new system requires a flat rate of 2.40 dollars nickel from all land. This is also collected in two equal instalments at the end and in the middle of the year.

This new rate is about equivalent to sevenpence halfpenny per *mu*, which being very much lower than the old rate of a shilling on the best land, and not a very great increase over the old rate of sixpence on the worst, would

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the orrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhown stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

3. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in the valleys. 241 231 262 [243]

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten. Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet. 262 252

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Sai. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees. 291

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a woman is lower behind, reaching almost to the

mewu

Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231
a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231
only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411
carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231
from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak, a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243
As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The 222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to 313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds [534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them [415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the la[illegible] and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, [illegible] their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven he[illegible] wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [o[illegible] crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Hirlyst]

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S ST 177

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in sufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S ST [167]

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S [133] S ST [243]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the 133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, 132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede 133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the 162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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341 side, the blank surfaces at the gable ends and under the eaves being decorated with black and white arabesques. The doors in the wooden fronts are carved, and the window spaces closed with lattices of intricate and unusual designs. The houses, as in all parts of China, are built on the courtyard plan, but are usually two storied.

This style of architecture is not of course peculiar to Ta Li, and there is no difference between the houses inhabited by Min Chia and by Chinese. If there was ever an indigenous type of house unlike the Chinese kind, it has entirely disappeared. On the other hand, the custom of decorating the end walls with black and white arabesque patterns is peculiar to the Ta Li region and is not found in other parts of Yunnan. The small pointed windows let into the end and back walls, another peculiarity of Ta Li houses, are not found in ordinary Chinese designed houses and these, and the decoration found in conjunction with them, may perhaps be attributed to Moslem influence.

351 Every residential house has a garden as well as the central
247 courtyard. The garden, part of which is used for vegetables, is usually shaded with fine trees and gay with flowering shrubs. The camelia or tea tree, of which there are many varieties, is very popular at Ta Li in the winter months. In summer, roses, azaleas and rhododendrons (the latter with difficulty acclimatised to the lower altitude), give a constant succession of flowers, and the plants are trained with loving care into strange shapes representing Chinese characters for happiness and good luck. The people of Ta Li are keen amateur gardeners and in recent years many foreign flowers such as zinnias and marigolds have been introduced. Loquats, oranges and pears are grown, although the quality of fruit from the eastern shore of the lake is much superior. These trees are grown in Ta Li more for their blossom than for the fruit.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

137 824 [247] Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea, which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

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249 185 276 It speaks well for the influence of the Central Government in a remote area, and for the authority of the Provincial Government of Yunnan and its officers, that this campaign of opium suppression has been carried out with perfect success and without occasioning revolts, lawlessness or open resistance, although it has vitally affected the entire population of Yunnan, very much to their immediate detriment.

249 185 276 458 No one will seriously question the right and duty of the government to suppress the cultivation of opium as the only sure way of eventually suppressing the consumption of the drug and freeing the Chinese people from an undoubted evil. No one, either, who has lived in western China will doubt their courage in undertaking a task both difficult and highly unpopular. That the nation will ultimately derive great benefit from the ending of the opium habit is incontestable; but that the immediate effects in western Yunnan have been most serious is also unquestionable. In the absence of any alternative export crop to replace opium, and the absence of communications making any more bulky export commercially profitable, the result of suppression has been a profound economic depression in the areas affected. Land values fell by one third in 1936, and in that and subsequent years business at the great fairs in and near Ta Li, when the Min Chia make their annual purchases of goods produced abroad or on the coast, fell to a fraction of that done in former years.

248 185 Against this must be set the efforts of the government to provide a new export crop and develop communications. It is probable that had not the war with Japan absorbed the energies and the money of the government in the national struggle these efforts would have been more effective than they have been. An attempt has been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton. This has made some small progress in other districts, but the climate and soil of Ta Li are not suitable, and cotton growing could not be attempted there.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

438 tity to supply the local markets, rice can never be an export
435 crop for the Min Chia farmer. A quantity is sent up to Li
511 Chiang and Chien Ch'uan, which having a colder climate, are less productive; but the cost of transporting rice on mule back, the only means of transport, is so high that this trade can never develop on a large scale. Therefore, in a good year the price of rice at Ta Li falls very low and the farmer's purchasing power declines proportionately ; in a bad year the quantity of rice harvested is not sufficient to provide an export surplus, and the poorer farmers, after paying their rice rents, have difficulty in living off the remainder of the crop, and cannot afford to make other purchases. The rice standard is therefore a check on trade and a factor causing the standard of living to remain low.

249 The Min Chia, who are in most respects a practical and hard headed people, were not unaware of these disadvantages, and sought to escape from them by producing an export crop which would not interfere with the cultivation of rice, and would yet command a good price in distant markets. Such a crop must have a high value for small bulk, for as it must be transported for at least two weeks on mule back to reach any market of importance (either Yunnanfu or Burma) no bulky inexpensive commodity would show a profit after the costs of transport were deducted. Such a crop they found in opium, which was introduced into Yunnan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Opium admirably fulfilled the conditions outlined above. It was planted on the rice lands as a winter crop, harvested in May before the rice seedlings are transplanted. Therefore it did not interfere with rice cultivation. It was light and fetched a very high price in the markets of Yunnanfu whence it was transported to other parts of China. It thus provided the Min Chia with, from their point of view, the perfect export crop, which brought outside money into the closed economy of Ta Li and

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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enabled the farmer to buy the products of other regions for cash. 249

It is an ironical fact that the efforts of the Central Government of China, urged on by the moral pressure of the rest of 249 the world, to do good, should have resulted in the infliction 185 of great economic damage and hardship, at least temporarily. 276 In 1935 the Central Government, inspired by the reforming ardour of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, introduced its plan for the gradual suppression of opium cultivation throughout the Chinese Republic. The Provincial Government of Yunnan, in spite of the prospect of severe loss of revenue, was induced to co-operate, and the suppression plan was applied. Learning from the disastrous consequences of the earlier attempt at opium suppression undertaken by the Manchu Dynasty in 1910, the authorities made no attempt to prohibit cultivation at once and everywhere. The plan provided for the suppression by *hsien* or administrative districts, and was applied in two stages. In the first year warning was published that suppression was to come into force. No fresh planting was to be permitted, but if opium crops were raised from old plants, no action was taken. In the spring of the second year public proclamations announced the application of the second stage of rigorous suppression. Farmers were warned to weed their fields, for if so much as one poppy were found growing in a field, the field was to be confiscated to the public lands.

This plan was applied to Ta Li and the other Min Chia areas in 1936 (first stage) and in 1937 the second rigorous stage of suppression was carried out. From the summer of 1937 there has been no opium poppy grown in the Min Chia region, nor in the other *hsien* of western Yunnan as far north as Wei Hsi and from Yunnanfu westwards to Teng Yueh.[1]

[1] Personal observation. The *hsien* of Wei Hsi and Chu Tien in the valley of the High Yang Tze came within the scope of the scheme one year later than Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localties six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

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I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssu. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

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II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

now under the direct control of the county government, one can see huge stretches of once cultivated slopes that are now lying waste. "Because," the farmers say, "from the day poppy cultivation was forbidden we could not afford to cultivate all these lands, because there are too many wild animals coming out from the mountains to destroy the crops. We can cultivate only as much as we can protect."

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As a result of this the people are terribly poor, due to the lack of salable crops. The digging of medicinal herbs is also on the decline in recent years. In the interior of the mountains the situation is still worse. People cannot talk about law and order, loyalty, and faithfulness on empty stomachs. Military force cannot conquer the hearts. A new way must be discovered to help the mountain peoples to produce something that is easy to carry, yet can bring in a financial income that will enable them to buy their daily necessities. When the mountain peoples discover that something is more profitable than opium, they will stop cultivating the poppy of their own accord. Therefore, the best way to help these tribes people in the mountains is to help them to help themselves, by helping them to better adjust themselves to their particular environments.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li. S 487* 133* 137*

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lö-bü. Beyond Lö-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory. S [312]

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent. S [342]

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been ST [342] [251] ST [197]

dumped on a rock pile.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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PLATE 234.—THE LI-SU HAMLET OF BA-SU-KO

巴 蘇 箇 里 蘇 村 子

Ba-su-ko is situated on a terrace in the Tsai-yi valley at an elevation of 7,050 feet. It is the only Li-su village in this area. Note the pumpkins on the roofs of the houses.

[p.426-J]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

5. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in the valleys. 241 231 262 [243]

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten. Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet. 262 252

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Ssu. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees. 291

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a woman is lower behind, reaching almost to the

5: Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

as he plows, and it is asserted that the animals cease pulling when the plowman stops singing. 412

In every home there is a square hole in the ground filled with dirt and ashes. This is a very simple stove, and probably has been used for centuries. Similar stoves are found in the temples in or near the sacred groves. In this square there is often an iron stove that consists of a circle about three feet in diameter resting on three iron legs equal distances apart. There are three iron pieces extending from these three legs towards the center, but not meeting. These three pieces hold the cooking vessel above the fire. The writer has seen similar iron stoves among the Lolos of the Ningyuan valley. Probably the ancient form of this stove was three pieces of stone chipped into triangles so that if placed equal distances apart one part of each stone can serve as a leg, and the other in the center hold up the cooking vessel. The stoves in the temples in and near the sacred groves consist of three such stones each. In many homes there are now typical Chinese stoves made of stones, lime, and clay, with two or three fire-holes over which iron kos or cooking vessels can be placed. There are no chimneys, and the smoke goes back out of the stove into the room. In the ko food is boiled fried, and baked. Large wooden dippers are used to pour in and dip out water and other liquids, and iron dippers and ladels are used to stir the hot food, turn it over, or dip it out. [252]

Ladders are generally trees in which large notches have been cut, a type of ladder that is widely used in the highlands of west China. 417

The walls of the Ch'iang homes are innocent of any pictures that might beautify them, and are blackened with smoke from incense, candles, lamps, and fires [532]

IV. *Social Cutoms.*

1. Social Life

The Ch'iang lead a simple social life. There are no theatricals excepting those given in the Chinese cities and villlages. There are no social dances excepting near Chiu Tzu T'un. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance at any other time. One is tempted to conclude that the Ch'iang do not know how to play. The playthings of the children are often pebbles or broken tiles. When at leisure the 517

Mewu

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is eaten than tsamba. This is the way it is done: they fill a wooden bowl with tea (1) and add a good clump of butter (about a heaping

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tablespoonful in the European sense) which melts in the hot tea. As they drink the butter tea, they try to blow away as much of the butter floating on top as possible, until a certain amount of tea and butter remain in the bowl. Then they sprinkle a suitable amount of tsamba into the bowl and knead it, along with the remaining tea and butter, with their fingers. When they have shaped it into a ball, they eat it without adding any other ingredients. The casein powder is also soaked in tea. Meat - of yak and sheep - is not eaten every [262]
day. They eat the meat of animals that have been killed or that have died of some disease. Sheep and yaks /32/ are not slaughtered [253]
but strangled. Most of the sheep and yaks are killed in September and October after they have grown fat on summer pastures. Some of the meat is eaten fresh; most of it is dried. The fresh meat is always boiled in water, not roasted. Hunks of cooked meat are cut off with a knife and eaten with the fingers. The intestines are stuffed with tsamba or Chinese bread (mo-mo) and eaten. The large intestine is generally used for this purpose, since the nomads have found that they can profitably sell the small intestine. "Mo-mo" is bought from Chinese bakers who live in the Chinese settlements next to the monasteries. As a rule, a yak is killed by several families together. Pork is eaten only at New Year. For this occasion wealthy [257]
families buy one or two pigs from the sedentary Fantzu. Poorer people buy no more than one pig which they pay for in butter the following summer.

Besides pork which, according to Hermanns, (1) is not generally 262

1. Hermanns 3), page 58. According to Ekvall 4), page 78, only the nomads who live farther away from the Chinese eat no pork.

eaten by the Amdo-nomads, yak meat and mutton is, of course, also eaten for New Year and at feasts, along with butter and tsamba, baked goods made of unparched barley flour, or mo-mo which is usually fried in rape-seed oil. Besides this, the nomads also buy

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in [263] various ways, preferably boiled until it is soft, with sugar added.

263 Garlic and paprika are the chief condiments, also hua-chiao
273 (Zanthoxylum piperitum D.C.). Salt comes from the Kokonor.
733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.

276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 17, Figures 2 - 4.

264 The nomads eat three meals a day. Breakfast is rather late, after the livestock has been milked and driven out to pasture. The midday meal is eaten when the sun is at its height, the evening meal rather late, after dark. The food - mainly tsamba and butter - is the same at all meals. Guests are also offered food three times a day. Men and women eat the same food, but they are not permitted to eat together in the tent. The men eat in the right-hand section of the tent, the women in the left. The food must be handed from one section to the other around the hearth; it is considered very impolite to hand it over the hearth. (2)

2. so as not to offend the spirit of the hearth: Hermanns 3), page 48.

52 The cooking pots are large kettles made of brass about 80
415 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high. They are

252 made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass
415 industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper
[433] /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags.
415 Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

372 The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only care-
462 fully clarified lard is burned in them.
463 We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

651 suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

[661] Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

651 The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or
962 three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. 0*s* 0*d*., would thus have paid £0 11*s*. 3*d*. in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about 1*s*. 2*d*. ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or 2*s*. 3*d*. Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig
[253] arises. For minor festivities pork can be bought in the city or at a market, thus the butchering tax falls mainly on the professional butchers of the city who cater for a steady market.

426 It is inevitable that with such small margins of ready cash available, the Min Chia farmer is often obliged to contract debts. A wedding, or a funeral, involves expenses for which there is no provision possible unless by borrowing money or mortgaging land. As the rates of interest are very high it is often impossible for the debt to be discharged when due,

mew

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

313 nightly markets in Ta Li. The cedars in the rain forest which begins near 13,000 ft. and continues to the crest are cut for building timber to some extent. As they grow on steep and often almost sheer slopes and precipices, much of the timber cannot be cut, or if cut cannot be fetched down. This industry is therefore very limited, and the lengths obtainable small. Large beams for house building and boat building are more easily obtained from the forests on Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain behind the eastern shore of the lake.

824 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which
261 grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

313 In recent years the *hsien* government, which acts as trustee for such public land as the mountain, has done something towards reafforesting the lower slopes with pines. Much of the ancient pine forest has been cleared by woodcutters, but re-planting undertaken within the last twenty years has restored the lower slopes to forest, and strict licensing of wood cutting is now enforced. On the other hand no attempt has been made to exterminate or even reduce the wolves which infest Ts'ang Shan and not only prey upon the small flocks of sheep, but also raid the villages of the plain
312 for pigs and chickens. The main value of Ts'ang Shan, in Min
316 Chia eyes, is as a source of perennial streams for irrigating the rice land, its secondary value as the source of the famous Ta Li marble for which the city is known all over China.

226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

p. 330 E.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 173. — THE BLEAK TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)

It is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet at the head of a valley. Its inhabitants are Tibetan, Na-khi and Chinese; the latter are the merchants who for fear of Tibetan raids keep their more valuable merchandise on the west bank of the Mekong, two to three days' journey south.

[p. 330E]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s*. 0*d*.) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Tsing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Cham-Pa 糌粑. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese,
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

5. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, 241
barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, 231
celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees 262
are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in [243] the valleys.

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten 262
Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in 252
from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet.

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp 291
cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Sai. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees.

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a woman is lower behind, reaching almost to the

mewu

236 The sheep are sheared once a year in May or June. Neighbors
[476] help each other in this task without charge. It takes an average of two days to shear the herd of one family. A wether gives 1 chin of wool annually, a ewe, 1/2 chin. A chin of fleece costs 20 to 50 cents. At the time of my visit the demand for wool was so great
237 that the highest price was paid. A sheepskin costs $0.60 to $1.
435 However, skins of unborn lambs cost $2 to $4. A sheep gut is sold for $0.20 to $0.30; in He-tso, the nearest large town, the price goes
262 up to $0.40 when it is resold. More mutton than yak meat is eaten. Lambs are eaten only if they have died of some disease. The Fantzu do not drink sheep milk, but they use it for butter if they do not have enough yak milk.

231 /28/ The sheep often suffer from paralysis of both forelegs, and many die of this disease. Most of the animals die of starvation in February or March, especially if there has been much snow during
[476] the winter. If a family loses all its animals, everybody helps out by giving them others. The tent nomads do not often keep goats, but the sedentary Fantzu often do, and they also drink goat's milk.

Every family has at least one horse. The Mewu-Fantzu have a small breed of horses that measures about 130 centimeters at the withers. These Tibetan ponies are somewhat smaller and lighter than the Mongolian ponies or those from the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. They are closer to the tarpan (Equus gmelini) than the Przewalski type (1). These horses have a great deal of endurance

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 164 ff.

and are especially adapted for use in mountainous terrain. They
232 have hard hoofs which are not shoed in the steppes. Good stallions
435 are selected for breeding, the rest are castrated at four years. These horses live an average of 10 years; the men break them in at 3 years. The average price of a riding horse is $40 to $50; the highest price is $100. No horses are imported, but horse traders come from T'ao-chou and He-tso, and the Mewu-Fantzu sell them horses. Mules are not used by the tent nomads; asses cannot stand the high altitude.

492 The simple horse bridles of leather with brass mountings are made and sold by the Chinese, likewise the iron snaffles and the stirrups which can be of iron or brass. The Mewu-Fantzu use Hungarian saddles /bocksattel/ the wooden frames of which are made by the sedentary Tebu-Fantzu on the northern slopes of the

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The
222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to
313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds
[534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them
[415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

mew

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tablespoonful in the European sense) which melts in the hot tea. As they drink the butter tea, they try to blow away as much of the butter floating on top as possible, until a certain amount of tea and butter remain in the bowl. Then they sprinkle a suitable amount of tsamba into the bowl and knead it, along with the remaining tea and butter, with their fingers. When they have shaped it into a ball, they eat it without adding any other ingredients. The casein powder is also soaked in tea. Meat - of yak and sheep - is not eaten every [262]
day. They eat the meat of animals that have been killed or that have died of some disease. Sheep and yaks /32/ are not slaughtered [253]
but strangled. Most of the sheep and yaks are killed in September and October after they have grown fat on summer pastures. Some of the meat is eaten fresh; most of it is dried. The fresh meat is always boiled in water, not roasted. Hunks of cooked meat are cut off with a knife and eaten with the fingers. The intestines are stuffed with tsamba or Chinese bread (mo-mo) and eaten. The large intestine is generally used for this purpose, since the nomads have found that they can profitably sell the small intestine. "Mo-mo" is bought from Chinese bakers who live in the Chinese settlements next to the monasteries. As a rule, a yak is killed by several families together. Pork is eaten only at New Year. For this occasion wealthy [27]
families buy one or two pigs from the sedentary Fantzu. Poorer people buy no more than one pig which they pay for in butter the following summer.

Besides pork which, according to Hermanns, (1) is not generally 262

1. Hermanns 3), page 58. According to Ekvall 4), page 78, only the nomads who live farther away from the Chinese eat no pork.

eaten by the Amdo-nomads, yak meat and mutton is, of course, also eaten for New Year and at feasts, along with butter and tsamba, baked goods made of unparched barley flour, or mo-mo which is usually fried in rape-seed oil. Besides this, the nomads also buy

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in [265] various ways, preferably boiled until it is soft, with sugar added.

263 Garlic and paprika are the chief condiments, also hua-chiao
273 (Zanthoxylum piperitum D.C.). Salt comes from the Kokonor.
733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.

276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 17, Figures 2 - 4.

264 The nomads eat three meals a day. Breakfast is rather late, after the livestock has been milked and driven out to pasture. The midday meal is eaten when the sun is at its height, the evening meal rather late, after dark. The food - mainly tsamba and butter - is the same at all meals. Guests are also offered food three times a day. Men and women eat the same food, but they are not permitted to eat together in the tent. The men eat in the right-hand section of the tent, the women in the left. The food must be handed from one section to the other around the hearth; it is considered very impolite to hand it over the hearth. (2)

2. so as not to offend the spirit of the hearth: Hermanns 3), page 48.

252 The cooking pots are large kettles made of brass about 80
415 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high. They are

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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131 For four or

five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 The Lu-tzu 獠子 have no written language, while the spoken language
212 itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and
262 their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor.
273 They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan Fu-i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chib, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 麗麥茶 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野彝). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: —The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men]. ST [411] 291

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats." ST 304 ST 262

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high." ST 302

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight. ST 411 204

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south. S 487 133

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle allurial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral pro- [764]
cession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small [291]
shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these com- [275]
modities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a govern- [263]
ment monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

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574 264 Wine cups are then placed on the table and the host fills them up to the brim, or even till they slightly overflow, this being a necessary act of politeness, showing that no wine will be stinted. The guests meanwhile proceed to wipe their chopsticks with pieces of brown coarse paper provided for the purpose, for it is not impolite thus to imply that your host's table ware is not quite clean. Everyone then takes salt and red pepper and mixes them into their [263] saucer of soy sauce. The Min Chia do not like their food as hot as the Ssu Ch'uanese, but they use more pepper than suits most European taste. Fortunately this custom of adding it individually makes it possible to take as little as you wish. Nearly five minutes passes in this way before anything is eaten at all, for the guests must not help themselves, and the host must not press them too soon, for that would seem to imply that they were hungry and had only come for the food.

At last the host says " Please let us drink," and everyone takes one small sip of the rather strong rice wine. Another short pause for conversation, and the host takes up his chopsticks, indicates the dishes of cold food, and says simply, " Please." Thereupon everyone takes one piece of cold food from the dishes, dips it in the soy sauce and eats it, at once putting down their chopsticks. This formal manner of eating with gradually shortening pauses, punctuated by rounds of wine sipping, continues for some time, perhaps a quarter of an hour, when, long before the cold food is finished, the young sons of the house bring in two hot dishes. No one, however, takes any notice of these steaming tasty dishes of chopped chicken and green peas, or meat balls stewed with chestnuts, until another round of wine has been drunk. Then, once more the host invites them to proceed.

These dishes have also to be consumed one by one in

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city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

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slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, 574
and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his 264
guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause, and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a friendly wave of the chopsticks, "Please help yourselves". The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff manners of the first part of the meal give way to an increasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly 574
fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two 524
neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which 273
enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, introduced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions ; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes "stone" and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another ; paper

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574 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The
524 loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this
273 being called " *Kan Pei* " " dry cup."

By the time this game has been played three or four times
574 most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are
264 eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the " Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

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scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating. 574 264

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver. 574 276 273

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at [529] 545

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Taing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. attitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Cham-Pa [illegible]. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese,
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272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in
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733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.
276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

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A: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

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4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Taing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, 574
and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his 264
guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause, and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a friendly wave of the chopsticks, " Please help yourselves ". The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff manners of the first part of the meal give way to an increasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly 574
fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two 524
neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which 273
enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, introduced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions ; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes " stone " and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another ; paper

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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574 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The
524 loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this
273 being called "*Kan Pei*" "dry cup."

By the time this game has been played three or four times
574 most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are
264 eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the "Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain 574
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more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating.

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the 574
adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke 276
opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take 273
their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment [529]
available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is 545
an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

4: Liu K44 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神會, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 746

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 746

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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131 For four or

five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 The Lu-tzu 獠子 have no written language, while the spoken language
212 itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and
262 their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor.
273 They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇叭 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan Tung-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 麗麥茶 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野彝). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

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563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su [27] or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

103 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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enabled the farmer to buy the products of other regions for cash. 249

It is an ironical fact that the efforts of the Central Government of China, urged on by the moral pressure of the rest of 249 the world, to do good, should have resulted in the infliction 185 of great economic damage and hardship, at least temporarily. 276 In 1935 the Central Government, inspired by the reforming ardour of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, introduced its plan for the gradual suppression of opium cultivation throughout the Chinese Republic. The Provincial Government of Yunnan, in spite of the prospect of severe loss of revenue, was induced to co-operate, and the suppression plan was applied. Learning from the disastrous consequences of the earlier attempt at opium suppression undertaken by the Manchu Dynasty in 1910, the authorities made no attempt to prohibit cultivation at once and everywhere. The plan provided for the suppression by *hsien* or administrative districts, and was applied in two stages. In the first year warning was published that suppression was to come into force. No fresh planting was to be permitted, but if opium crops were raised from old plants, no action was taken. In the spring of the second year public proclamations announced the application of the second stage of rigorous suppression. Farmers were warned to weed their fields, for if so much as one poppy were found growing in a field, the field was to be confiscated to the public lands.

This plan was applied to Ta Li and the other Min Chia areas in 1936 (first stage) and in 1937 the second rigorous stage of suppression was carried out. From the summer of 1937 there has been no opium poppy grown in the Min Chia region, nor in the other *hsien* of western Yunnan as far north as Wei Hsi and from Yunnanfu westwards to Teng Yueh.[1]

[1] Personal observation. The *hsien* of Wei Hsi and Chu Tien in the valley of the High Yang Tze came within the scope of the scheme one year later than Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

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249 185 276 It speaks well for the influence of the Central Government in a remote area, and for the authority of the Provincial Government of Yunnan and its officers, that this campaign of opium suppression has been carried out with perfect success and without occasioning revolts, lawlessness or open resistance, although it has vitally affected the entire population of Yunnan, very much to their immediate detriment.

249 185 276 458 No one will seriously question the right and duty of the government to suppress the cultivation of opium as the only sure way of eventually suppressing the consumption of the drug and freeing the Chinese people from an undoubted evil. No one, either, who has lived in western China will doubt their courage in undertaking a task both difficult and highly unpopular. That the nation will ultimately derive great benefit from the ending of the opium habit is incontestable; but that the immediate effects in western Yunnan have been most serious is also unquestionable. In the absence of any alternative export crop to replace opium, and the absence of communications making any more bulky export commercially profitable, the result of suppression has been a profound economic depression in the areas affected. Land values fell by one third in 1936, and in that and subsequent years business at the great fairs in and near Ta Li, when the Min Chia make their annual purchases of goods produced abroad or on the coast, fell to a fraction of that done in former years.

248 185 Against this must be set the efforts of the government to provide a new export crop and develop communications. It is probable that had not the war with Japan absorbed the energies and the money of the government in the national struggle these efforts would have been more effective than they have been. An attempt has been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton. This has made some small progress in other districts, but the climate and soil of Ta Li are not suitable, and cotton growing could not be attempted there.

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adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke 276
opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take 273
their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment [529]
available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is 545
an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in [262] various ways, preferably boiled until it is soft, with sugar added.

263 Garlic and paprika are the chief condiments, also hua-chiao
273 (Zanthoxylum piperitum D.C.). Salt comes from the Kokonor.
733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.

276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 17, Figures 2 - 4.

264 The nomads eat three meals a day. Breakfast is rather late, after the livestock has been milked and driven out to pasture. The midday meal is eaten when the sun is at its height, the evening meal rather late, after dark. The food - mainly tsamba and butter - is the same at all meals. Guests are also offered food three times a day. Men and women eat the same food, but they are not permitted to eat together in the tent. The men eat in the right-hand section of the tent, the women in the left. The food must be handed from one section to the other around the hearth; it is considered very impolite to hand it over the hearth. (2)

2. so as not to offend the spirit of the hearth: Hermanns 3), page 48.

252 The cooking pots are large kettles made of brass about 80
415 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high. They are

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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438 the manufacturing towns of Kiangsu. Since the fall of Shang-
443 hai these have had to be imported with some difficulty via Hong Kong and Canton, and more recently via French Indo-China. In consequence stocks were falling and prices rising
278 at the end of 1938. Medicine shops do not handle western
443 types of medicine. Their stocks include many kinds of herbs, and also highly valued medicaments of doubtful curative value such as deer and rhinoceros horn, powders made of fossil bones, and various minerals. This business is very lucrative and the owners of the medicine shops are among the richest merchants in the city. Much of their raw material is brought from the Tibetan marches and from the un-
438 administered forest tracks of northern Burma. Chinaware,
323 by which is meant porcelain, is imported from the famous potteries in Kiangsi. This ware is used by the wealthy; a local very much cheaper pottery from Yung Pei in northern Yunnan is sold at the fortnightly markets in great quantities.

443 The shops in the city thus provide a fairly wide range of
438 better class goods, but for food supplies and the articles of everyday use the population depends on the daily markets and the fortnightly fairs. Apart from the butchers there are no shops selling produce in the city. Vegetables, fish, rice, and grain are sold daily in the street markets which open about ten o'clock in the morning, when the peasants reach the city, and are usually over by four in the afternoon, when the country people set off for the villages before darkness can overtake them on the way.

The fortnightly "great markets" are held on the second and sixteenth of every lunar month on open spaces inside the north and south gates respectively. These fairs in fine weather attract very large numbers of people from the country and even from districts distant three days journey. During the morning all roads and paths leading towards the city are thronged with peasants and traders, women being

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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443 for sale, and there are the usual restaurant booths and tea
438 houses, always crowded, and serving excellent and tasty meals cooked on an improvised stove of stones and clay. At
● 278 least one half of the fair ground is occupied by the tents and
443 booths of the medicine merchants, for this fair is above all
438 famous as a market for drugs and herbs. The merchants, some of whom are from the marches of Tibet, bring enormous quantities of these goods to the Third Month Fair, which is attended by buyers representing the great medicine firms of the coastal cities and even of such distant places as Peking. The strange ingredients used in Chinese medicine, deer and rhinoceros horns, rare fungi from the forests of north Burma, the caterpillar plant (which, though really a seed pod, exactly resembles a caterpillar), tiger claws, and herbs which are probably possessed of more useful properties than these things, come very largely from the wild country of south west Yunnan and the great forests along the Yunnan Tibetan border ranges. Deer horns, believed to restore sexual potency, sell at the coast for as much as 5,000 National Currency dollars the pair (nearly £250 0*s.* 0*d.*) but they must be of a special kind, only found in the Burma-Yunnan borderland, and only those from the wild deer are valuable. The merchants state that the horn of the wild deer can be readily distinguished from horn of the same species reared in captivity.

443 These goods can of course be obtained for comparatively
438 low prices at the Ta Li fair, not far from their country of origin, and although the cost of transport to the coast is high, it is not difficult, comparing the cost and sale price, to understand why the Chinese medicine trade is one of the most profitable. The general merchandise imported for sale does not differ in character from that sold in the few mixed goods shops in Ta Li city, but the quality and range of the articles is superior. European or Shanghai piece goods, hats,

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

S 131 13b 241 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361 The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses. the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

ST [282] ST 295

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found, *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca niroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

[p. 410]

mewu

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'ángs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make
[294] their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The 462
only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. 463
Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used 285
for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They 231
have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences 476
between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of 651
the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese [441] [463] [563]
chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are 436
purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: 439
sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 237

1: Fitzgerald-H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

quite as numerous as men. Some of the goods sold are 443
brought from districts fifty and more miles away, and, 438
especially in the winter months, some Tibetan horse dealers are sure to come down with ponies to sell. By mid-day the market is fully open. Booths are set up in long lines for the sale of silks, and other goods which would be damaged by the sun, temporary restaurants and tea houses do a thriving trade, while the air is rent with the shrill screaming of innumerable pigs, tugging and straining at the ropes which secure them by the hind legs. Elsewhere pottery, bamboo [286] brooms, brass and copper ware from Li Chiang, fruit from the eastern shore of the lake, mats from Mi Tu, and a line of booths gay with the peasant embroideries made by the Min Chia women, attract a crowd of customers and idlers.

Bargaining is keen and shrewd. No one buys anything until every vendor has been visited, his wares priced, cheapened, and compared, and finally, after many return visits, when the price has been lowered by a nickel or two at most, the sale is made. Traders complain that now the crowds come more to see than to buy, and they regret the old days when opium was still grown. Some of the wares offered for sale are surprising. Carved doors and staircases for houses ready made and apparently of a standard size, are made in Hsi Chou north of Ta Li and offered for sale at these markets, to which they are brought fifteen miles on the backs of girls and men. There are the parrot sellers, whose "wares", small green parrots which are found wild in many parts of Yunnan, sit serenely, untied and tame, upon a large wooden frame of perches, carried on the vendor's shoulders. On the edge of the market, squatting on the ground, the Tibetan horse dealers, in their leather knee boots, with grimy bare chests, and long, matted, lousy hair, sit aloof and alien, watching their mounts, and the Mohammedan muleteers who come to look them over. Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia

mewu

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
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237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 189.—LU-TZU HUTS AT BARANG

白汗 洛 鹿 子 住 房

All Lu-tzu huts are alike and the price is three silver taels each. Lu-tzu women can be seen weaving hemp cloth.

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[p. 362E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 235. — LI-SU LOG CABINS OF THE BA-SSU-KO VILLAGE

The cabins are of yellow pine logs, the roof pine boards weighted down with rocks. Leaning against the wall of the first cabin, are hemp stalks (*Cannabis sativa*) from the fiber of which they weave their clothing.

[p. 426 K]
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291 NORMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.g., protection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences; seasonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garments; means of attachment and suspension (e.g., belt); etc. See also:

Cyclical trends in fashions 178
Sumptuary laws 434
Sexual modesty 834
Swaddling and infant attire 884

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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[Face p. iii]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, /101 meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563 names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [29] Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563 disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554 plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829 are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral pro- [764]
cession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small [291]
shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these com- [275]
modities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a govern- [263]
ment monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

1: Fitzgerald H-S (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Yu T'an Hui (Fishpool) Fair.

Western Min Chia girl wearing her regional head-dress.

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[Face p. 64]

duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery, needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities. A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li, Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial: the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

[1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

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Stone horse, mutilated for superstitious reasons.

Erh Yuan Min Chia girl.

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[Face p. 144]

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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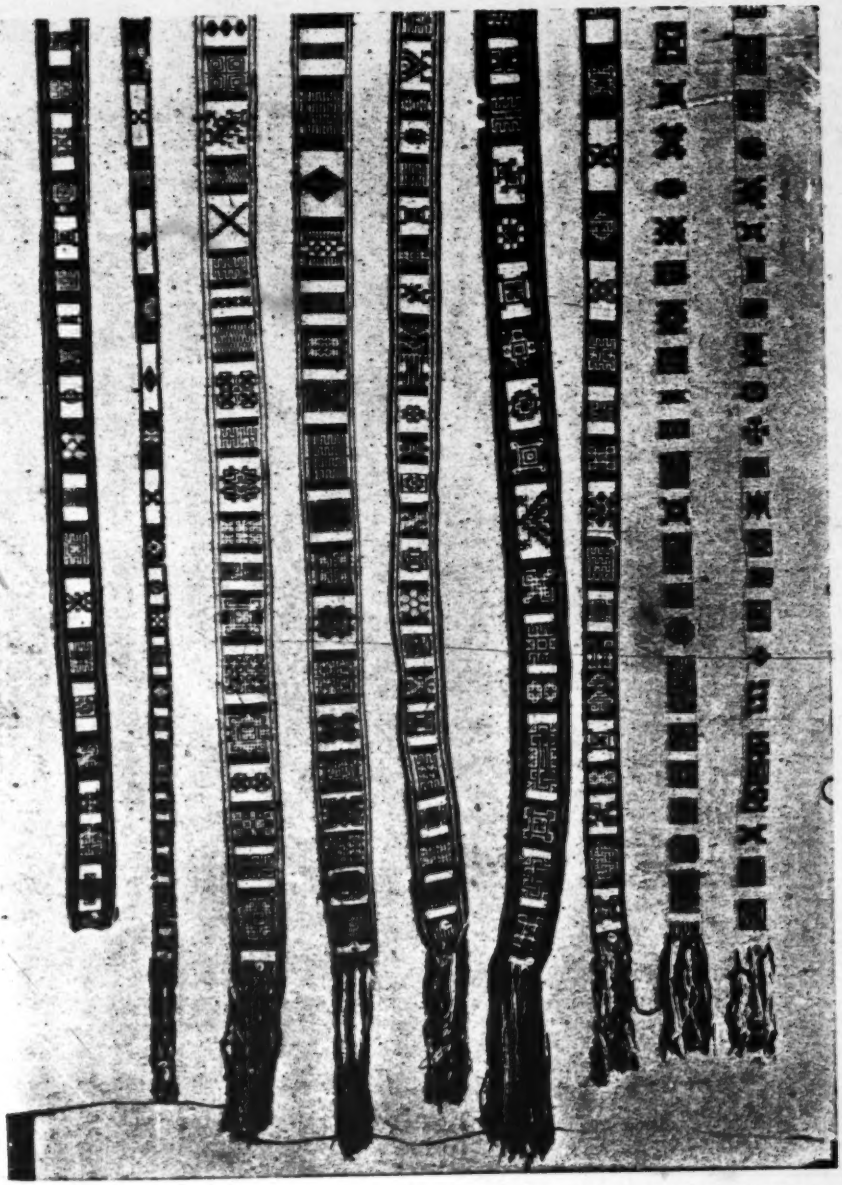

Ch'iang belts. Obverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

[FACING p. 36]

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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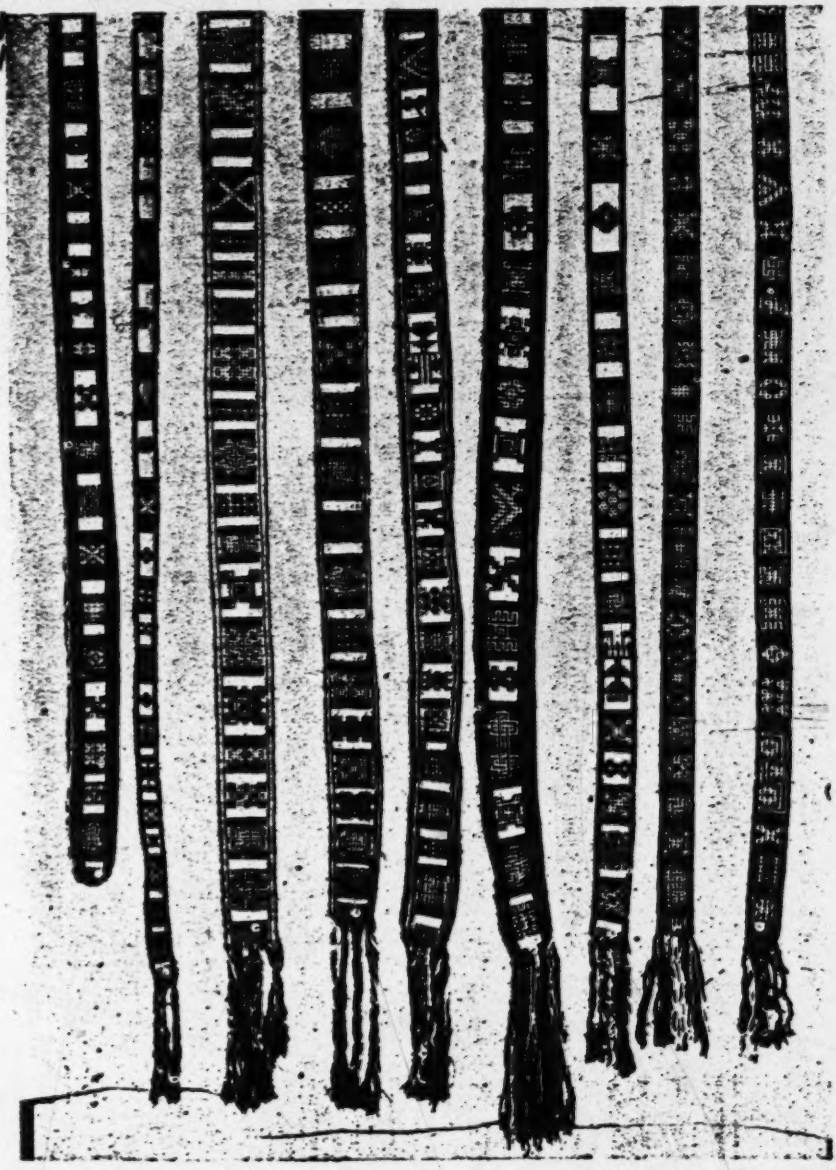

Ch'iang Belts. Reverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

[FACING p.38]

8:Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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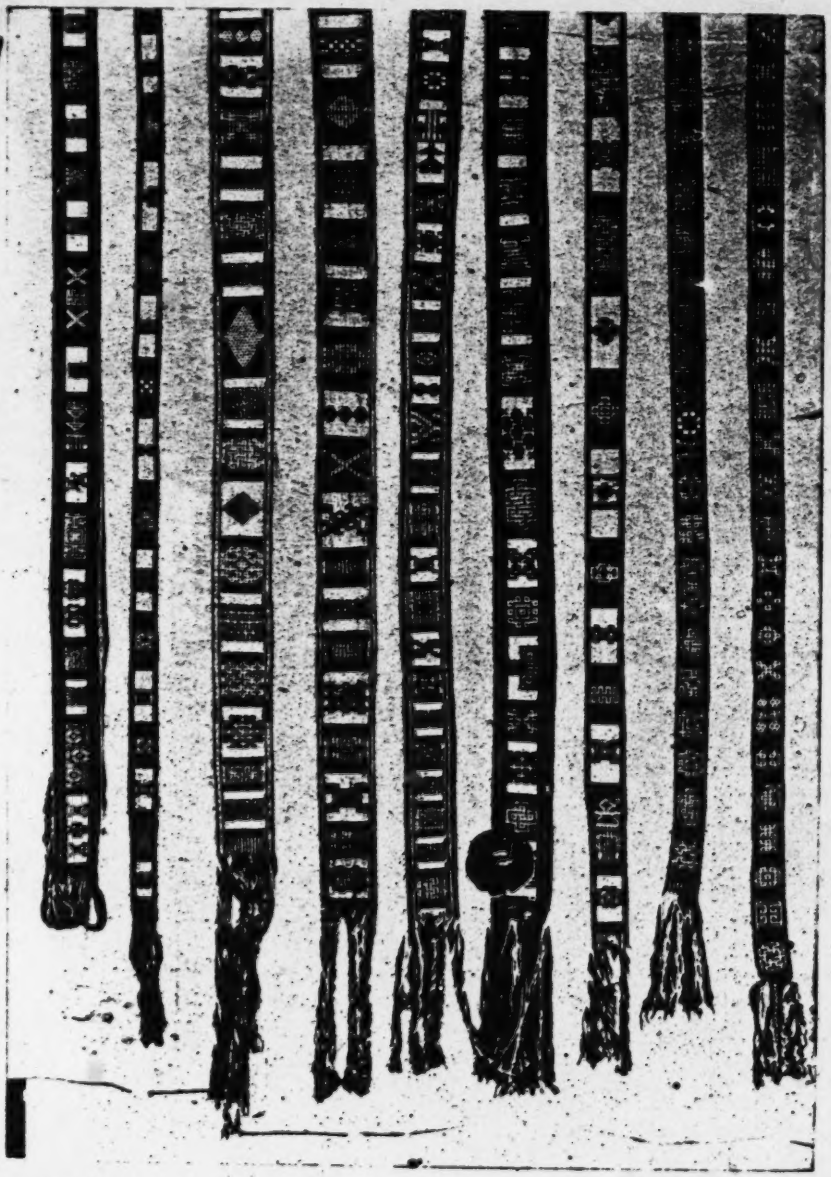

Ch'iang belts. Reverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

[FACING p. 40]

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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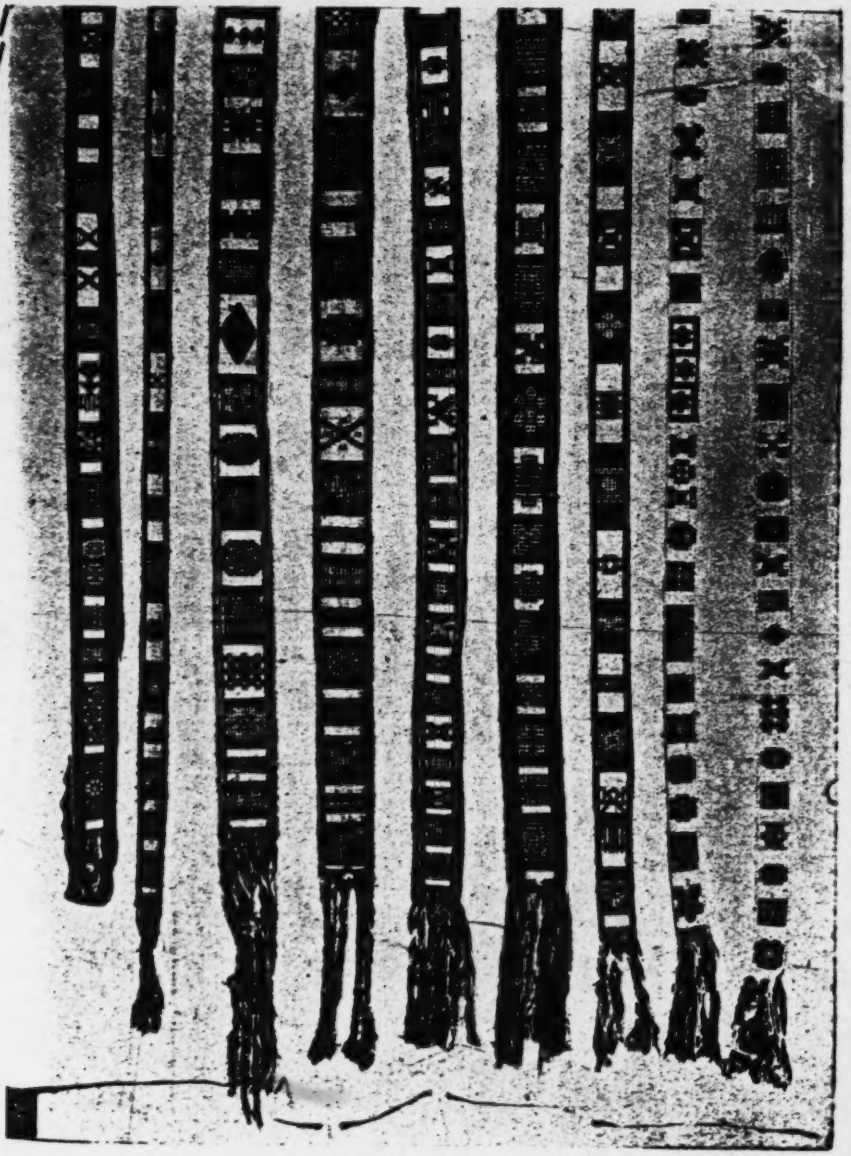

Ch'iang Woven Belts, reverse.
From the *West China Union University Museum.*

[FACING p. 42]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, most houses are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed; about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain 紅橋山, where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is one of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribes people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING.

291

First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a woman's because both men and women have the same style; and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and red coral, because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her bank.

[354]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

● 291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Tsing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Cham-Pa 糌粑. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese,
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

and a new plot cut and burnt. This practice is widespread in the mountains of West China. 241

5. Food.

The products of the soil are wheat, corn, buckwheat, millet, 241
barley, beans, peas, potatoes, squashes, turnips, Chinese cabbage, 231
celery and other vegetables, besides walnuts and fruits. Honey-bees 262
are common. Often the bees are robbed of their honey so late that the bees starve to death during the winter. The domestic animals are dogs, cats, horses, cattle, sheep goats, pigs, chickens, and ducks. The main product of the soil is corn. Rice is not raised even in [243] the valleys.

The above paragraph gives a clue to the food that is eaten. 262
Most families can not afford to buy rice, which must be carried in 252
from Kuanasien. Instead a great deal of corn is eaten. This may be made into cakes, or boiled almost dry and eaten like rice in bowls with chopsticks. Soya beans are made into bean curd, and white and brown beans are boiled. Wheat, buckwheat, and barley may be made into biscuits or cakes always unleavened, for there is no leavened bread among the Ch'iang. Wild fruit vegetables, and berries are sometimes gathered and eaten, and vegetables are sometimes dried and used in the winter time. Any kind of domestic animal or wild game may be killed and eaten with relish, excepting that there is a taboo against killing or eating cattle because they are used for plowing. Eggs are a luxury to be eaten on special occasions. On the whole the Ch'iang do not enjoy a well-balanced diet.

6. Clothing.

Most of the clothing of the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp 291
cloth which is woven by the women. Straw sandals are used less than among the Chinese or the Wa Sam. The women make cloth shoes that are more comfortable and more durable. The shoes for dress-up occasions are ornamented with vari-colored flowers and butterflies which are embroidered on the shoes by the women. Stockings are seldom worn. Instead, woolen puttees are wrapped first about the feet, then about the lower legs to the knees.

Both men and women wear trousers. The upper garment is a homespun hemp gown. In the front it reaches just below the knees. The gown of a woman is lower behind, reaching almost to the

5: Graham E-5 (1933, 1941) 1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

291 ankles. The gown of a man is shorter behind, about the same length as in front. In the winter time there may be worn a long gown woven of dark brown wool, or a goatskin coat. In cold weather the hair of this coat is turned inside, and in rainy weather it is turned outside. This skin coat is sleeveless. Both men and women wear instead of hats turbans of white cotton cloth bought in the markets, those of the men and the women are folded differently.

[164] Poor people who have insufficient clothes suffer from the cold in winter time. Bad colds are frequent, and sometimes colds develop into pneumonia

The puttees are made of white wool. In the vicinity of Lung Ch'i Chai women wear red bands around the puttees about half way between the ankles and the knees. In the region of Ts'a To a dark band is worn.

The best linen gowns of the men and the women have borders of blue cloth around the neck and down to the waist on which flowers are embroidered in white.

Woven belts are worn. Generally these are of white hemp cloth, but near Wen Ch'uan and Li Fan the woven belts are varicolored [171] and ornamented with beautiful geometric patterns The designs for these belts have apparently been borrowed from the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu, for in other parts of the Ch'iang region they occur rarely if at all, and they are very common among the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu.

7. Tools, Implements and Utensils.

412 Most of the tools and implements closely resemble those of the Chinese. The hoe is wide flat, and thick, and its handle is about four feet long. A very useful implement is the thick iron sickle which serves to cut both wood and grass. Their axes are heavier and clumsier than foreign axes. As has been stated before, the loom consists of several pieces of wood, and the spindle is simply a stick of wood around which the thread or yarn has been wound.

The plow differs from that of the Chinese. The handle is shorter so that the plowman stoops over and pushes down when he plows, lifting the plow out of the ground when he turns around. The long beam is tied to the yoke, which is little more than a pole and is tied to the shoulders of two cows or oxes. The plowman sings

164 The Tibetans are a very strong race of men; I did not see a single asthenic type among the Mewsu-Fantzu. Their health, apart from infectious diseases, is good. The most frequent complaints of patients who came to me were of rheumatism and stomach disorders. The latter often seemed to indicate chronic catarrh of the stomach and also stomach ulcers. There is a very frequent incidence of conjunctivitis, probably often trachoma. Smallpox is very prominent among the infectious diseases, and syphilis among the chronic ones. I did not observe any cases of tuberculosis, but there is leprosy, infrequent, in spite of the fact that lepers are not segregated. All the more ravaging are the effects of syphilis which here goes hand in hand with deterioration of the skin, mucous membranes and bones.

164 853 Infant mortality is extraordinarily high. Most families have only one or two children, although women often give birth to as many as ten. The reason for this may be in the strange way babies are fed. People prefer to give their children yak milk rather than mother's milk, because they say mother's milk makes them stupid. Although yak milk is richer than cow's milk, the children get the boiled milk undiluted, /10/ often with added butter and roasted barley flour (tsamba).

Men's Dress

291 We shall touch only briefly on the dress (1) of the Mewu-Fantzu

1. Compare Rockhill 1), page 684 ff. His illustrations and descriptions give a good general idea, although they are not specifically of the Mewu-Fantzu, and despite the fact that each tribe has definite characteristics of costume, ornament and hair style.

because it is the common dress of Tibetans in general. The chief article of clothing is a large sheep fur. It has very long sleeves that extend far over the hands. They prefer to put only their left arm into the sleeve and leave the right arm and shoulder free. The fur of the nomads is usually bordered at the neck with a band of leopard skin about 10 centimeters wide. The coat has a hem at the bottom of black woolen material. Poor people omit the leopard skin trimming or replace it with a border of pulu. This is a Tibetan woolen material. It is not made by the western Tibetans themselves, but is imported from the highlands of Inner Tibet. The leopard skin trimming is obtained ready-made from Chinese traders; the grassland

itself does not supply enough skins for this purpose. Most of the 291
leopard skins come from the forest regions of the Min-shan, where they are sold to Chinese traders by the Fantzu who live there. Ordinarily the Fantzu wear extremely dirty furs, especially in summer, because during the warm season they prefer worn skins with shorter hair. In winter and on festive occasions they sometimes also wear a jacket under the fur. This may be of silk, pulu or simple Chinese cotton, depending on the wealth of the wearer. This jacket /11/ is cut in the old Chinese style with a side closing trimmed with a colored band about 3 centimeters wide. It has a high stand-up cloth collar different in color on the inside and outside, for example, red inside and green outside. The color combination of the jacket (collar and bottom hem) can vary a great deal. In former times no pants were worn in summer, but gradually the men are getting used to the Chinese trousers made of thin dark-blue cotton. In winter they wear trousers of fleece or perhaps only leggings, just like the Northern Chinese. The fur is worn inside on the bare skin and they wear no drawers. In winter and on festive occasions a coat of pulu or silk (tuan, satin) is worn over the fur. The color of this coat varies and may be purple, blue, red, green or black, but not white. The lower part of this coat is sewn with several gay borders of varicolored silk, to give the impression of many coats, one on top of the other. In rainy weather coats of white wool with long sleeves are worn, less frequently capes of the same material. The woolen coat, like the one of fur, is not fastened with buttons but simply tied together over the hips. Ordinarily a coarse rope of braided yak hair is used for this purpose, but festive garb requires a red sash of Szechuan silk. All articles of clothing are made by the men, not the women. The men can also make Chinese trousers themselves. Boys' clothing is the same as men's.

Their shoes (1) are made of a leather foot, and a leg that may be 292

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 2.

made of pulu or simple wool. The foot part is often only a very simple piece of white yak leather cut to size and then turned up all around, very much like the Indian mocassin or the opanke of the Balkan peoples. The leg shaft is set onto this foot part and reaches to the /12/ knees. The favorite material is red Russia leather imported from the Chinese in Kalgan, or bright-colored pulu cloth with a pattern in the form of a cross.

292 Many different kinds of head coverings (2) are worn. The most

2. Rockhill 1), Plate 4.

popular is a round fur cap with a tassel of cloth usually dyed red. They prefer fox fur; sheepskin caps are cheaper. For the latter the fur of lambs one month old is used. The fur cap is indispensable for the festive costume. In summer it is often replaced by headgear consisting of a strip of gaily colored pulu cloth, usually yellow and blue striped. Felt hats are also worn, either a simple, cone-shaped hat without brim, made of thick, soft, unbleached sheep wool felt, or a hat of stiff sheep wool felt in the form of a truncated cone, with a wide flat brim.

Women's Dress

291 Women's dress is even less influenced by the Chinese than men's. In summer it usually consists of a sheep fur; in winter a coat is worn over this. The fur is cut like that of the men, and is likewise held together by a coarse cord around the hips. In summer the women like to work with the upper part of their body free, so they slip out of the fur and let it hang down over the cord. The women's fur is distinguished from the men's in that it has only a cloth band around the neck, never a leopard skin; on the other hand, the lower hem of the women's fur is trimmed with a wide, gaily colored band of cotton, or, in the case of wealthy women, of silk. The women do not wear trousers. When it rains the women wear woolen cloaks or more often woolen pelerines closed in front, with a hole for /13/ the head, like the South American poncho. The pelerines often have a pointed hood. In the summer women wear worn-out furs with short hair; in the winter, newer ones with long hair and over them a pulu coat. Festive dress does not differ much from everyday garb, except that the clothes are new and that a colored coat of cloth or silk is worn over the fur coat.

292 At work and around the house the women go barefoot in summer. For the rest they wear the same kind of high boots as the men. Only elegant women are seen wearing Chinese shoes on festive occasions. The women do not wear pulu caps. In the rain they wear the same soft felt hats that the men wear when they go out to the pastures. A stiff felt hat is part of the festive garb of the women. It has the same truncated cone shape as that of the men, but the cone is smaller in diameter and thus looks more elegant. On top the hat has a copper

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 75.—A NA-KHI FARMER FROM THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ü

雲南村婦納西人

He wears a felt hat and sheepskin jacket. The men play nursemaid, while the women perform most of the work, except ploughing.

[p. 140 K]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 76.—NA-KHI WOMEN OF THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

[illegible]

The first two (from left) are unmarried, the third is married. Girls usually wear Chinese caps on festive occasions, otherwise a simple cloth is worn on the head with the hair (braids) wound outside. Married women wear their hair in a knob on the top of the head around which a cloth is wound to keep it in place, another cloth is then placed over it as in the picture.

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[p.140]

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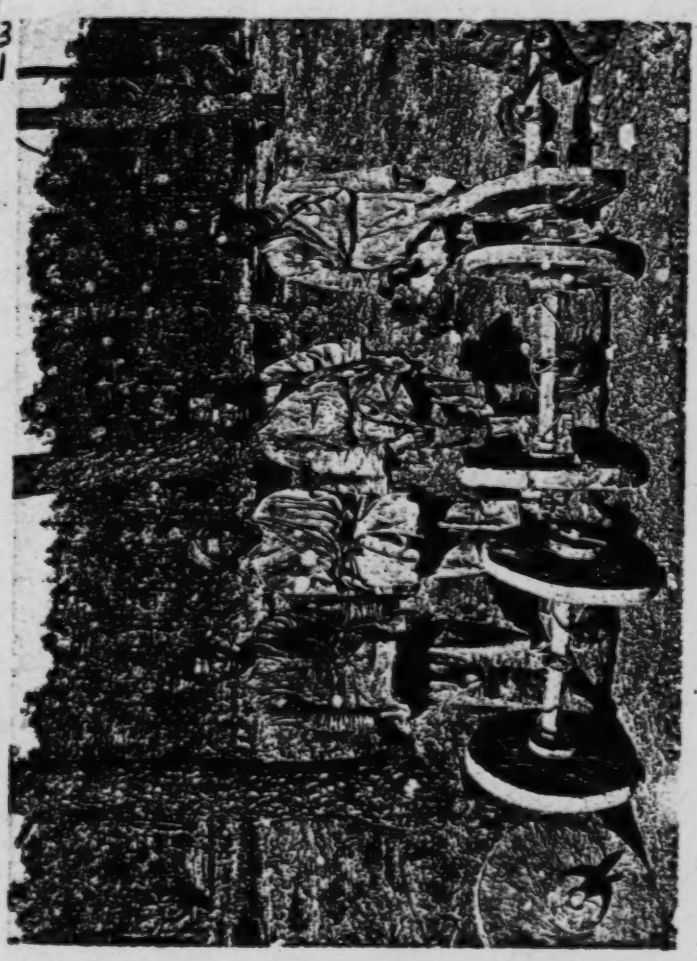

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 81. — NA-KHI WOODCUTTERS

納 西 伐 木 夫

On these primitive, solid, wooden-wheeled vehicles Na-khi woodmen transport timber from Nga-ba in Li-chiang.

[p. 156 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 94. — LO-LO WOMEN AT GATICH-T'O

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

Women as well as men wear the black felt cloak. They live in the most primitive fashion; their houses made of pine boards, tied together with vines, are not much better than pigsties.

[p. 172 F.]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 95. — LO-LO TRIBAL MEN FROM GHÜGH-T'O

羅羅種男子

When not occupied cultivating their land, they held up lonely travellers and robbed their Na-khi and Chinese neighbors.

[p. 172 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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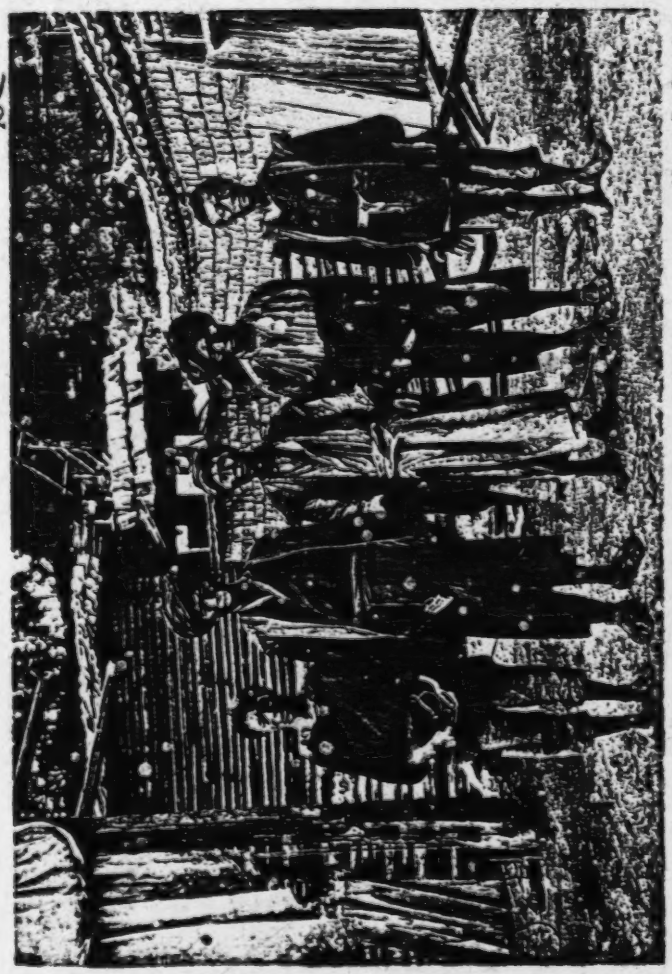

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 98. — NA-KHI PEASANTS OF MIEN-YI-WO

麼 些 族 農 民

Na-khi farmers from the Yangtse loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

[p. 172 H]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 97.—A NA-KHI WOMAN FROM MBA-YI-WÛA

She still wears the ancient, Na-khi pleated skirt of homespun with blue border. Note the huge earrings.

[p.172 I]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 101. — NA-KHI (ZHĚR-KHIN) FERRYMEN AT FENG-K'O

[illegible]

Na-khi who live in the hot river valleys of the Li-chiang — Yung-ning districts are known as Zhěr-khin. They are all excellent swimmers. See Plate 238.

[p. 172 M]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 116. — CHUNG-CHIA TRIBESPEOPLE FROM LA-MUAN-DZE

大火山种族

The Chung-chia are natives of Kuei-chou; the village of La-muan-dze is in the crater bowl of Ta-huo Shan, a detached extinct volcano back of Yu-lo.

[p. 188]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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PLATE 134.—NA-KHI FROM THE VILLAGE OF BU-DU-WÖA

纳西族 布都窝

It is the first village in Bbér-dder (coming from Ha-ba) situated at an elevation of 7,600 feet. The people were painfully polite and knelt on our approach.

[p. 220 N]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 157.—A NA-KHI WITH CROSSBOW

A Na-khi from the village of Lo-tien on the Li-ti-p'ing, showing how to use the crossbow.

[p. 298 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high."

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people — Hirlyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 188.—A NU-TZU (LU-TZU) FAMILY FROM PAI-HAN-LO (BAHANO)

白岸洛族

Through continuous intermarriage many of them are cretins and nearly all are afflicted with goitre.

[p. 362 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 191.—LU-TZU VILLAGE HEADMAN OF CHANG-RA

麗江本拉麗子頭目

The Lu-tsu are confined to the Salween valley between Lyu-ra-gang and Sang-tha. To the north of them are Tibetans and to the south the Black Li-su.

[p. 362 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 197. — A CH'IU-TZU FROM THE TRUN VALLEY

傈僳族子

The Ch'iu-tzu are closely related to the Lu-tzu of the Salween but their language is not the same. They live in the valley of the Trun, an affluent of the Nmai Hka, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi. They are a very friendly and peaceful people.

[p. 362 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 202. — CH'OU KU-TSUNG (TIBETANS) FROM NEAR PEN-TZU-LAN

本子蘭東古宗族人

They wear a single garment and use cross bows, the arrows are stuck into the hair.

[p. 394 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

134 dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones.[1] Lime-stone
147 is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families con-
ST 301 stantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neighborhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (PLATE
ST 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white
291 conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female *Cannabis sativa*. The children go entirely naked and are
S black from filth.

*487 From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the
*133 stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although
*137 longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over landslides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of *Phyllanthus emblica*, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, *Maba buxifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, compositae and *Heteropogon contortus* grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus *Delavaya* (species) *yünnanensis*.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa 江凹 on the west bank of the Yangtze. (*See* journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k'o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (PLATE 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t'o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K'O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khin tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan *en route* to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Luë-dzu law-k'aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hĕr-dü or Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luë-

1 [The Li-su village of Ba-ssu-ko -- Analy st]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 209. — MO-SO — KU-TSUNG TRIBAL WOMAN OF TSHO-KHÀ-THANG

麼 些 古 宗 部 落

The women of this region wear long pleated skirts like the Na-khi women of La-pao; they speak only Tibetan and do not understand Na-khi.

[p. 410-A]

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2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

[p. 410 F]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 214. — THE FAMILY OF THE YUNG-NING NATIVE PREFECT

永寧土知府家眷

The center figure in Chinese dress is the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui; on his left the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan; between the two in the rear the present T'u-ssu A Min-han. To the right of the late T'u-ssu, his wife, sister of A Yün-shan. To her right the abbot of Yung-ning Lamasery A Shao-fu, second son of the late T'u-ssu.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 215.—A HLI-KHIN MAIDEN OF YUNG-NING

木里雅砻少女

She is dressed in her best; wound around her head she wears strings of cornelian, amber and turquoise. Over her forehead is a strip of cloth studded with gold nuggets. Her earrings suspended from her hair are of solid gold as are the buckles of her silk jacket.

[p. 410 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

PLATE 236. — LI-SU PEASANTS OF BA-SSU-KO

大學瑪斯巴子黎人

Nearly all are cretins and afflicted with goitre. Their constant intermarriage has caused them to degenerate. They live a miserable existence, isolated from the rest of the world.

[p. 426-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 242.— A LO-LO FROM WU-CHIO VILLAGE

* 蘆 島 烏 覺 族 人

Many Lo-lo villages are distributed through southern Mu-li. They behave in Mu-li territory, but often leave their villages to rob elsewhere.

[p. 458 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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PLATE 256.—HSI-FAN (CH'RA-ME) PEASANTS OF DSHI-ZHI IN MU-LI

木里西番查梅族

They are oppressed by the lamas, and dare not look up in the presence of superiors. The men wear no trousers but, like the women, wear striped skirts woven of yak hair, the men's skirts have horizontal, those of the women longitudinal stripes. They are forbidden to wear shoes.

[p. 458 P]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST and where the distinction between them lies.

197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the An-101 namese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

291 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the 301 neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

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In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

000

Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Mêng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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Mi-li

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Mi-li villager

Plate LIV

[Face p. 242]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0*s.* 0*d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery, needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities. A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li, Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial; the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

[1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Dancers at the Gwer Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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[Face p. 124]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Baby boy wearing girl's head-dress as protection against evil spirits.

Min Chia girl wearing silver-studded head-dress.

[Face p. 154]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a 761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which [292 such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on 765] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 160.—THE LATE MUH-KWUA OR NA-KHI CHIEF OF YEH-CHIH
WANG KUO-HSIANG

滇東木瓜王國祥

He was better known as Wang Tsan-ch'en. Photographed in his Yamen in 1923.

[p. 218 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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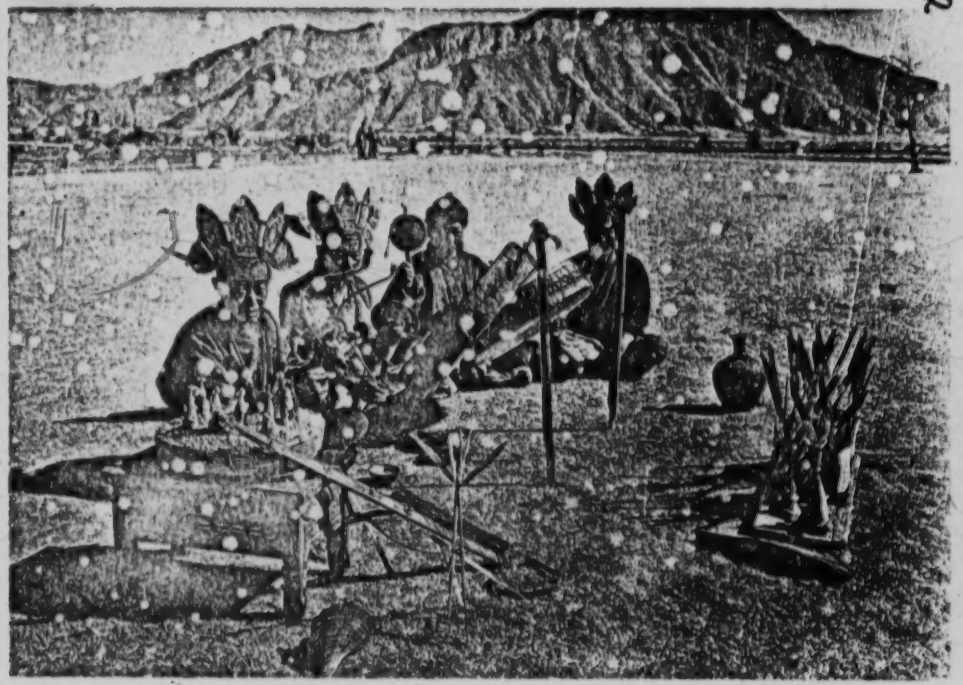

PLATE 222. — YUNG-NING NDA-PA (SORCERERS) PERFORMING THE ZHI-WUA-GKÄ CEREMONY

永寧巫師作法

All their rituals are performed out of doors, on a meadow; in this case on the Yung-ning plain, in front of the lamasery. The Zhi-wua-gkä (burning of the demons), like all other Nda-pa ceremonies, ends in drunkenness.

[p. 410 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 221. — HLI-KHIN LADIES, MEMBERS OF THE T'U-SSU FAMILY

未事兩土司家婦人

Only members of the ruling family are allowed to wear long skirts. They adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments and wear a white goat skin jacket held in place by a large round, silver buckle.

[p. 410-M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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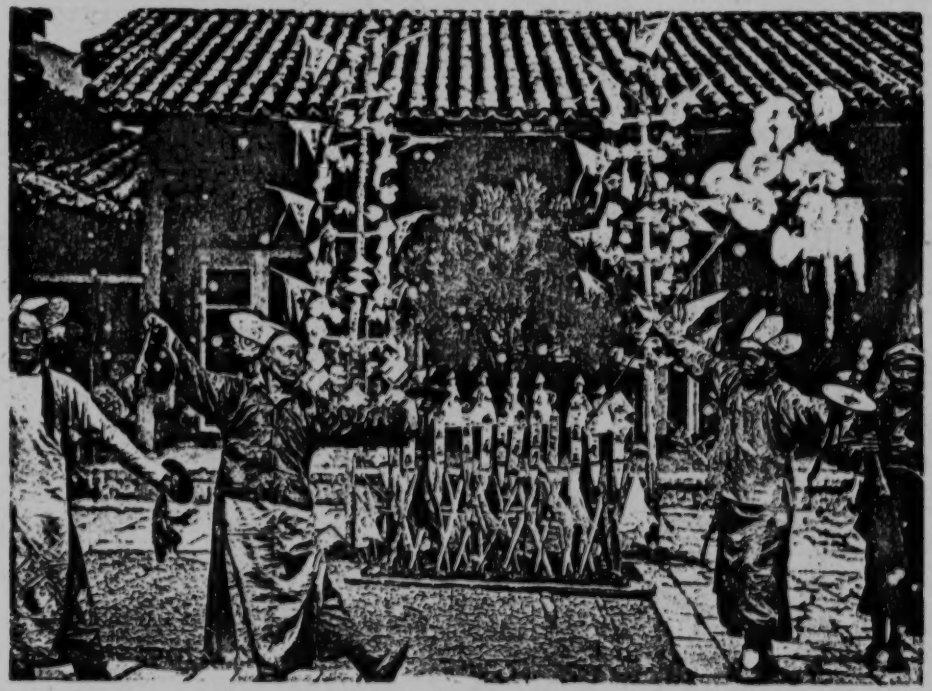

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 229. — NA-KHI DTO-MBAR PERFORMING THE HÄR-LA-LLÜ CEREMONY

殺殉多巴(教)執行哈喇呂儀

The ceremony, lasting from three to five days, is to propitiate the spirits of suicides causing harm to the family to which they belonged. Many promiscuous love affairs end in double suicide.

[p. 426 E]
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 245.—HLI-KHIN LADIES OF THE TSO-SO LA T'U-SSU FAMILY

西川左所土司喇家夫人

The women alone of the Tso-so T'u-ssu family show refinement. Like their sisters of Yung-ning they wear long pleated skirts.

[P. 458 H]

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always [illegible] reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to [illegible] sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided [illegible].

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dsu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths. It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb. On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again when she passes into this land of purity and of brightness. Among

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

534 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side
778 only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired
778 monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan-Kung*.

[177] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

itself does not supply enough skins for this purpose. Most of the 291
leopard skins come from the forest regions of the Min-shan, where they are sold to Chinese traders by the Fantzu who live there. Ordinarily the Fantzu wear extremely dirty furs, especially in summer, because during the warm season they prefer worn skins with shorter hair. In winter and on festive occasions they sometimes also wear a jacket under the fur. This may be of silk, pulu or simple Chinese cotton, depending on the wealth of the wearer. This jacket /11/ is cut in the old Chinese style with a side closing trimmed with a colored band about 3 centimeters wide. It has a high stand-up cloth collar different in color on the inside and outside, for example, red inside and green outside. The color combination of the jacket (collar and bottom hem) can vary a great deal. In former times no pants were worn in summer, but gradually the men are getting used to the Chinese trousers made of thin dark-blue cotton. In winter they wear trousers of fleece or perhaps only leggings, just like the Northern Chinese. The fur is worn inside on the bare skin and they wear no drawers. In winter and on festive occasions a coat of pulu or silk (tuan, satin) is worn over the fur. The color of this coat varies and may be purple, blue, red, green or black, but not white. The lower part of this coat is sewn with several gay borders of varicolored silk, to give the impression of many coats, one on top of the other. In rainy weather coats of white wool with long sleeves are worn, less frequently capes of the same material. The woolen coat, like the one of fur, is not fastened with buttons but simply tied together over the hips. Ordinarily a coarse rope of braided yak hair is used for this purpose, but festive garb requires a red sash of Szechuan silk. All articles of clothing are made by the men, not the women. The men can also make Chinese trousers themselves. Boys' clothing is the same as men's.

Their shoes (1) are made of a leather foot, and a leg that may be 292

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 2.

made of pulu or simple wool. The foot part is often only a very simple piece of white yak leather cut to size and then turned up all around, very much like the Indian mocassin or the opanke of the Balkan peoples. The leg shaft is set onto this foot part and reaches to the /12/ knees. The favorite material is red Russia leather imported from the Chinese in Kalgan, or bright-colored pulu cloth with a pattern in the form of a cross.

Mezu

292 Many different kinds of head coverings (2) are worn. The most

2. Rockhill 1), Plate 4.

popular is a round fur cap with a tassel of cloth usually dyed red. They prefer fox fur; sheepskin caps are cheaper. For the latter the fur of lambs one month old is used. The fur cap is indispensable for the festive costume. In summer it is often replaced by headgear consisting of a strip of gaily colored pulu cloth, usually yellow and blue striped. Felt hats are also worn, either a simple, cone-shaped hat without brim, made of thick, soft, unbleached sheep wool felt, or a hat of stiff sheep wool felt in the form of a truncated cone, with a wide flat brim.

Women's Dress

291 Women's dress is even less influenced by the Chinese than men's. In summer it usually consists of a sheep fur; in winter a coat is worn over this. The fur is cut like that of the men, and is likewise held together by a coarse cord around the hips. In summer the women like to work with the upper part of their body free, so they slip out of the fur and let it hang down over the cord. The women's fur is distinguished from the men's in that it has only a cloth band around the neck, never a leopard skin; on the other hand, the lower hem of the women's fur is trimmed with a wide, gaily colored band of cotton, or, in the case of wealthy women, of silk. The women do not wear trousers. When it rains the women wear woolen cloaks or more often woolen pelerines closed in front, with a hole for /13/ the head, like the South American poncho. The pelerines often have a pointed hood. In the summer women wear worn-out furs with short hair; in the winter, newer ones with long hair and over them a pulu coat. Festive dress does not differ much from everyday garb, except that the clothes are new and that a colored coat of cloth or silk is worn over the fur coat.

292 At work and around the house the women go barefoot in summer. For the rest they wear the same kind of high boots as the men. Only elegant women are seen wearing Chinese shoes on festive occasions. The women do not wear pulu caps. In the rain they wear the same soft felt hats that the men wear when they go out to the pastures. A stiff felt hat is part of the festive garb of the women. It has the same truncated cone shape as that of the men, but the cone is smaller in diameter and thus looks more elegant. On top the hat has a copper

Meow

ornament and a silk tassel. (1) Their jewelry they buy from the 292

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 33, 34.

Chinese.

Hair Style

The Fantzu wear their hair cut short; it is only at the parting 302
that many men still wear a small, thin braid that looks like a rat tail. Their method of cutting hair is still very primitive. They use an old sickle that is no longer good for cutting grass, and they sharpen it after a fashion on suitable stones found in the field. In contrast to the Chinese, the Fantzu, oddly enough, cut their hair from the top down. Only the sorcerers (bömī-bu) wear long hair, which they wrap in a head scarf. Their beards they pluck out, like the Chinese, with brass tweezers which they carry on their rosaries or on a chain around their necks. Only lamas occasionally wear beards. /14/

The women wear a very complicated coiffure. Little girls of six or seven have their hair dressed for the first time. The style consists of three rather thick braids that hang down from the parting and many smaller, thin braids on the sides, held together above the ears with a special ornament. The coiffure of the women is the same, except that they wear many more braids that hang far down and are held together with a complicated ornament. (1) Beside the two

1. A similar ornament of another nomad tribe is shown in Hermanns 3), illustration 51.

center braids, the woman wears 80 to 100 thin braids on either side. These braids must reach to the knees. Since a woman's hair is often not long enough or thick enough for this type of coiffure, she buys switches from Chinese traders.

For the rest, the Tibetans do not know very much about caring 515
for their bodies. They do not wash, and their bodies are covered with a black film of dirt. Since they also do not wash their furs, conditions are ideal for the propagation of body lice. The Fantzu wash only their mouth, face and hands, with cold water. They do not use a wash basin for this, but take a mouthful of water from a pottery jug, rinse out their mouths, then spit out the water into their hands and use it to wash their face and hands. After washing, they rub butter into their face. After eating, too, if they have

Since the Ch'iang have not yet passed the stage of animism, they believe there are ghosts and gods everywhere. Apart from what has been mentioned before, there are mountain peak gods at the tops of mountains, (pi-rü-tzé); gods of masculine and feminine mountains, (sü-pé-tzé); fortress gods on fortresses, (po-tzé); and local gods in every outpost. Yei-bo is the devil that causes all diseases. The Poison Devil is called is-dụ. One who has the Poison Devil in him or her is called Devil Old Woman (dụ-ma) if she is an old woman, Devil Girl (dụ-tchi) if a young girl, and Devil Man (dụ-tze) if he is a man. Besides, all tribal heroes and those who have done virtuous and meritorious deeds for the people are worshiped as gods. 774

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer--Tuan-kung

One who has relations with all ghosts and gods is the tuan-kung. He himself has his special guardian god. All magic instruments of the tuan-kung have active powers. If we want to have a deep understanding of the beliefs of the Ch'iang, it is necessary to study the tuan-kung. 791

According to their legends, the Ch'iang lost a considerable portion of their traditional culture during the period of exile. Even their original belief in the Sacred Forest was restored only after their victory over the Ko tribesmen. After the restoration of their belief in the Sacred Forest, sacrificial ceremonies were inaugurated by outstanding elders. Also, prayers were collected and edited. A committee of priests was organized with its members in charge of different aspects of the sacrifice. After many years, the rites of sacrifice were slightly changed, and the chief priest who read the prayer became tuan-kung. All religious services, exorcism, treatment of illness, delivery from poverty, as well as capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were done by the tuan-kung.

During the period when there were only priests, the clothing of the priests was the same as that of the common people. Since the advent of the tuan-kung, there were special attirement and various magic instruments. 791 292

The tuan-kung wears a white skirt (jar-pü), and his topcoat may be a sheep-skin vest or an ordinary garment. It is the same all over Wen-ch'uan and Li-fan. But in Mao-hsien, along Lo-ta-ku, Shui-mu-kou, Shen-ch'ien-san-kou, and, T'a-hua-san-chai, all tuan-kung wear leopard skin. Besides, in Li-fan there are some special clothes of other styles.

791 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tä),
773 worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/. The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat; from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shär (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second
778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he
791 wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made or iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

mewu

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it
[294] grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

S 131 136 241 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361 The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. ST [282] In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little ST 295 stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dzu or Gvi-dzu. Two species are found, *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-lü-me by the Na-khi), *Nyroca fuligula*, *Nyroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi, in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

[p. 410]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 295 ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

S 361 Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-ngua, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K'ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-chü. Behind the village of K'ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K'ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginko tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T'U-SSU YAMEN

S *487 *133 *137 West of K'ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-ddü of the Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji [2] and Bu-llu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dzoan-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T'o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K'ai-chi where the stream is known as K'ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (*Sophora japonica*, the Na-khi Li-law ndzĕr) stand at the entrance which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. The present T'u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民汉 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1382). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T'u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿[illegible]瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

S 173

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui's father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T'u-ssu of Yung-ning.

*S *487 *133 *137 From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu.

[2] The words *sä dji* (Li-chiang Na-khi, *sä gyi*) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

443 duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery,
438 needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities.
[326] A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li,
[292] Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded
[301] headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

291 Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min
443 Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull
438 caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the
322 shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The
443 carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is
438 here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial: the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

313 [1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Taing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Cham-Pa 糌粑. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese.
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

515 remnants of butter on their fingers, they rub it into their faces, and it forms a protection against the strong mountain sun.

Ornaments and Weapons

301 Men and women lay much more stress on ornament than on bodily hygiene. The men wear one earring (1), either on the right or the

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 6.

left ear. It is made of silver and is usually set with a large red coral. The tent nomads also /15/ occasionally wear a large, ring-shaped ornament of silver set with corals, above one ear. This is not, however, characteristic of their costume, but belongs to the sedentary Fantzu who live farther south in the region of Labrang. Less frequently the men wear simple silver finger rings as earrings. A rosary is usually worn around the neck as a chain. It is made of thick black disks of fragrant wood, or, what is simpler and cheaper, of small wooden beads. Sometimes they also wear their rosary (2) at their

788 301

2. Rockhill 1), Plates 35, 36.

belt or on the rope around their hips. The black chain around their necks is called tsä-nga in Tibetan, or su-chu in Chinese. On this chain hangs in front either a round disk resembling a Chinese chess figure or a large round amber or lacquered ball. On their thin rosaries they wear a square or circular silver box containing some kind of sacred relics, mostly pieces of cloth, amulets and often a Buddha picture, usually that of the Dalai-Lama or the Panchan-Lama. (3). The front of this box is always decorated with a coral

3. Rockhill 1), Plate 5.

in the center. The length of the sides or the diameter of this small amulet box can vary a great deal, but averages about 6 to 9 centimeters and 4 to 6 centimeters respectively. It is about 1 to 2 centimeters deep.

411 Apart from these actual ornaments, however, the men set great store by the decoration of their weapons. They always carry their weapons with them when they go any distance from their tents, even in peaceful times. Their weapons consist of a gun, a sword and a dagger. Until recently old-fashioned guns (1) were generally used,

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 23.

with the customary fork and with a stock that often has a beautiful 411
silver mounting. These old-fashioned guns are still being made in Ho-chou. Within the last four years, however, many comparatively modern guns have been sold to the Fantzu by escaped Chinese soldiers who were racked with hunger. /16/ These modern weapons often still have forks which are chiefly made in Labrang.

Their swords (2) are about one meter long. They are not worn

2. Rockhill, Plate 22.

on a sword belt, but are stuck through the belt or the hip cord in front, so that they rest almost horizontally. The haft and scabbard are usually richly decorated with silver mountings set with corals.

A knife about 30 centimeters long hangs at their side, its handle and sheath consisting of brass or silver.

The women wear large silver ear pendants, richly set with corals 301
and turquoises. Little girls at the age of 7 or 8 get their first ear- 302
rings, mostly of simple brass. Finger rings (3) of silver or copper,

3. Rockhill, Plate 5.

also set with corals and turquoises, are worn on the left hand. Neck rings or necklaces are not worn. Special emphasis is put on hair ornaments. When the young girls get their first hairdo, the side braids are, as we have said, held together by a special ornament. This consists of cloth which the women themselves sew and trim with corals. (4)

4. For a description of women's hairdo compare Rockhill, page 690.

An important tool of the women, which has at the same time 301
developed into an ornament, is an anchor-shaped double hook of 234
brass, known in Tibetan as sao-sou (Chinese: nai-k'o, "milking 413
hook"). (1) It is usually set with a few corals. It is always worn

1. Illustrated in Futterer 6), Vol. I, page 34.

at the belt and is used by the women to hold the pail when milking. Sometimes their belt or hip cord is also ornamented with strips of red cloth and tassels.

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

[1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people — Hirlyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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134 dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones.[1] Lime-stone
147 is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families con-
ST stantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neigh-
301 borhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (PLATE
ST 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white
291 conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female *Cannabis sativa*. The children go entirely naked and are
S black from filth.

*487 From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the
*133 stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over land-
*137 slides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of *Phyllanthus emblica*, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, *Maba buxifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, compositae and *Heteropogon contortus* grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus *Delavaya* (species) *yünnanensis*.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa 江[凹] on the west bank of the Yangtze. (*See* journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k'o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (PLATE 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t'o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K'O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khin tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan *en route* to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Luĕ-dzu law-k'aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hĕr-dü or Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luĕ-

1 [The Li-su village of Ba-ssu-ko -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 215.—A HLI-KHIN MAIDEN OF YUNG-KING

永寧里祭少女

She is dressed in her best; wound around her head she wears strings of cornelian, amber and turquoise. Over her forehead is a strip of cloth studded with gold nuggets. Her earrings suspended from her hair are of solid gold as are the buckles of her silk jacket.

[p. 410 G]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST 197 and where the distinction between them lies.

If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST 101 or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

291 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the 301 neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

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trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

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In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

000

Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Mêng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

Mewu

ornament and a silk tassel. (1) Their jewelry they buy from the 292

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 33, 34.

Chinese.

Hair Style

The Fantzu wear their hair cut short; it is only at the parting 302 th[illegible] many men still wear a small, thin braid that looks like a rat tail. Their method of cutting hair is still very primitive. They use an old sickle that is no longer good for cutting grass, and they sharpen it after a fashion on suitable stones found in the field. In contrast to the Chinese, the Fantzu, oddly enough, cut their hair from the top down. Only the sorcerers (böm-bu) wear long hair, which they wrap in a head scarf. Their beards they pluck out, like the Chinese, with brass tweezers which they carry on their rosaries or on a chain around their necks. Only lamas occasionally wear beards. /14/

The women wear a very complicated coiffure. Little girls of six or seven have their hair dressed for the first time. The style consists of three rather thick braids that hang down from the parting and many smaller, thin braids on the sides, held together above the ears with a special ornament. The coiffure of the women is the same, except that they wear many more braids that hang far down and are held together with a complicated ornament. (1) Beside the two

1. A similar ornament of another nomad tribe is shown in Hermanns 3), illustration 51.

center braids, the woman wears 80 to 100 thin braids on either side. These braids must reach to the knees. Since a woman's hair is often not long enough or thick enough for this type of coiffure, she buys switches from Chinese traders.

For the rest, the Tibetans do not know very much about caring 515 for their bodies. They do not wash, and their bodies are covered with a black film of dirt. Since they also do not wash their furs, conditions are ideal for the propagation of body lice. The Fantzu wash only their mouth, face and hands, with cold water. They do not use a wash basin for this, but take a mouthful of water from a pottery jug, rinse out their mouths, then spit out the water into their hands and use it to wash their face and hands. After washing, they rub butter into their face. After eating, too, if they have

with the customary fork and with a stock that often has a beautiful 411
silver mounting. These old-fashioned guns are still being made in Ho-chou. Within the last four years, however, many comparatively modern guns have been sold to the Fantzu by escaped Chinese soldiers who were racked with hunger. /16/ These modern weapons often still have forks which are chiefly made in Labrang.

Their swords (2) are about one meter long. They are not worn

2. Rockhill, Plate 22.

on a sword belt, but are stuck through the belt or the hip cord in front, so that they rest almost horizontally. The haft and scabbard are usually richly decorated with silver mountings set with corals.

A knife about 30 centimeters long hangs at their side, its handle and sheath consisting of brass or silver.

The women wear large silver ear pendants, richly set with corals 301
and turquoises. Little girls at the age of 7 or 8 get their first ear- 302
rings, mostly of simple brass. Finger rings (3) of silver or copper,

3. Rockhill, Plate 5.

also set with corals and turquoises, are worn on the left hand. Neck rings or necklaces are not worn. Special emphasis is put on hair ornaments. When the young girls get their first hairdo, the side braids are, as we have said, held together by a special ornament. This consists of cloth which the women themselves sew and trim with corals. (4)

4. For a description of women's hairdo compare Rockhill, page 690.

An important tool of the women, which has at the same time 301
developed into an ornament, is an anchor-shaped double hook of 234
brass, known in Tibetan as sao-sou (Chinese: nai-k'o, "milking 413
hook"). (1) It is usually set with a few corals. It is always worn

1. Illustrated in Futterer 6), Vol. I, page 34.

at the belt and is used by the women to hold the pail when milking. Sometimes their belt or hip cord is also ornamented with strips of red cloth and tassels.

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last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the
S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.
ST The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a
302 sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan
191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak
S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.
ST Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct
631 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a
622 Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the
S large monastery which is situated a little further along the
ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be
[651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was
S certainly not friendly.
ST It is curious how little impression the civilisation and
177 customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

 Min Chia

857 children have quite a large variety of toys, all
524 made locally, for the cheap Japanese toy, or its Shanghai-made competitor, have not yet reached the rural parts of Yunnan. Hobby horses, spinning tops, wooden swords and spears, marbles, dolls, and small wooden toy water mills, are the most elaborate and enduring, for many toys are made of paper for some special occasion, such as the Kwan Yin festival and the New Year. Kites are not regarded strictly as toys, for they are also flown by men as well as by boys. The kite flying season is conventionally limited to the spring, and any one who tried to fly a kite at other seasons would be considered eccentric. This curious idea prevails all over China, but I have never been able to hear a satisfactory explanation. The kite is a Chinese invention, and of great antiquity, often made in the shape of a dragon. It seems possible that it was originally a representation of the Rain Dragon, flown in spring in connection with some rain making rite, and that some faint memory of this inspires the convention which limits kite flying to that season. The fire balloons called K'un Ming lamps, mentioned earlier, which are now regarded as toys, are also only flown at one season for a limited period, and some connection with the Shu Pao ceremony is admitted.

Children also play a number of round games such as hide and seek, touch-last, hop scotch, and one, of Chinese origin, called "breaking the city wall", in which a line of boys hold hands and one other has to charge them and
[304] break through, but without using his hands or feet. Except for the last, which is a boys' game, all the others are played by girls and boys together, in the courtyard of their home, for as the Min Chia have never bound the feet of their girls, and the custom is now rapidly disappearing among the Chinese and half Chinese, little girls are quite as active as their brothers. In recent years the introduction of basketball as a school game has led to this becoming the national

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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They are crude and savage; they use cross-bows

and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high."

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-t'ang of King-don Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween.—Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
792 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I. 1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II. 1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
134 able to escape through the very narrow passage of the Dragon's Tail Pass, overflows on to the flat western shore. Unless the flood becomes so deep as to cover the ears of rice, this does no harm, and such exceptional depths are rare. Yet on account of these two risks the land nearest the lake shore, in appearance the best on the plain, is in fact of less value than fields nearer the mountain slopes.

134 Unlike almost all other parts of Yunnan the soil of the Ta Li plain is not the red clay associated with the prevailing Yunnan limestone rocks, but a heavy black soil due to the fact that Ts'ang Shan is an upthrust of granite breaking
133 through the limestone cap of the Yunnan plateau. This geological peculiarity has one serious disadvantage, the frequency of severe earthquakes on the Ta Li plain. Slight shocks are common in the dry season, especially after one of the winter spells of drizzle, but a major earthquake in the spring of 1925 not only destroyed most of the city of Ta Li but caused much greater havoc and a very heavy loss of life in the lakeside villages, where a wave from the lake did further damage. Local records mention other severe earthquakes in previous centuries, but for many years before 1925 no serious shock had occurred, nor has there been a major earthquake since that date.

311 Apart from a narrow belt of willow groves along the lake shore, where flooding is usual, the entire surface of the plain is under cultivation. The villages as far as possible are built on the shore itself, or on the lowest slopes of the mountain, to free as much land as possible for the cultiva-
[491] tion of rice. Even the main caravan road, a stone-paved path about six feet wide, skirts the slopes of the mountain, and the paths leading to villages and fields are narrow and follow the dykes along irrigation channels. Very little land is devoted to market gardening, usually only such patches by

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the 133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, 132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists there are highly productive orchards growing pears, peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede 133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the 162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1] The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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CHAPTER 2

THE RICE STANDARD

RICE IS THE real standard of wealth among the Min Chia. 436
Direct barter of rice for commodities is common, rents 243
are paid and calculated in rice, and rice producing land is the chief investment of the wealthy, and the principal source of revenue for the government. No other crop compares 243
with rice either in actual value or in the estimation of the 311
people. Land which is unsuitable for rice cultivation is hardly regarded as anything better than waste. In consequence of this preoccupation with the rice crop the Min Chia neglect the development of other forms of agriculture and have failed to exploit all the possibilities of land on which rice cannot be grown.

The Min Chia are rarely if ever found on land where rice cultivation is impossible, they avoid the mountains, and when the excess of population makes its impossible for all to engage in rice farming, they prefer to emigrate to distant parts of the Province rather than cultivate other crops upon the mountain sides. Whether this is to be explained as the failure of an immigrant people of lowland origin to adapt itself to the life of mountaineers, or as the whole-hearted conversion of a people, once pastoral hillmen, to the advantages of intensive agriculture, there is no direct evidence to show. The Min Chia lack any tradition of immigration to their present home, and it may be regarded as certain that they have practised their present mode of life for at least seven centuries.

Although there is thus an ancient tradition in support of 243
rice farming, and an almost psychological aversion to living on the mountains, there are also strong economic arguments

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243 in favour of rice cultivation. The yield of rice, very much higher per acre than that of wheat or maize, the alternative cereal crops, enables a larger population to live in a restricted area. Furthermore, the climate of Ta Li (though not of the northern Min Chia areas) makes it possible to grow wheat and beans on the rice lands in winter, so that two crops a year can be harvested off the same land. A comparatively small holding of rice land, ten Chinese acres (*mu*) or an English acre and a half, is sufficient to support a family of five persons.[1] Consequently there was little incentive to undertake the cultivation of maize or fruit on the mountain sides while population still remained low, or fresh rice land in adjoining valleys was easily available. When these conditions ceased to apply the tradition of rice farming had secured so strong a hold upon the people that they preferred to emigrate to great distances rather than abandon their manner of life.

243 Other considerations have combined to enhance the
●311 value of rice land and reinforce the hold which the "rice
423 standard" has obtained on the Min Chia mind. Since the area suitable for rice is limited, and was long ago brought under cultivation, good land has acquired a scarcity value, and this in turn has been enhanced by the universal will to ownership. The poor seek to buy land even at great sacrifice, the rich regard land purchase as the only safe investment. To be landless is regarded as a grave misfortune, and even to have to rent additional land is considered regrettable. It is of course true that in a community without banks or joint stock companies, land is the best investment, indeed the only really safe one. Land will survive most calamities. Fire may destroy merchandise or a hoard of treasure, and insur-

804 [1] The *Mu* or Chinese Acre by which land all over China is measured, is not, however a fixed unit. The *Mu* varies slightly in every district, and even in different villages. In Yunnan the equivalent of ⅙ of an English acre to the *Mu* is approximately correct for the Ta Li district.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

snow. Toward the south, the horizon is blocked by mighty Min-shan, 133
a chain of Matterhorns with peaks almost 6,000 meters high, with glaciers and the imposing notch of the "Stone Gate" (Shih-men) which leads over into Szechuan. There are memories of distant rides on 136
horseback, of meditative walks beneath the deep blue sky of the alps; or of dark, storm-driven rain clouds in the solemn peace of the highlands, the quiet broken only by the song of the lark, the shrill cry of the falcon or the deep croak of the raven and the lively whistle of the ground hog. The vast steppe, utterly deserted by man, is animated now and then by herds of gazelles, a few hovering vultures or eagles high in the heavens. Or one sees a narrow valley with a row of black tents and groups of horsemen, dotted with black yak and white sheep herds, the whole strangely enlivened by the low barking of dogs and the bleating of yaks and sheep.

/3/ In earlier times Tibetan tribes were scattered far beyond the 177
borders of present-day Tibet toward the west, as far as the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu, probably even throughout Shensi to Honan. Even today there are Tibetan tribes in Szechuan and Kansu, but culturally they have been more strongly influenced by the Chinese, often having also adopted the Chinese language. Here we find all kinds of transitions between nearly pure Tibetans and those that have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. In the course 167
of the last 100 years the boundary between the provinces of Szechuan and Kansu on the one hand and Western Tibet, that is to say, the present outlying Chinese provinces of Hsik'ang and Ch'inghai (Kokonor), on the other, has been shifted several times. In Kansu the Chinese government was impelled to do this because of the gradual advance of the Chinese toward the West, and also because of difficult relationships with a third, very restless element of the population of Kansu, the Mohammedans. Although the latter have adopted the Chinese language, dress and customs, they have by no means been assimilated by the Chinese, but are consciously opposed to them. Anthropologically they can be included among the Turkish peoples of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang). The Chinese and Mohammedan 311
settlements in Kansu have pushed on as far as the Chinese farmer has found proper conditions - especially on loess soil - for the type of agriculture he has practised since ancient times. In places where the bottom of the valley lends itself to irrigation, the river valleys have become rich oases with luxuriant vegetable and fruit cultures

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1:47 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

I. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

S ST 311 [161] ST [24] [312]

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒孜河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hër-dü, the Har-lër-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

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Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 the mountain streams which discharge into the lake are perennial, which is not the case on plateaux bordered by lower hills. Against this advantage must be set the strong winds which prevail in winter, due to the juxtaposition of a high mountain and a large sheet of water.

The area of good land is also diminished by the wide "fans" of rock-encumbered soil discharged by the mountain torrents at the point where they debouch on to the plain. This accumulation of boulders and detritus forms a continuous belt about a mile wide of rocky sloping land along the foot of the mountain. It has some value as grazing
312 land, but cannot be cultivated. As the streams leave the lower slopes they are carefully canalised and broken up into an infinity of small channels which distribute water to every plot of ground between the hill slopes and the lake shore. This work of irrigation, undoubtedly of great antiquity, has transformed what must once have been a marsh into a carefully graded series of terraces sloping almost imperceptibly to the lake. As a result the Min Chia farmer is really independent of the monsoon, for he can flood his rice fields from this system of water channels, fed by the perennial streams from Ts'ang Shan.

312 Curiously enough it is the land nearest the shore of the
134 lake which has most to fear from a late monsoon. The level of the lake varies as much as six feet between the dry season and the end of the rainy season, consequently in spring the water is some four to five feet below the level of the adjoining rice fields, which cannot be flooded from this source. As the fields nearer the mountain slopes tend to absorb all or most of the water from the mountain torrents, it sometimes happens that if the monsoon is late the fields nearest to the lake cannot be planted with rice until as much as three weeks after those nearer the mountain. The area adjoining the lake is further subject to some danger of

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
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824 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which
261 grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

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226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

2: Rock, K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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THE RICE STANDARD

231 The quality of the wool produced by the Ta Li sheep is
236 hairy and poor, and the few hundreds of sheep in their flocks do not give any appreciable amount. The demand for mutton, especially since the Moslem population has declined, is small. Though these points are always put forward as an explanation of why there are so few sheep and so much wasted pasture, the manner in which the Min Chia answer these questions shows that they have never really thought about them before. "There are no more sheep" ; this expresses their attitude, and the reasons why there are no more only occur to them as afterthoughts, when some stranger takes it into his head to dispute or argue about a fact which to them is as satisfying as it is obvious.

314 Stock raising in fact is only a minor side line of the villages lying at the base of the mountain. Those families who have not enough rice land to live on engage in a little stock raising, or woodcutting, or cutting the mountain grass for fodder. But these activities are rather despised. Only the very poor, one was constantly told, would try to earn a living on the mountain, and the implication that this sort of livelihood was in some way rather barbarous was clearly present. That the returns are poor is certainly true. A woman or girl—such work is usually left to them—who goes up the mountain at dawn, perhaps to 10,000 or 11,000 ft., a three hour climb, and cuts a load of hay, only gets two nickel, or a halfpenny, for her fodder when she gets down to the city by four o'clock in the afternoon to sell it to the muleteers at the caravan inns. So much work for so poor a reward would obviously only be undertaken by those reduced to great poverty.

313 Bamboo cutting, which involves going still higher, to the bamboo forest at 12,000 ft., under snow and inaccessible in winter, is a little more paying. Bamboos are made into brooms, or cut for sticks, and these can be sold at the fort-

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443 duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery,
438 needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities.
[326] A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li,
[292] Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded
[301] headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

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243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The 222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to 313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds [534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them [415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

4. Occupations.

463 All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers
[423] have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses,
and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the
[462] members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing,
for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women
cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing,
winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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231 The quality of the wool produced by the Ta Li sheep is
236 hairy and poor, and the few hundreds of sheep in their flocks do not give any appreciable amount. The demand for mutton, especially since the Moslem population has declined, is small. Though these points are always put forward as an explanation of why there are so few sheep and so much wasted pasture, the manner in which the Min Chia answer these questions shows that they have never really thought about them before. "There are no more sheep" ; this expresses their attitude, and the reasons why there are no more only occur to them as afterthoughts, when some stranger takes it into his head to dispute or argue about a fact which to them is as satisfying as it is obvious.

314 Stock raising in fact is only a minor side line of the villages lying at the base of the mountain. Those families who have not enough rice land to live on engage in a little stock raising, or woodcutting, or cutting the mountain grass for fodder. But these activities are rather despised. Only the very poor, one was constantly told, would try to earn a living on the mountain, and the implication that this sort of livelihood was in some way rather barbarous was clearly present. That the returns are poor is certainly true. A woman or girl—such work is usually left to them—who goes up the mountain at dawn, perhaps to 10,000 or 11,000 ft., a three hour climb, and cuts a load of hay, only gets two nickel, or a halfpenny, for her fodder when she gets down to the city by four o'clock in the afternoon to sell it to the muleteers at the caravan inns. So much work for so poor a reward would obviously only be undertaken by those reduced to great poverty.

313 Bamboo cutting, which involves going still higher, to the bamboo forest at 12,000 ft., under snow and inaccessible in winter, is a little more paying. Bamboos are made into brooms, or cut for sticks, and these can be sold at the fort-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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313 nightly markets in Ta Li. The cedars in the rain forest which begins near 13,000 ft. and continues to the crest are cut for building timber to some extent. As they grow on steep and often almost sheer slopes and precipices, much of the timber cannot be cut, or if cut cannot be fetched down. This industry is therefore very limited, and the lengths obtainable small. Large beams for house building and boat building are more easily obtained from the forests on Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain behind the eastern shore of the lake.

824 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which
261 grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

313 In recent years the *hsien* government, which acts as trustee for such public land as the mountain, has done something towards reafforesting the lower slopes with pines. Much of the ancient pine forest has been cleared by woodcutters, but re-planting undertaken within the last twenty years has restored the lower slopes to forest, and strict licensing of wood cutting is now enforced. On the other hand no attempt has been made to exterminate or even reduce the wolves which infest Ts'ang Shan and not only prey upon the small flocks of sheep, but also raid the villages of the plain
312 for pigs and chickens. The main value of Ts'ang Shan, in Min
316 Chia eyes, is as a source of perennial streams for irrigating the rice land, its secondary value as the source of the famous Ta Li marble for which the city is known all over China.

226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
• [31] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

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duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery, needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities. A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li, Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial: the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

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438 the manufacturing towns of Kiangsu. Since the fall of Shang-
443 hai these have had to be imported with some difficulty via Hong Kong and Canton, and more recently via French Indo-China. In consequence stocks were falling and prices rising
278 at the end of 1938. Medicine shops do not handle western
443 types of medicine. Their stocks include many kinds of herbs, and also highly valued medicaments of doubtful curative value such as deer and rhinoceros horn, powders made of fossil bones, and various minerals. This business is very lucrative and the owners of the medicine shops are among the richest merchants in the city. Much of their raw material is brought from the Tibetan marches and from the un-
438 administered forest tracks of northern Burma. Chinaware,
323 by which is meant porcelain, is imported from the famous potteries in Kiangsi. This ware is used by the wealthy; a local very much cheaper pottery from Yung Pei in northern Yunnan is sold at the fortnightly markets in great quantities.

443 The shops in the city thus provide a fairly wide range of
438 better class goods, but for food supplies and the articles of everyday use the population depends on the daily markets and the fortnightly fairs. Apart from the butchers there are no shops selling produce in the city. Vegetables, fish, rice, and grain are sold daily in the street markets which open about ten o'clock in the morning, when the peasants reach the city, and are usually over by four in the afternoon, when the country people set off for the villages before darkness can overtake them on the way.

The fortnightly "great markets" are held on the second and sixteenth of every lunar month on open spaces inside the north and south gates respectively. These fairs in fine weather attract very large numbers of people from the country and even from districts distant three days journey. During the morning all roads and paths leading towards the city are thronged with peasants and traders, women being

443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia Towards
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are directly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
435
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505] junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443 heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438 walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764 side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods, walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324 can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443 Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438 stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505 many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443 and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438 summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats, protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

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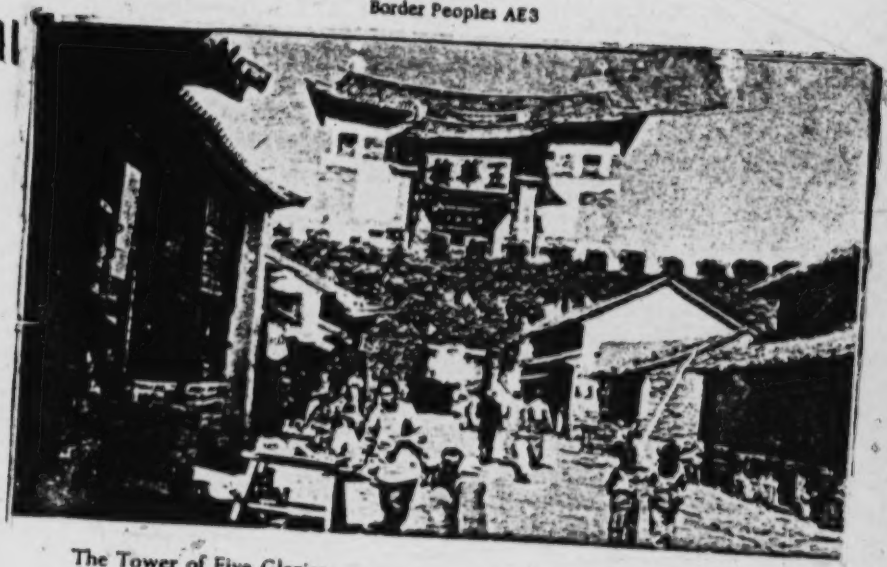
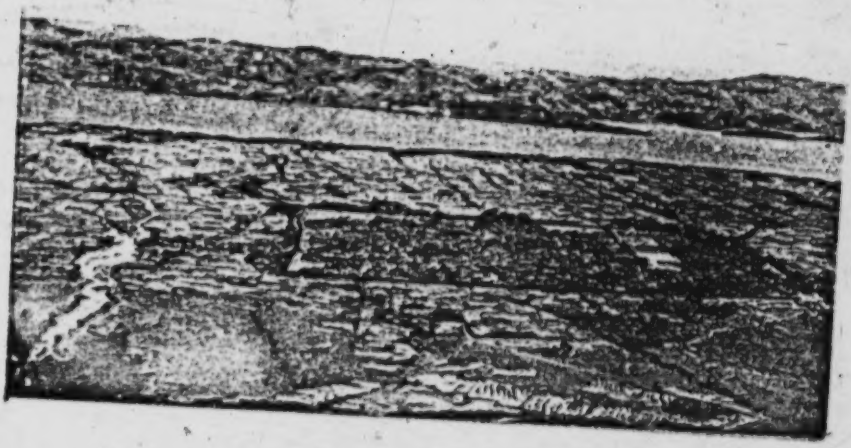


The Tower of Five Glories

Ta Li city and Erh Hai lake.



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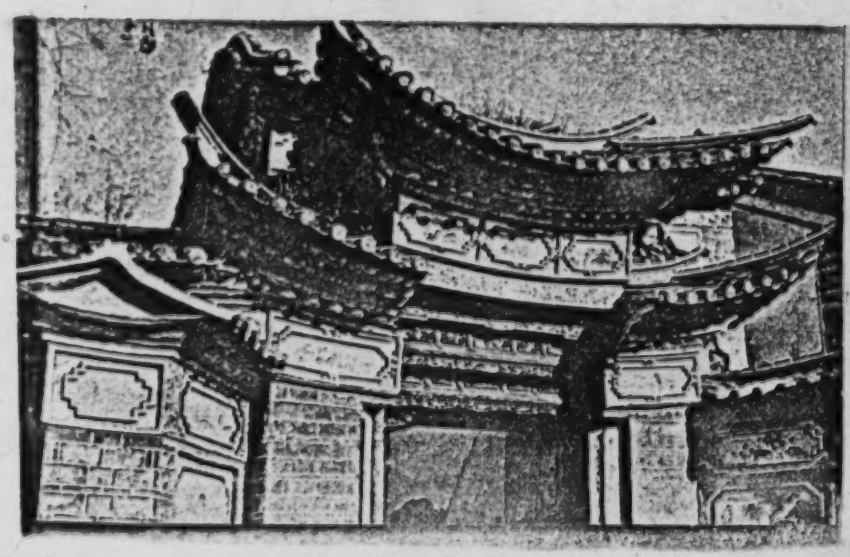
Ta Li house. Decoration shows Moslem influence.

Gateway of wealthy house in Ta Li.



[Face p. 46]

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669 perished. The extensive ruins of their houses, now covered
731 with cactus and wild shrubs, still encumber large parts of the walled enclosure. These older ruins are for the most part in the south east part of the city, those due to the great earthquake of 1925 are found in all parts. This second disaster caused great destruction and a heavy loss of life. The main street was burnt out, and thus the merchant community suffered a total loss of their goods, which were not of course covered by any form of insurance. The loss of life was not so heavy as in the country, where along the lake shore hundreds died in the sudden collapse of their homes. Most of the dwellings in the city were however, either ruined, or so badly damaged as to be uninhabitable. More solidly built, or as the faithful believe, protected by the gods, the great pagodas outside the city and the main temples inside the walls, withstood the shock, as did three out of the four Gate Towers.

As there is no form of insurance operating in Yunnan these heavy losses fell wholly upon the householders themselves. For years the city lay almost in ruins. Slowly, as wealth accumulated, men began to rebuild, first their shops, then the homes of the richer classes, and still to-day the work of reconstruction goes on. During the years 1937 and 1938
341 more than thirty ruinous houses were rebuilt. Fortunately Ta Li was then still far from the centres of progress and innovation, so the old style of architecture was employed in rebuilding the city, unchanged by the rather unhappy influence of European ideas found in too many of the new buildings in the greater cities of China. Ta Li to-day, no longer a city of ruins, is one of the most attractive examples of a small Chinese city built entirely in Chinese style. The end and back walls of the better class houses are made of the local granite building stone, the front, where the windows and doors are placed, of wood, and the roofs are tiled. The three solid walls are plastered and whitewashed on the out-

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341 side, the blank surfaces at the gable ends and under the eaves being decorated with black and white arabesques. The doors in the wooden fronts are carved, and the window spaces closed with lattices of intricate and unusual designs. The houses, as in all parts of China, are built on the courtyard plan, but are usually two storied.

This style of architecture is not of course peculiar to Ta Li, and there is no difference between the houses inhabited by Min Chia and by Chinese. If there was ever an indigenous type of house unlike the Chinese kind, it has entirely disappeared. On the other hand, the custom of decorating the end walls with black and white arabesque patterns is peculiar to the Ta Li region and is not found in other parts of Yunnan. The small pointed windows let into the end and back walls, another peculiarity of Ta Li houses, are not found in ordinary Chinese designed houses and these, and the decoration found in conjunction with them, may perhaps be attributed to Moslem influence.

351 Every residential house has a garden as well as the central
247 courtyard. The garden, part of which is used for vegetables, is usually shaded with fine trees and gay with flowering shrubs. The camelia or tea tree, of which there are many varieties, is very popular at Ta Li in the winter months. In summer, roses, azaleas and rhododendrons (the latter with difficulty acclimatised to the lower altitude), give a constant succession of flowers, and the plants are trained with loving care into strange shapes representing Chinese characters for happiness and good luck. The people of Ta Li are keen amateur gardeners and in recent years many foreign flowers such as zinnias and marigolds have been introduced. Loquats, oranges and pears are grown, although the quality of fruit from the eastern shore of the lake is much superior. These trees are grown in Ta Li more for their blossom than for the fruit.

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341

Kuan Yin island in Erh Hai lake.

533

Musician at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

[Face p. 94]

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
792 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

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village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous 226
and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large [342] boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population en- [361] gages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no 443 shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

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Min Chia village of Er Gai Yu (lower chicken village).

The main street, Ta Li.

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CHAPTER 9

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

WHAT are called modern comforts are unknown as yet 511
to the Min Chia, rich or poor. There is no water 354
supply except wells, no lighting except oil lamps or 342
candles, no sanitation at all. Glass windows are a rare luxury never installed throughout a house, and the panes are small and of inferior quality. Most windows are of paper pasted over wooden lattices, which are very artistic but quite opaque, admitting only a dim light. The only system of heating houses in the cold winter evenings or wet days is the use of charcoal burners, for no Min Chia house has fireplaces or chimneys. In a Min Chia house with paper windows one may have either light or heat, but not both at once. For if the windows are shut the light is dim, and if they are kept open the charcoal brazier is not sufficient to keep the room warm.

These discomforts are inevitable in a country so far 511
removed from the centres where modern luxuries are produced, but the Min Chia do not make the most of the materials they have to hand, even when they are well able to afford them. A bamboo lattice screen hung over the doorway or window will keep out flies from a room in summer, and such screens are occasionally used. Most rooms, however, do not have them, and in the spring months before the rains, the ordinary Min Chia house is black with flies, about which everyone complains. Yet it never seems to occur to them to make use of lattice screens at every doorway. This attitude is indeed usual. Rich men live in discomfort, of which they are well aware, but seem to lack the knowledge of how to improve conditions.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the 352
bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, 342
usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the 362
crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a 511
Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, 342
and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples SAE 3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 74. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö OR HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

雪松村子雨崖的村子在白沙鄉麗江縣

The last village on the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain in the Commune of Pai-sha, at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan. The Na-khi name of the village means: "At the foot of the silver rocks." Mt. Shan-tzu-tou in background.

[p.140]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 94.—LO-LO WOMEN AT GHÖER-T'O

羅羅婦女

Women as well as men wear the black felt cloak. They live in the most primitive fashion; their houses made of pine boards, tied together with vines, are not much better than pigsties.

[p. 172 F.]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 96. — NA-KHI PEASANTS OF MBA-YI-WÙA

麼 雨 西 康 邊 民 夫

Na-khi farmers from the Yangtse loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

[p 172 H]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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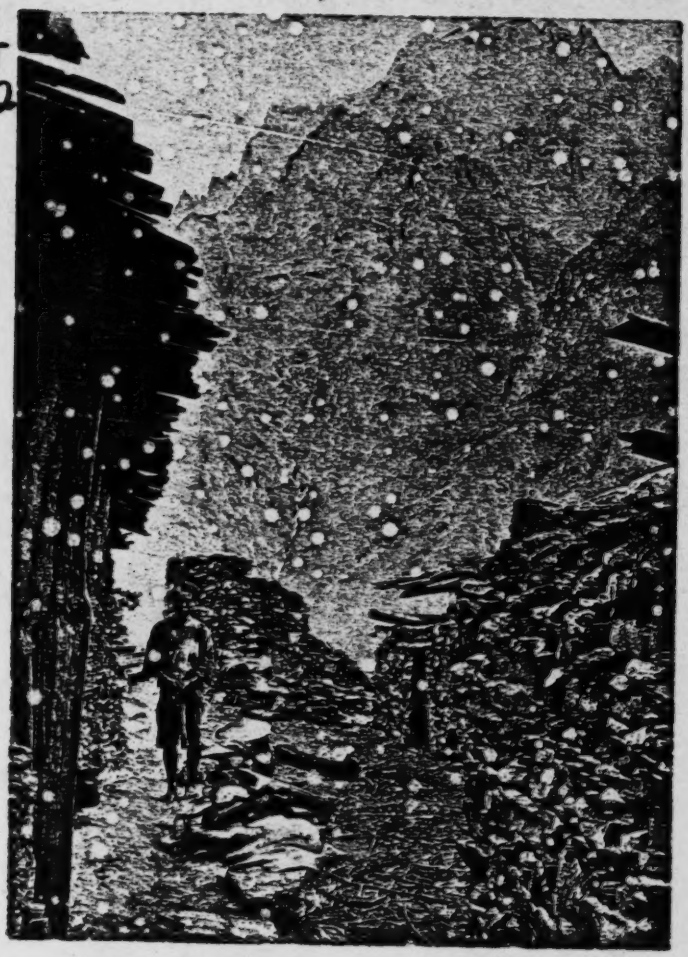


(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

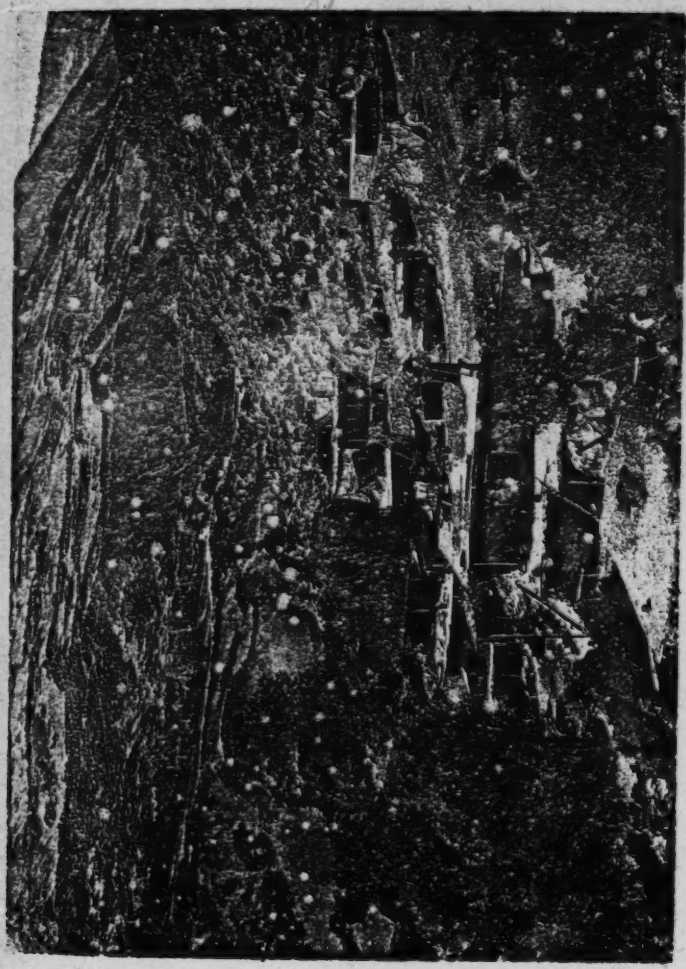
PLATE 122. — THE NA-KHI HAMLET GYI-F'ER-LO IN THE 'A-TS'AE-GKO GORGE

達 昌 角 爾 俄 羅 家 村

The isolated village consists of seven families and is built entirely of rock; its elevation is 7,775 feet, and is in Chung-tien territory.

[p. 220 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 165.—THE TIBETAN HAMLET OF NYE-THANG

麗江江邊古宗村

The houses of the Mekong Tibetans have flat roofs on which they dry their grain. Maize is especially cultivated here. Notched logs are used for ladders. Salt and Chinese tea, rather than money is the medium of exchange, the two articles being scarce here.

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[p. 298 M]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

231/476 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'len-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not 342 enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high 222 mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains 224 are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窝, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窝, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything, I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the borrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the scenery. The rear wall projects a few feet higher than the shed, and in the center is a shrine on which is placed the sacred white stone and in front of which the family worships. 342

To build a roof, first large timbers are put into place, and thick boards over the timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Often thorns are added to discourage the rats. Finally dirt is thrown on top and pounded hard. There is a slight slope to the roof so that rain runs off instead of leaking through. There are a few round or square holes in the roof to let out smoke and to let in light. The windows of the houses are small, so that there is insufficient light inside, and since there are no chimneys the houses are filled with smoke while food is being prepared. The walls and ceilings of the houses, as well as the furniture, are blackened with smoke.

The main door of the house opens inwards. At the left is a lock composed of three pieces of wood about three feet from the ground. A large piece of wood about eight by ten inches goes through the wall next to the door. To the left of this is a hole through which the hand can be inserted. A smaller piece penetrates the larger piece at right angles, and lengthwise through this second piece is a hole into which the wooden key is inserted. When all the family is away, the door is locked and the key carried away, and nobody can enter, for no two keys are alike.

In the villages the houses are very close together. Some of them are wall-to-wall. The streets are narrow alleys approximately six to twelve feet wide, and on both sides rise the high stone walls of the houses. Nearly every village has one or more watch towers built of stone which are about eighteen feet square and become smaller towards the top. Some are over a hundred feet high. They were built in for times for defence. In time of war the women and children and the most valuable possessions were taken inside for safety, while from the top arrows and rifle bullets were shot at the enemy. Towards the upper slope the top wall was built higher so as to protect the defenders from arrows and bullets shot from a higher elevation. Often the villages are on cliffs or promontories that make protection easier and the stone walls of the houses and gardens may be supplemented so that the village is a fortress. Nearly all Ch'iang villages are called Chai Tzu or fortresses. 361 349

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his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used 253 during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone 361 can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope 342 of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1.30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1.80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

342 Cloth strips about 1 1/2 meters wide are sewed onto the sides of the horizontal tent roof. These are fastened to shorter poles (in front about 1.80 meters, on the sides and in the rear about 1 meter) outside the tent walls in such a way that they slant outward like eaves. In this way the entire space enclosed by the tent wall is covered. Around the tent a number of longer and shorter poles and stakes are hewn into the ground in order to stretch the large horizontal middle section of the tent roof and the slanting sides. These posts are fastened to the cloth of the roof with strong ropes made of yak hair. The horizontal roof consists of two symmetrical halves that converge in a line at the center of the two longitudinal sides. These two halves of the tent roof can be pulled apart slightly to permit the smoke from the fireplace below to escape.

354 The fireplace is always in the exact center of the tent and divides
342 it into two equal halves. It consists of a very primitive rectangular hearth made of loam, on the left side wall of which, as seen from the entrance, there are three fire holes. There are three corresponding round holes on top into which the cooking pots are set. The hearth does not extend from the front to the rear of one side; toward the rear it joins the place /20/ where the fuel is stored. The fuel consists of dried yak dung. In front of the hearth is the entrance to the tent. This is separated from the hearth by a wall about 2 meters wide, made of a piece of cloth stretched between special rods. Thus when one enters the tent one does not come directly into the main room but into a sort of anteroom formed by the cloth wall stretched out in front of the hearth. The person who enters is thus forced to turn right or left and therewith enters the left or right half of the tent, the two halves being sharply separated by the hearth and the adjacent area where the fuel is kept.

342 The side of the tent to the right of the entrance may be used only
562 by the men, the left side by the women. It is strictly forbidden to step across the hearth or the place where the fuel is stored. It is also considered very impolite to step over a person lying on the floor of the tent. Strangers, whether women or men, may under no circumstances enter the side not permissible to them. The residents of the tent may themselves set foot on the forbidden half only if they are alone in the tent and are obliged to fetch something from the other side. The woman, however, may not be seated in the right half. The man goes over to the left side to sleep.

352 In the section to the right is the hearth with a type of very primitive "k'ang" (1), that is to say, two short tubular passages are

1. The living room of the North Chinese house has

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a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 362
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two 342
meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

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342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it
[294] grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

is much more tense. Until very recently there were often bloody Mohammedan uprisings against the Chinese government. The last of these took place only eight years ago (about 1928). In such times of unrest when the power of Chinese officials is not very far-reaching, there is a general feeling of great insecurity. The Fantzu often take this opportunity to plunder the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese who fled into the territory of the Fantzu during the last uprising were well treated by them. Since then, however, the favorable relationship between Fantzu and Chinese has deteriorated more and more (for the above-mentioned reasons), so that in 1936 my interpreter doubted whether the Fantzu would assist the Chinese in a Mohammedan uprising.

Key to diagrams on following page:

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352

w - wall, d - tent roof, r - smoke vent, f - fireplace, ew - wall in front of fireplace, e - entrance, a - family altar, b - fuel, pfl - stakes to fasten down tent roof, p - supports for the tent roof.

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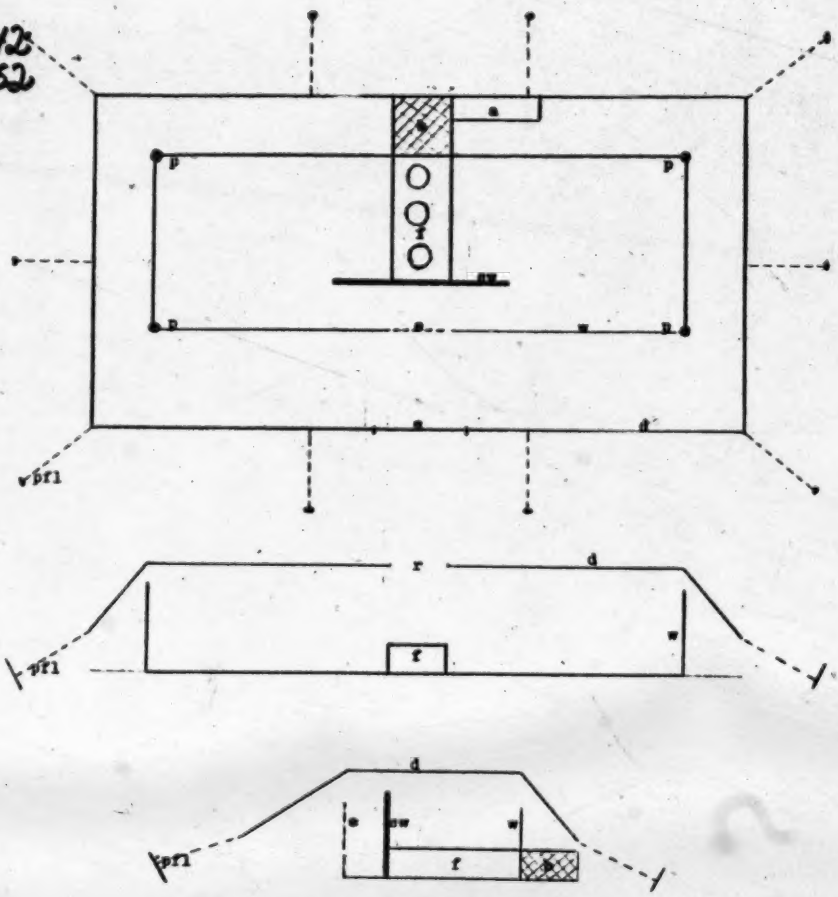

w = Wand, d = Zeltdach, r = Rauchabzug, f = Feuerstelle, ew = Wand vor der Feuerstelle, e = Eingang, a = Hausaltar, b = Brennmaterial, pfl = Pflöcke zur Befestigung des Zeltdaches, p = Stützpfähle für das Zeltdach.

[For an English translation of the caption, see p. 70]

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

776 [778]

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-rǔ-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bo-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-la	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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ST 585 S 487 alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

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The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

S *487 *133 *137

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ཁྱང་ཐང (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

ST [342]

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 八蒲桶. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] རྒྱ་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཆུ

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 秋江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ཆང་ཡུལ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

1 [a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

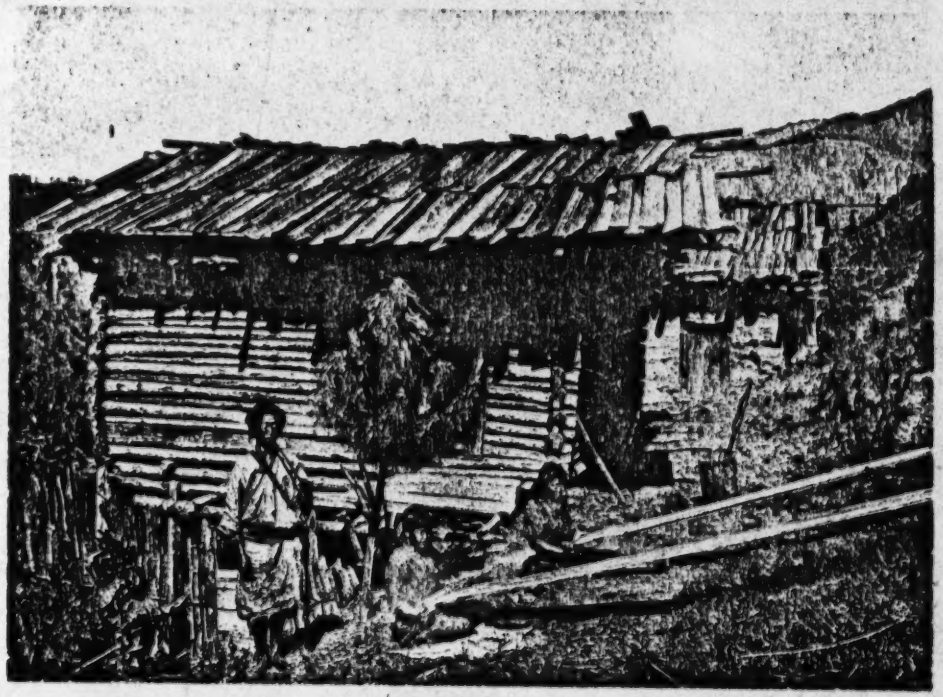
9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 189.—LU-TZU HUTS AT BAHANG

白汗蒲戀子住房

All Lu-tzu huts are alike and the price is three silver taels each. Lu-tzu women can be seen weaving hemp cloth.

[p. 362E]
342
286

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
●342

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 208. — A MO-SO — TIBETAN HOMESTEAD NEAR KAR-RI

夏日雖然古宗住房

The architecture in this region is very different from that of the houses in the Mekong Valley. Instead of being flat (covered with tamped, rolled earth), the roofs are of wooden boards weighted down with rocks. The stables are in the second storey.

[p.394-H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li. S 487* 133* 137*

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lō-bū. Beyond Lō-bū the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory. S [312]

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent. S [342]

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet.—After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been dumped on a rock pile. ST [342] [251] ST [197]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

●342
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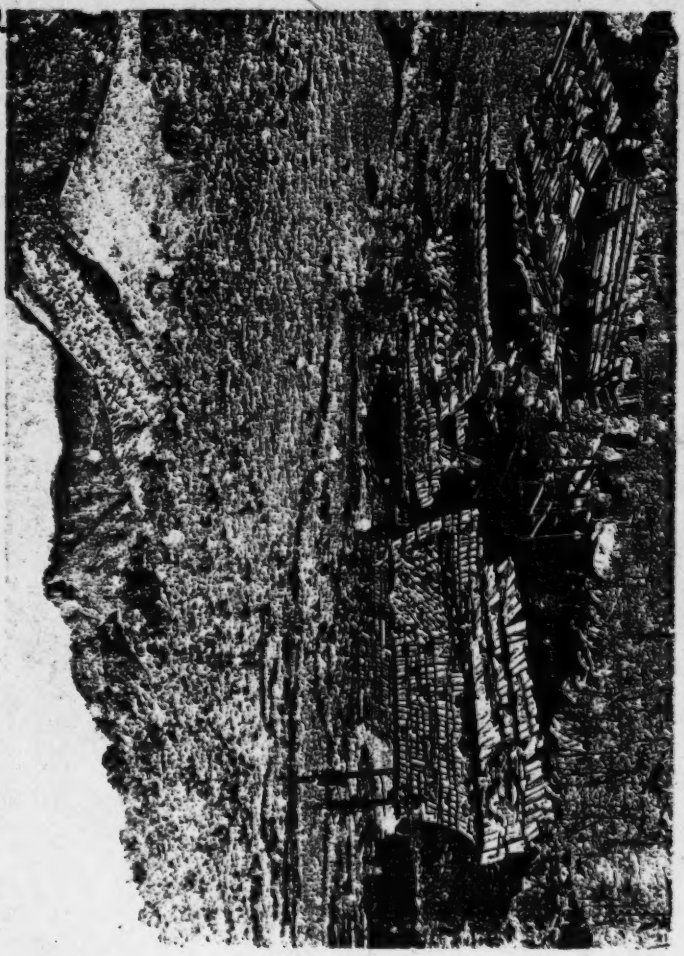

PLATE 234.—THE LI-SU HAMLET OF BA-SSU-KO

巴 思 闊 里 蘇 村 子

Ba-ssu-ko is situated on a terrace in the Tsai-yi valley at an elevation of 7,050 feet. It is the only Li-su village in this area. Note the pumpkins on the roofs of the houses.

[p. 426 - J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

PLATE 235. — LI-SU LOG CABINS OF THE BA-SSU-KO VILLAGE

★ 等 第 第 鼎 合

The cabins are of yellow pine logs, the roof pine boards weighted down with rocks. Leaning against the wall of the first cabin, are hemp stalks (*Cannabis sativa*) from the fiber of which they weave their clothing.

[P. 426 K]
342
288

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

S ST 361 [302] Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

S ST •342 A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

000 I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

31: Scherman—23 E-4 (no date) 1915 APl Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

101

16. The pronunciation of the name (Liso, Lisu, Lisaw, Li-Hsaw, Chinese: Lutzu) is disputed. It was pronounced by the inhabitants of the village of Pangsapyi as Lishō, Lishū. More recent literature: UBG I, 1, p. 587 (Lisaw, Burma) and p. 615 ("Lissu am Salween Yünnan") /Lisu on the Salween, Yunnan/; C.C. Lowis, "The Tribes of Burma" (Ethnographical Survey of India, No. 4, Rangoon, 1910), pp. 33 ff.; A. Rose and J.C. Brown, "Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 3, (1910), No. 4 pp. 249-277; R. Brunhauber, An Hinterindiens Riesenströmenx /On Indochina's Giant Rivers/ (Berlin, 1912), pp. 73 ff.

area. The wildest and most independent tribes live isolated in the barren highlands of the upper Salween.

The civilization of the Lisu shows mostly Chi-
177 nese influence. Rose and Brown report about
342 their architecture that at the upper Salween they use grass roofed pile dwellings under which they keep their domestic animals, and that they build ground level huts in the mountains at Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai (17). Their layouts apparently

17. Cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., p. 260 and Plates IV, Figure 2; VII, Figure 2; VIII, Figures 1 and 2. E.C. Young, "A Journey from Yün-nan to Assam," Geographical Journal Vol. 30 (1907), p. 159, describes Lisu houses, not far from Lu-kou, at the upper Salween—in the same area which was visited by Prince Henri d'Orléans; he too reports about the pile dwellings of the local

31: Scherman--24 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

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Lisu (From Tonkin to India, p. 161). The illustrations in Young, pp. 159 and 161, correspond clearly with our Figure 17. G. Forrest, "Journey on Upper Salwin," Geographical Journal Vol. 32 (1908), p. 262, describes the "genuine Lisu hut" in much the same manner. The Ulu-Lama, mentioned by Young, pp. 163 ff. (picture of their pile dwelling p. 167), live at the border of the Lisu region. Judging from their physical appearance, customs, and geographical location, they apparently belong to the so-called black Lisu who are mentioned by Rose and Brown, ibid., pp. 255 ff. (cf. p. 268 about Lama as a tribal name.') and more recently Gebauer, Anzeiger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien /Publications of the Vienna Academy of Sciences/, 1914, Mathematische-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse /Mathematical-Natural Science Class/ pp. 338 ff.--I consider the Henri d'Orléans designation of the pile dwelling as "Tibetan dwellings" misleading. They certainly are not real Tibetans.

do not differ from the houses of the Chinese Shan. One can conclude from this that the pile dwelling represented their original architectural style and that, by migrating from their native country, contact with the Chinese civilization introduced to them another construction method.

361 I also encountered an isolated Lisu village on my trip to Namhsan; it was located 16 kilometers from the Shan capital of Hsipaw, near the main road. This village, Pangsapyi, had /213/ once been a Palaung settlement, but none of their houses was standing any more. At the time

361 of my visit (June, 1912) the Lisu had been living there for only half a year; the government had deported them from their original homes at Kunhawt to Pangsapyi because of the damage they had done to the forests by their migratory agricultural system. There, having no fields, they are now working as coolies on the tea plantations of the Palaung.

342 [361] The village had eighty-nine inhabitants who lived in twelve houses, which were scattered over a deep slope, each house different in its size and style, built just as the terrain and the requirements of the occupant demanded (Plate VI, 4). The exteriors of the houses differed markedly from the Shan and Palaung houses in the same area. The awning at the end of the gables was missing. The entrance was almost always from the broad side of the house. In front of the house was a small veranda, or platform, which was reached by steps. The entire floor rested on piles; the piles were adapted to the steep mountain slopes. To the mountain side, the houses stood on level ground (18). The houses were

18. cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., Plate VII, Figure 2 and Plate VIII, Figure 2, where the steepness of the terrain was equalized by stone supports in layers.

entirely built of bamboo, the outer walls not of wickerwork, but of individual poles. For the roofing the grass mats, customary in Burma, were not used, but loose grass was squeezed between the bamboo planks. I measured the inside of one of the better houses and found a length of 4 3/4 meters, a width of 5 meters, and a height of the side walls at 1 1/2 meters. On the entrance side, the roof projected about 2 1/2 to 3 meters beyond the wall. Under the main post was the space for

31: Scherman—26 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
SINO-TIBETAN PEOPLES AE3
LISU YAO AE6

Si 342 the pig sty. The layout almost without exception was the same: first a larger main room, in the middle of which, between the central posts, was the fireplace; behind this room is a wall rack for the "Nat," and on this Chinese incense sticks; a small room, partitioned by a mat wall, Si [354] serves as a bedroom for the married couple. In it is usually a mud stove with a large iron kettle, in which the fodder for the pigs is cooked. Needless to say, the houses of this cut-off community, and the occupants themselves, make a very Si 173 wretched impression. According to tradition, Si 771 they emigrated from China two hundred years ago. Their religion is the demon cult which they have in common with the mountain tribes. It must be assumed that they were influenced by the neighboring Shan and Palaung.

Y 101 [167] Some elements of the Yao tribes (Ting-pan-Yao) (19) have migrated from Chinese areas to the

19. UBG I, 1, pp. 601 ff.

eastern edge of Kengtung, the most easterly of the Southern Shan States—1911: 512. The bulk of this people can be found in eastern Yunnan and Y the adjacent provinces, also in Tonkin and Annam. [177] They are, of course--with the exception of their clothing--entirely Chinese in their customs and Y 342 architecture. Their houses are built at ground level, without pile substructure, and made of split bamboo. They contain one large main room Y and a few sleeping compartments with bamboo bed- [354] steads standing at the sides. The fire is lit in a mud stove. A Yao tribe, the Lenten, builds its houses on low piles. The Shan consider the Lenten as a group separate from the Tingpan-Yao. Though they have many things in common, there definitely exist differences which give weight to this supposition. They do not intermarry with other Yao tribes. According to UBG they belong to the Lahu group.

31: Scherman--78 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma

Shan AP11
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Karen AP7
Palaung AP10

Plate VI

1.

S
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Namhkam, quarter of the Chinese Shan, Mixed style.

2.

House of the Chinese Shan in Wettaung, near Bhamo, upper Burma.

3.

Si
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Intha houses, Inle Lake, southern Shan State of Yawnghwe.

4.

Lisu house in Pangsapyi, northern Shan State of Tawngpeng.

Plate VII

1.

K
342
361
411
Karenni village of Ngwedaung, Karenni States.

2.

Karenni house in Kwen-long, near Pekon southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye).

3.

P
342
Padaung house in Naungswe, about 8 kilometers from Mong-pai, the main town of the Shan State of the same name.

4.

Gaungto-Karen house in Takedu (shan Yanghota, Burmese: Tarudaw), southern Shan State of Mong-pai (Burmese: Mobye).

Plate VIII

1.

P
342
Palaung village in Namhsan, northern Shan State of Tawngpeng.

2.

Palaung house in Saraw, near Namhsan.

31:Scherman--82 E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma
Shan AP11
Sino Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

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342

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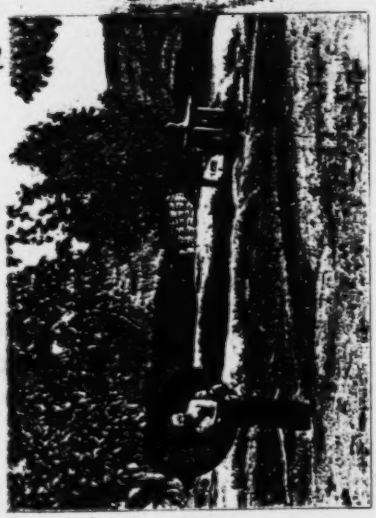

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Plate VI

[For description, see page 78, category 116.—Analyst]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oi , and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the orrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 362
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ 342
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it
[294] grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 FOR the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship
779 of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of
796 as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 This temple is a large building, or rather series of build-
779 ings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

(2) THE GODS

Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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796 of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by
779 the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great
346 earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The
779 great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an
796 artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed
779 rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin
796 temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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796

Dancers at the Gwer Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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[Face p. 124]

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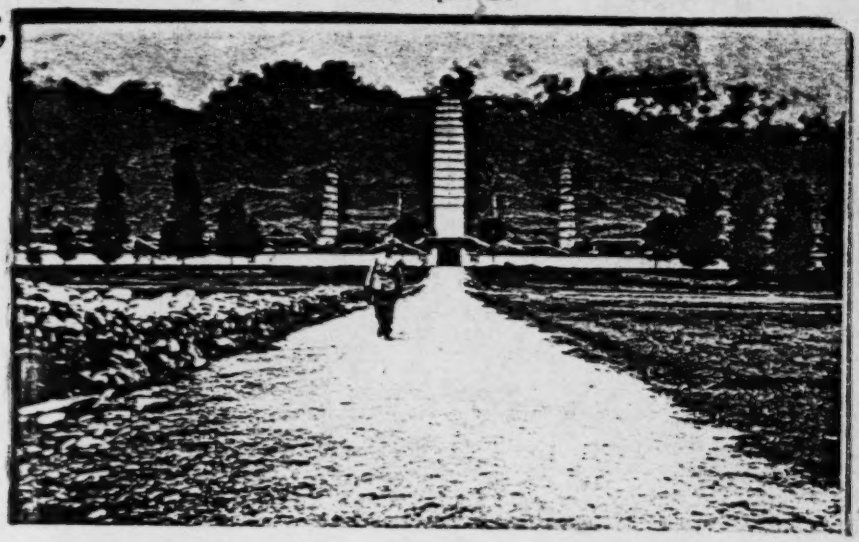

The Three Pagodas at the foot of Ts'ang Shan. (Seventh century.)

The Hsi Ma T'ang tarn under the crest of Ts'ang Shan. (14,000 ft.)

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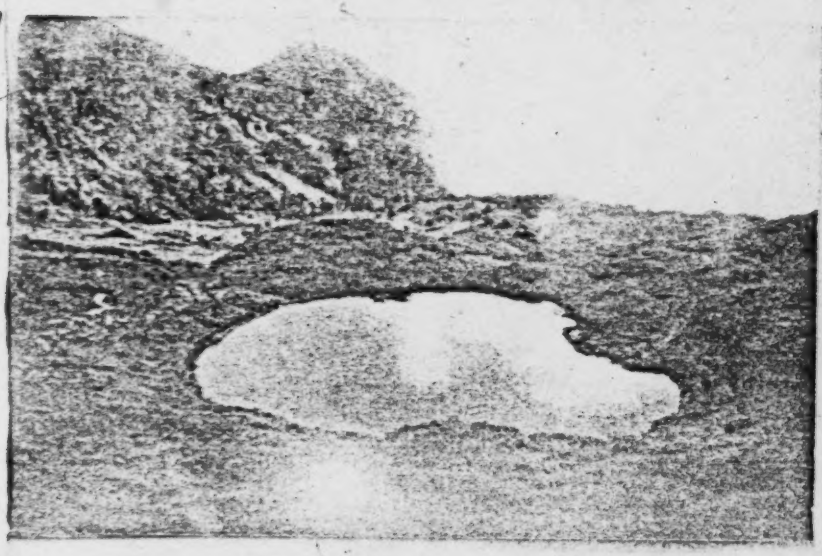

[Face p. 184]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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ST 795

of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

ST 162

The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 771

S ST 346 7'18

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 塔佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[3] ཐུ་ཡོན་ལྷ་ཁང་ཆེ་ཆེ

[2] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་བསྐྱིད་གླིང). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 判羅佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

S 131 136 241 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361 The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. ST [282] In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. ST 295 Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found. *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus mergenser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi). *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-lly-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca niroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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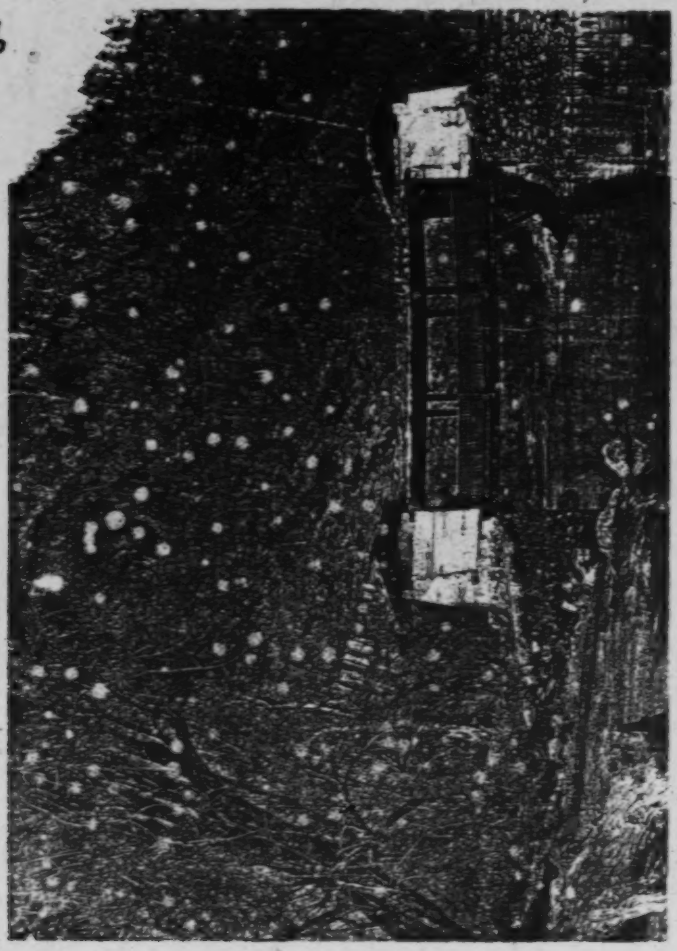

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 410. — TIBETAN WOODEN BRIDGE OVER THE YON-DER-KHÀ

竹巴河木橋

This type of bridge is common in the Tibetan part of the Yangtse drainage basin.

[p.410 B]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER XXXI

MI-LI, THE LAND OF THE YELLOW LAMA.

The San-ko-ya monastery—The eastern Tibetan—A tall straight-featured race—The Ya-lung again—Suspicious ferrymen—Our useless appeal to the lamas—Further negotiations—My interpreter wins the day with threats—We cross the river—Pê-tiao—Attempts to mislead us—A friendly monastery—Camp in the forest—Gold mining—Magnificent peaks—K'u-lu—Yaks—A cold night—Suspicious lamas—"Have you not come to dig for gold?"—The Chinese rank of the K'u-lu lama—A hospitable family—The reasons for Tibetan suspiciousness—An obstructive guide—We reduce him to reason—Interview with a lama—His objections overcome by the passport—The Mi-li river—A steep climb—Reach Mi-li after dark—A large monastery—Well-built houses—Tibetan and Chinese houses compared—Mr Amundsen's visit to Mi-li—The Mi-li prime minister—Present him with salad oil—Chinese traders—Gold washing—Extreme protectionist measures.

We had now been for four days within the boundaries of Huang La-ma Ti-fang, "the land of the yellow lama," as the Chinese often call the kingdom of Mi-li; but as yet we had seen no lamas and had not encountered the opposition from the Mi-li king which had been prophesied for us by the Chinese. The next day, however, this peaceful state of things was to come to an end, and we were to have our first experience of that suspicion and obstruction which, when continued day after day, are so wearing to the traveller in Tibetan countries.

Leaving Mo-lien we crossed the top of a ridge and began a long steep descent to the Ya-lung. A little way down from the top we came to San-ko-ya our first Tibetan monastery, a two-storied building of whitewashed stones, built all round a courtyard. Two of the lamas were sitting outside, and as they understood a little Chinese, we had some conversation.

These Tibetans are very different from the Hsi-fans, and are, I think, also fairer in complexion than and superior

000 S ST 346 S ST 142

:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the scenery. The rear wall projects a few feet higher than the shed, and in the center is a shrine on which is placed the sacred white stone and in front of which the family worships. 342

To build a roof, first large timbers are put into place, and thick boards over the timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Often thorns are added to discourage the rats. Finally dirt is thrown on top and pounded hard. There is a slight slope to the roof so that rain runs off instead of leaking through. There are a few round or square holes in the roof to let out smoke and to let in light. The windows of the houses are small, so that there is insufficient light inside, and since there are no chimneys the houses are filled with smoke while food is being prepared. The walls and ceilings of the houses, as well as the furniture, are blackened with smoke.

The main door of the house opens inwards. At the left is a lock composed of three pieces of wood about three feet from the ground. A large piece of wood about eight by ten inches goes through the wall next to the door. To the left of this is a hole through which the hand can be inserted. A smaller piece penetrates the larger piece at right angles, and lengthwise through this second piece is a hole into which the wooden key is inserted. When all the family is away, the door is locked and the key carried away, and nobody can enter, for no two keys are alike.

In the villages the houses are very close together. Some of them are wall-to-wall. The streets are narrow alleys approximately six to twelve feet wide, and on both sides rise the high stone walls of the houses. Nearly every village has one or more watch towers built of stone which are about eighteen feet square and become smaller towards the top. Some are over a hundred feet high. They were built in for times for defence. In time of war the women and children and the most valuable possessions were taken inside for safety, while from the top arrows and rifle bullets were shot at the enemy. Towards the upper slope the top wall was built higher so as to protect the defenders from arrows and bullets shot from a higher elevation. Often the villages are on cliffs or promontories that make protection easier and the stone walls of the houses and gardens may be supplemented so that the village is a fortress. Nearly all Ch'iang villages are called Chai Tzu or fortresses. 361 349

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the
349 outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
995 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

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341 side, the blank surfaces at the gable ends and under the eaves being decorated with black and white arabesques. The doors in the wooden fronts are carved, and the window spaces closed with lattices of intricate and unusual designs. The houses, as in all parts of China, are built on the courtyard plan, but are usually two storied.

This style of architecture is not of course peculiar to Ta Li, and there is no difference between the houses inhabited by Min Chia and by Chinese. If there was ever an indigenous type of house unlike the Chinese kind, it has entirely disappeared. On the other hand, the custom of decorating the end walls with black and white arabesque patterns is peculiar to the Ta Li region and is not found in other parts of Yunnan. The small pointed windows let into the end and back walls, another peculiarity of Ta Li houses, are not found in ordinary Chinese designed houses and these, and the decoration found in conjunction with them, may perhaps be attributed to Moslem influence.

351 Every residential house has a garden as well as the central
247 courtyard. The garden, part of which is used for vegetables, is usually shaded with fine trees and gay with flowering shrubs. The camelia or tea tree, of which there are many varieties, is very popular at Ta Li in the winter months. In summer, roses, azaleas and rhododendrons (the latter with difficulty acclimatised to the lower altitude), give a constant succession of flowers, and the plants are trained with loving care into strange shapes representing Chinese characters for happiness and good luck. The people of Ta Li are keen amateur gardeners and in recent years many foreign flowers such as zinnias and marigolds have been introduced. Loquats, oranges and pears are grown, although the quality of fruit from the eastern shore of the lake is much superior. These trees are grown in Ta Li more for their blossom than for the fruit.

 Towards

443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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352 The furniture of a Min Chia home is simple. Tables of two kinds, square for eating meals, and smaller oblong occasional tables for tea cups, which, with hard straight back chairs, are ranged around the sides of the guest room. There are also the long carved tables, something like a narrow European sideboard, which are used as altars and stand against the far wall facing the entrance of the guest room. Benches supplement the hard chairs, but except in a few rare rich households, there is no such thing as an easy chair even of the crudest type. The cane armchairs now made in K'un Ming are occasionally brought to Ta Li by members of the wealthier families, but it is exceptional to find more than two or three of these chairs in the best
573 houses. The Min Chia bed is simply a plank platform on four
352 wooden legs, unsprung and unyielding. This is covered with mats and then with quilts until the hardness of the planks is somewhat modified—but for the European body most inadequately modified—and reclining on such a bed is the
352 Min Chia idea of comfort. For cupboards the Min Chia use large chests, and locally made cabinets, of inferior workmanship.

Most of this furniture is very roughly made of soft woods, painted black, or black with red tops, in the case of tables and benches. But a better quality of hard wood furniture, tables, chairs, altars and benches is made at Têng Ch'uan north of Ta Li, and sold at the Yu Tan Hui fair. These pieces are made of red Ch'un wood, a hard wood of the ilex type found only at high altitudes *on the Yunnan mountain* ranges. The Têng Ch'uan Ch'un wood furniture is beautifully carved and very well made, the table tops cut from a single piece of wood measuring as much as 3ft. by 2ft. 6in. But though handsome, it is only made in the traditional pieces, and does not meet the demands of comfort. If a Min Chia wishes to make a guest comfortable he offers him

1: Fitzgerald 41-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the 352
bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, 342
usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the 362
crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a 511
Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, 342
and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

4: Liu K4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Taing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Cham-Pa [illegible]. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese,
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

342 Cloth strips about 1 1/2 meters wide are sewed onto the sides of the horizontal tent roof. These are fastened to shorter poles (in front about 1.80 meters, on the sides and in the rear about 1 meter) outside the tent walls in such a way that they slant outward like eaves. In this way the entire space enclosed by the tent wall is covered. Around the tent a number of longer and shorter poles and stakes are hewn into the ground in order to stretch the large horizontal middle section of the tent roof and the slanting sides. These posts are fastened to the cloth of the roof with strong ropes made of yak hair. The horizontal roof consists of two symmetrical halves that converge in a line at the center of the two longitudinal sides. These two halves of the tent roof can be pulled apart slightly to permit the smoke from the fireplace below to escape.

354 The fireplace is always in the exact center of the tent and divides
342 it into two equal halves. It consists of a very primitive rectangular hearth made of loam, on the left side wall of which, as seen from the entrance, there are three fire holes. There are three corresponding round holes on top into which the cooking pots are set. The hearth does not extend from the front to the rear of one side; toward the rear it joins the place /20/ where the fuel is stored. The fuel consists of dried yak dung. In front of the hearth is the entrance to the tent. This is separated from the hearth by a wall about 2 meters wide, made of a piece of cloth stretched between special rods. Thus when one enters the tent one does not come directly into the main room but into a sort of anteroom formed by the cloth wall stretched out in front of the hearth. The person who enters is thus forced to turn right or left and therewith enters the left or right half of the tent, the two halves being sharply separated by the hearth and the adjacent area where the fuel is kept.

342 The side of the tent to the right of the entrance may be used only
562 by the men, the left side by the women. It is strictly forbidden to step across the hearth or the place where the fuel is stored. It is also considered very impolite to step over a person lying on the floor of the tent. Strangers, whether women or men, may under no circumstances enter the side not permissible to them. The residents of the tent may themselves set foot on the forbidden half only if they are alone in the tent and are obliged to fetch something from the other side. The woman, however, may not be seated in the right half. The man goes over to the left side to sleep.

352 In the section to the right is the hearth with a type of very primitive "k'ang" (1), that is to say, two short tubular passages are

1. The living room of the North Chinese house has

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor,
made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is
equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed
from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 352
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and I 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two 342
meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

is much more tense. Until very recently there were often bloody Mohammedan uprisings against the Chinese government. The last of these took place only eight years ago (about 1928). In such times of unrest when the power of Chinese officials is not very far-reaching, there is a general feeling of great insecurity. The Fantzu often take this opportunity to plunder the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese who fled into the territory of the Fantzu during the last uprising were well treated by them. Since then, however, the favorable relationship between Fantzu and Chinese has deteriorated more and more (for the above-mentioned reasons), so that in 1936 my interpreter doubted whether the Fantzu would assist the Chinese in a Mohammedan uprising.

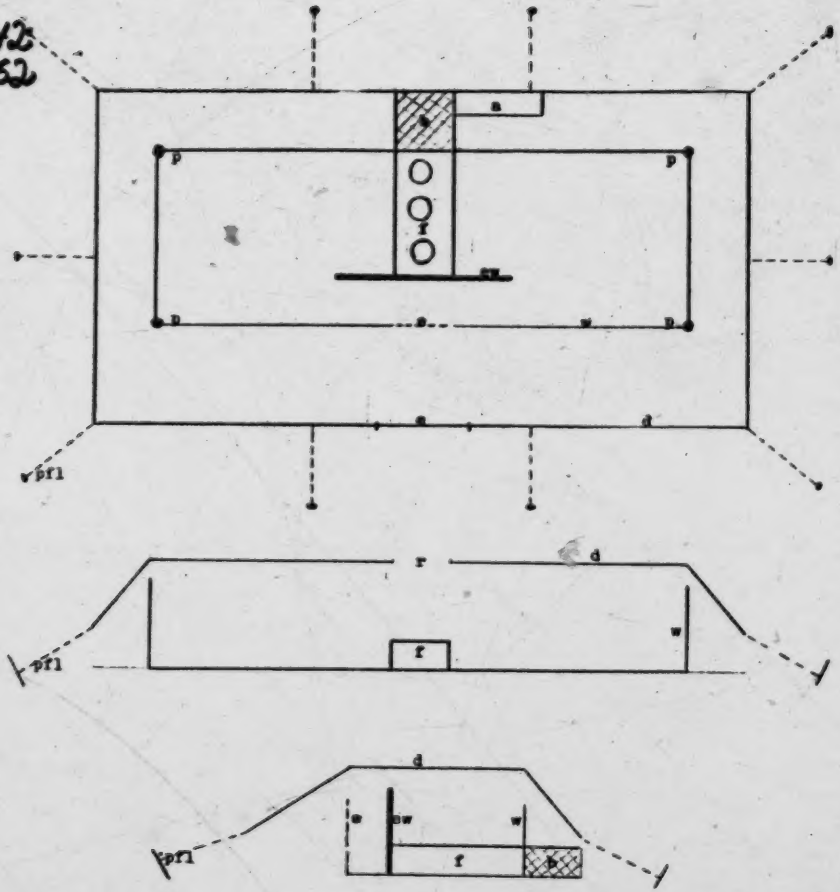
Key to diagrams on following page:

342
352

w - wall, d - tent roof, r - smoke vent, f - fireplace, ew - wall in front of fireplace, e - entrance, a - family altar, b - fuel, pfl - stakes to fasten down tent roof, p - supports for the tent roof.

Mewu

342
352



w = Wand, d = Zeltdach, r = Rauchabzug, f = Feuerstelle, ew = Wand vor der Feuerstelle, e = Eingang, a = Hausaltar, b = Brennmaterial, pfl = Pflöcke zur Befestigung des Zeltdaches, p = Stützpfähle für das Zeltdach.

[For an English translation of the caption, see p. 70]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769 353 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table, which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being 769 thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morn- 788 ing and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

mewu

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couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

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Mcwv

177 178 obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

179 The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of

177 fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship

178 between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei,

176 i.e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought

176 of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

353 Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the en-

176 tire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

corner of the /48/ tent, which is the home of Yu-la. The fur of all 353
kinds of domestic animals is used, and a tuft of hair is plucked out 776
of each animal for this purpose before it is sold or slaughtered. Thus
the bundle constantly increases in size. After a meal, tea, butter,
and milk are smeared on the bundle of hair for the house god.

On the altar which is found in every tent stand small statues made of bronze or brass of the Lamaistic deities. The god that seems to be most popular here is called Dzam-la. He corresponds, allegedly, to Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth (2) of the Chinese popular re-

2. Compare Wadell, page 370.

ligion; in accordance with Lamaistic custom, water is regularly offered to this god. Another god much venerated is one that is thought of as dwelling in hell and judging the souls of the dead. He corresponds to the Chinese Yen-lo-wang. The "horse god" (Chinese: Ma-wang-yeh, Tibetan: dam-dzen) who is also worshiped in the Lamaistic temples is offered sacrifices by the sorcerers, especially when there is threat of war. He has three heads and is represented in union with its Cakti (female principle). Ts'ai-shen and Chia-shen are worshiped by men and women alike.

I did not learn anything about a worship of the heavens among 787
the Fantzu, nor of the sun, moon and stars.

After death the soul of the deceased can turn into an evil spirit. 775
It can descend into hell (Tibetan: nal-wa), where it is adjudicated by the judge of hell (Yen-lo-wang, Yama). But just as in China, there is a parallel belief in Buddhistic transmigration of souls, and no one is aware of any inconsistency. If a person has led a good life, he can be reborn as an incarnation (fu-yeh), if he has been bad, he becomes a woman or an animal (bovine, horse, ox, sheep). Here the belief in the transmigration of souls is sometimes confused with the belief in evil spirits into which the souls of persons who have died a violent death are transformed.

/49/ A characteristic incident had just occurred among the 682
Mewu-Fantzu: 775

The t'ou-mu of the Mewu-Fantzu had a younger brother with whom he had quarreled seven or eight years before about the rule of a group of Fantzu. He had had the brother treacherously killed one day when the latter was riding across the steppes. A short time afterwards, groundhogs dug a passage behind the t'ou-mu's house with an opening inside the enclosure of his property. This was a surprising

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
777 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented, and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a bŏm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER 9

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

WHAT are called modern comforts are unknown as yet to the Min Chia, rich or poor. There is no water supply except wells, no lighting except oil lamps or candles, no sanitation at all. Glass windows are a rare luxury never installed throughout a house, and the panes are small and of inferior quality. Most windows are of paper pasted over wooden lattices, which are very artistic but quite opaque, admitting only a dim light. The only system of heating houses in the cold winter evenings or wet days is the use of charcoal burners, for no Min Chia house has fireplaces or chimneys. In a Min Chia house with paper windows one may have either light or heat, but not both at once. For if the windows are shut the light is dim, and if they are kept open the charcoal brazier is not sufficient to keep the room warm.

These discomforts are inevitable in a country so far removed from the centres where modern luxuries are produced, but the Min Chia do not make the most of the materials they have to hand, even when they are well able to afford them. A bamboo lattice screen hung over the doorway or window will keep out flies from a room in summer, and such screens are occasionally used. Most rooms, however, do ~~not~~ have them, and in the spring months before the rains, the ordinary Min Chia house is black with flies, about which everyone complains. Yet it never seems to occur to them to make use of lattice screens at every doorway. This attitude is indeed usual. Rich men live in discomfort, of which they are well aware, but seem to lack the knowledge of how to improve conditions.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

776 haired monkey's lungs, liver, intestines, lips, and finger-nails. Its eyes are often old cowry shells. It is so wrapped that the face of the skull is visible at one end. The priest will not allow another person to touch his Abba Mula or sometimes even to see it, and he will not take it down from its shrine without first worshipping it and burning incense. Abba Mula has a permanent place in the hearts of the Ch'iang. One priest said to the writer with disapproval that "Mr. Torrance said that this was a temporary god until Jesus came."

● 354 776 We have noted the fact that one form of the Ch'iang stove has three legs. These are sacred and must not be touched. One often has a hole in it, and in this hole is a ring. This leg is the fire god, Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bu Sei. He controls the fire in the home and prevents it from burning the house. The second leg is Abba Sei. This is not the supreme god, but the male ancestor of the Ch'iang, who is worshipped and revered. The third is Ata Sei who is the female ancestor of the Ch'iang and is worshipped as such. This is the triad of the Ch'iang.

776 There is a group of five greatest gods. They are

1. Mu Bya Sei, who is supreme.

2. Ru Be Sei, the earth god. He controls the earth, causes rain and good crops, protects people from illness and other calamities, and helps them.

3. Lolo Sei He controls the snow mountains and the shrubs and herbs that grow only a foot or two high near the snow line.

4. P'i Ru Sei. He controls the forests and large trees on the high mountains.

5. Su Mu Sei who also controls forests, and governs wild animals and fowls.

All these five are worshipped on the housetops and in the sacred groves, at least in some localities, at the same time that the highest god is worshipped.

There is a second group of twelve lesser gods.

1. Ji Gwe Sei, the family or house god who protects the home and its inhabitants.

2. Stu Ja Sei who controls and protects domestic animals, pigs, cows, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks, etc.

3. Ndzi Ju Sei He is a god of wealth controlling the finances of the home, gold, silver, money, etc.

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1. The living room of the North Chinese house has

SINO-TIBETAN PEOPLES AE3
LISU YAO AE6

Si 342 the pig sty. The layout almost without exception was the same: first a larger main room, in the middle of which, between the central posts, was the fireplace; behind this room is a wall rack for the "Nat," and on this Chinese incense sticks; a small room, partitioned by a mat wall, Si serves as a bedroom for the married couple. In [354] it is usually a mud stove with a large iron kettle, in which the fodder for the pigs is cooked. Needless to say, the houses of this cut-off community, and the occupants themselves, make a very Si 173 wretched impression. According to tradition, Si they emigrated from China two hundred years ago. 771 Their religion is the demon cult which they have in common with the mountain tribes. It must be assumed that they were influenced by the neighboring Shan and Palaung.

Y 101 Some elements of the Yao tribes (Ting-pan-Yao) [167] (19) have migrated from Chinese areas to the

19. UBG I, 1, pp. 601 ff.

eastern edge of Kengtung, the most easterly of the Southern Shan States—1911: 512. The bulk of this people can be found in eastern Yunnan and Y the adjacent provinces, also in Tonkin and Annam. [177] They are, of course--with the exception of their clothing--entirely Chinese in their customs and Y 342 architecture. Their houses are built at ground level, without pile substructure, and made of split bamboo. They contain one large main room Y and a few sleeping compartments with bamboo bed- [354] steads standing at the sides. The fire is lit in a mud stove. A Yao tribe, the Lenten, builds its houses on low piles. The Shan consider the Lenten as a group separate from the Tingpan-Yao. Though they have many things in common, there definitely exist differences which give weight to this supposition. They do not intermarry with other Yao tribes. According to UBG they belong to the Lahu group.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

771 some local deities. They also practise Ancestor Worship, there being a real distinction between the manner and the places in which the gods are worshipped, and those in which the rites of Ancestor Worship are performed.

771 356 One further source of confusion, not unrelated to the notion of "three religions" must be discussed. It is the common experience of all travellers in China, both Yunnan and other provinces, to find temples in poor repair, or ill-kept, and the attitude of the people to this neglect is one of casual unconcern. More than this, the people themselves seem to the European to have no reverence for their gods or their shrines. Men will eat meat and drink rice wine in a Buddhist temple, although wine and meat are forbidden to the Buddhist; they will allow anyone to occupy the shrine itself for a night's lodging, and they laugh, spit on the floor, and behave in an irreverent manner anywhere in the temple precincts. The traveller, or the missionary, who thinks of his own behaviour in a church, is shocked at this conduct and comes to believe that these peoples lack all true spiritual understanding, and practise three religions because they are incapable of devotion to any creed. Chinese of the educated classes, who are in fact agnostics, and hostile to the old religion as a survival of pre-revolutionary China, tend to confirm this opinion. But it is none the less mistaken.

771 If temples are neglected, they are also repaired, even rebuilt, and by public subscription. Hard earned money is spent by farmers who can ill afford any luxury. Women and girls will make long journeys to a temple on the day of festival, and spend relatively considerable sums of money on incense to burn at the shrines. Immense numbers of people collect at the temple festivals, and if many come for pleasure or recreation, great numbers also come to worship. It is not compulsion which brings the crowds and draws their money, for the government is at best indifferent, at worst

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domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the 517
family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even [465]
the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women 357
of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried 567
girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited. Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is always a "*ya t'ou*," that is to say a slave girl. This system, which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed 732
individuals, who, coming from the poor families where 357
goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too 567
deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride, and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some small remuneration, and if possible, to find them a husband when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min Chia women are more independent in character than the other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the whole much better treated than, for example, they are in K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

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732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which, as has been pointed out, is also the sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[311] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous 226
and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large [342]
boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population en- [361]
gages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no 443
shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

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CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for
it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan
Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho
T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to
Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172]
tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may
date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled
city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile
in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the
west and east walls by a third again, and building a new
south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old
south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of
Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Al-
though the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of
it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street con-
necting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and
west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes,
which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market
gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden,
and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and
fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression
of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some
ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus
probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
●361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

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Min Chia village of Er Gai Yu (lower chicken village).

The main street, Ta Li.

[Face p. 80]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Environs of TA LI CITY

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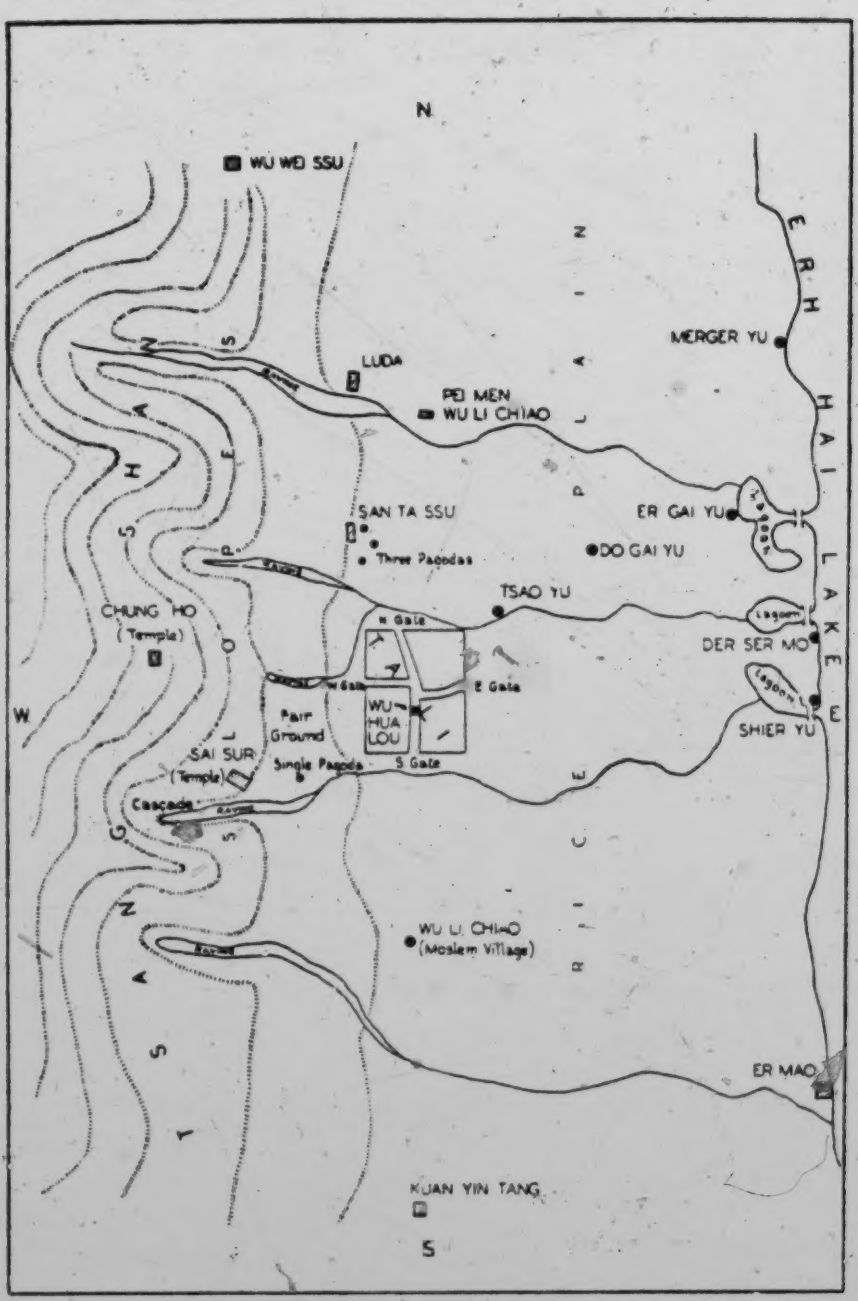

[Face p. 276]

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TA LI District and ERH HAI Lake

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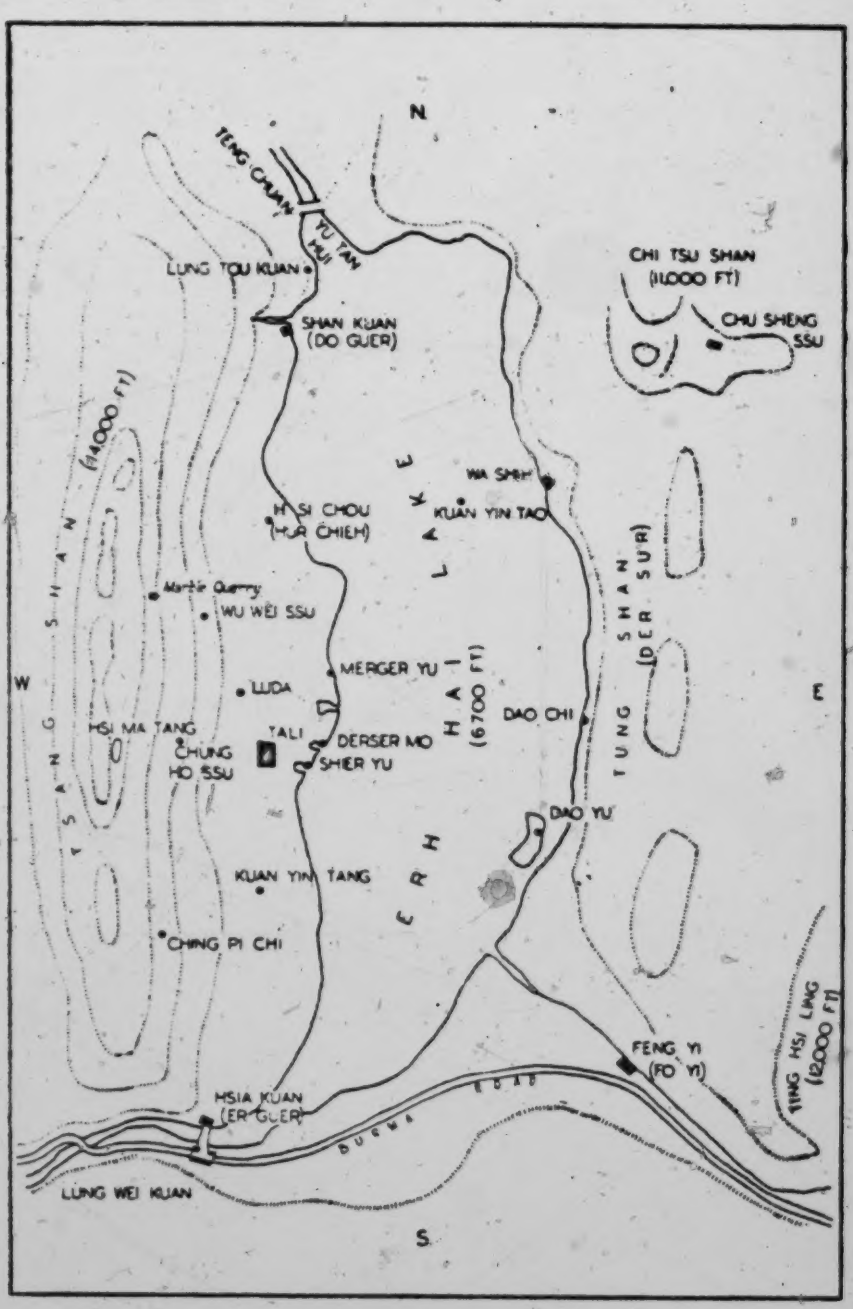

[Insert between pp. 276-277 (c)]

Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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A Ch'iang village.

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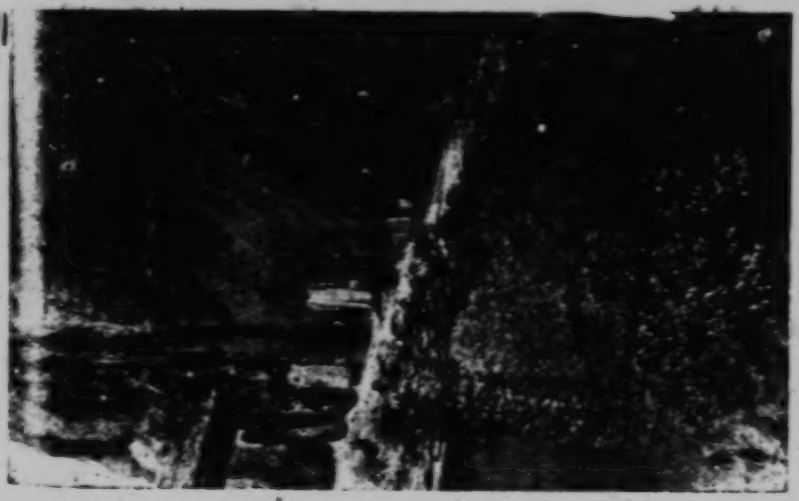

A road in the Ch'iang country.

[FACING p. 34]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, most houses are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed; about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain [illegible], where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is one of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribes people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING.

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First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a woman's because both men and women have the same style; and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and red coral, because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her bank.

[354]

Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

the scenery. The rear wall projects a few feet higher than the shed, and in the center is a shrine on which is placed the sacred white stone and in front of which the family worships. 342

To build a roof, first large timbers are put into place, and thick boards over the timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Often thorns are added to discourage the rats. Finally dirt is thrown on top and pounded hard. There is a slight slope to the roof so that rain runs off instead of leaking through. There are a few round or square holes in the roof to let out smoke and to let in light. The windows of the houses are small, so that there is insufficient light inside, and since there are no chimneys the houses are filled with smoke while food is being prepared. The walls and ceilings of the houses, as well as the furniture, are blackened with smoke.

The main door of the house opens inwards. At the left is a lock composed of three pieces of wood about three feet from the ground. A large piece of wood about eight by ten inches goes through the wall next to the door. To the left of this is a hole through which the hand can be inserted. A smaller piece penetrates the larger piece at right angles, and lengthwise through this second piece is a hole into which the wooden key is inserted. When all the family is away, the door is locked and the key carried away, and nobody can enter, for no two keys are alike.

In the villages the houses are very close together. Some of them are wall-to-wall. The streets are narrow alleys approximately six to twelve feet wide, and on both sides rise the high stone walls of the houses. Nearly every village has one or more watch towers built of stone which are about eighteen feet square and become smaller towards the top. Some are over a hundred feet high. They were built in for times for defence. In time of war the women and children and the most valuable possessions were taken inside for safety, while from the top arrows and rifle bullets were shot at the enemy. Towards the upper slope the top wall was built higher so as to protect the defenders from arrows and bullets shot from a higher elevation. Often the villages are on cliffs or promintories that make protection easier and the stone walls of the houses and gardens may be supplemented so that the village is a fortress. Nearly all Ch'iang villages are called Chai Tzu or fortresses. 361 349

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
[361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

meow

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine
years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow
Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If con-
ditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats,
peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats,
horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe
begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is
formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system.
West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
241 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
251 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan
barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With
increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about
3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock
farmers. (1)

1. Cf. Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese adminis-
tration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and
are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided
into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall
describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery
of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso
monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic
Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited
two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new
Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I
pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery
in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

Mewu

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0. 50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0. 50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

mewu

his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used 233 during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone 361 can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope 342 of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1. 30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1. 80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. •361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the asser- 551 tion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

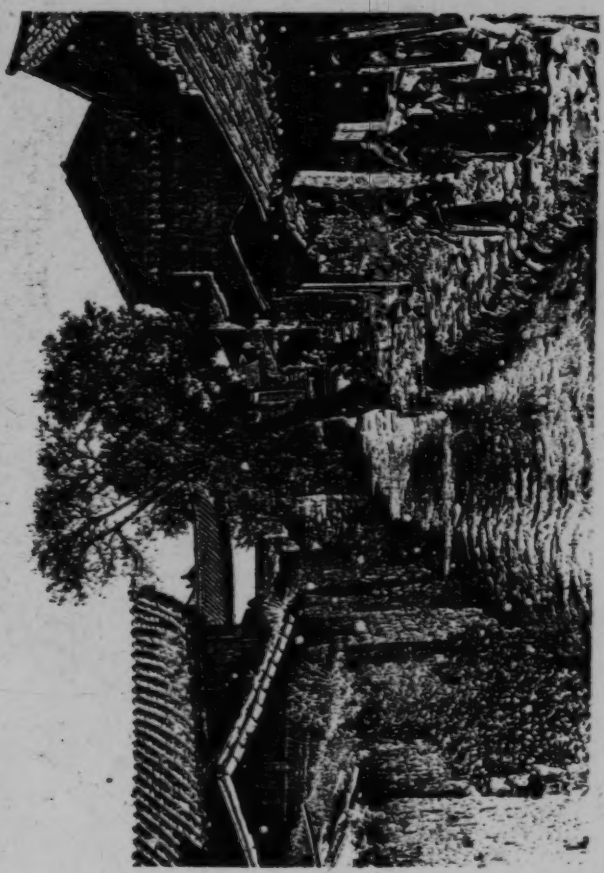

PLATE 53.—A TYPICAL STREET OF LI-CHIANG

麗江市中街

Crystal clear streams flow through the town in various directions. The city is divided by the Na-khi into small villages each of which has its name. This part of the city through which the Yü Ho 玉河 or Ngu-lu gyi flows is called Gyi-khü-p'u.

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[p. 108E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 165. — THE TIBETAN HAMLET OF NYI-THANG (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

瀾滄江多雨藏古東村

The houses of the Mekong Tibetans have flat roofs on which they dry their grain. Maize is especially cultivated here. Notched logs are used for ladders. Salt and Chinese tea, rather than money is the medium of exchange, the two articles being scarce here.

[p. 298 M]
ST 361 342

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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narrow valley, the eye meets wonderful mountain ranges and deep, narrow canyons, all densely forested. Indeed a wild and glorious country. S 489* 133* 137*

Nying-ser La (Pass). — From the Ser-wa lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo of the Li-su) the trail ascends gradually, at first zigzag and then steeply, through Abies and Picea forest, with undergrowth composed of several species of rhododendron. To the south the Nam-la-shu-ga Peak [42] glistened in the morning sun; a pale pink sky illuminated the lovely icy scenery, while the deep valley of the Ser-wa lung-pa lay hidden in purplish-black shadows; only the projecting ridges were aglow from the faint, misty rays, reflected from the snow peaks. Higher and higher we ascend, stately Abies trees, 80–90 feet in height, towering all around us, their somber branches festooned with the long, yellow streamers of *Usnea longissima* and their feet embedded in soft, rich, green moss. As the sun appeared above the great divide and a flood of light permeated all, the frost and icicles glistened like diamonds in the morning sun and the entire forest likened a transparent, flawless emerald.

We reached the pass called Nying-ser La [43] (Yellow bamboo pass) at an elevation of 12,400 feet, and a wonderful panorama lay before us (PLATE 186). A tangled mass of rhododendrons, mixed with the ericaceous *Cassiope dendrotricha* with quadrangularly arranged foliage, covered the ground. Looking east there towered the great Salween—Mekong divide with its conical peak Dra-chhen; and to the west lay the huge Salween valley with its central barrier range called A-lo-la-kha. This range is much lower and the Doyon Stream flows east of it parallel to the Salween, into which it debouches farther south, united with the Ser-wa lung-pa. Buttresses covered with deciduous forest now in the most glorious autumn tints, drop abruptly into the deep valley below. From the Mekong divide a triangular spur extends steeply into the Salween valley, while to the south of it, a deep valley opens from the west, up which a trail leads to the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang 秋江), the Trun [44] of the Lu-tzu and Ch'iu-tzu. From the Nying-ser La (Pass) we descend through somber Abies and Picea forest with rhododendron bushes, and over an open fell which further on gave place to deciduous forests of Sorbus, Prunus, Pyrus, Populus, Litsea, Aralia, and rhododendron.

Bahang village of the Lu-tzu tribe. — Bahang (Pai-han-lo 白汗洛), situated on a grassy bluff composed of granite-gneiss is reached after a zigzag descent through pine forest mixed with willows and poplars. The largest part of this bluff is occupied by the Catholic mission, with the Lu-tzu huts arranged around the slopes (PLATE 187). Bahang consists of 18 huts, besides the mission, and Père Georges André, the most friendly host, is the spiritual adviser of the Lu-tzu. The mission had been burnt twice in 34 years by the lamas of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, the last time in 1905. For four or ST 361 797

[42] This is the Nange La of HANDEL-MAZZETTI. The real Nange La Pass and Peak is however south-west of the Nam-la-shu-ga. The latter is a Lu-tzu name.

[43] This is the Nisirengo of HANDEL-MAZZETTI, *see*: note 36, page 330.

[44] The Ch'iu-tzu name is Trun, and not Taron as given on the maps and in books.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

S 131 136 241 The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

ST [346] ST 361 The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. ST [282] In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. ST 295 Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山驢 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gyi-dsu. Two species are found. *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi). *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), *Nyroca fuligula*, *Nyroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

[p. 410]

5. Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Mi-li

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Mi-li villager

Plate LIV

[Face p. 242]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

000 last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

S ST ●361 [302] Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

S ST 342 A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

000 I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

31: Scherman--24 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

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Lisu (From Tonkin to India, p. 161). The illustrations in Young, pp. 159 and 161, correspond clearly with our Figure 17. G. Forrest, "Journey on Upper Salwin," Geographical Journal Vol. 32 (1908), p. 262, describes the "genuine Lisu hut" in much the same manner. The Ulu-Lama, mentioned by Young, pp. 163 ff. (picture of their pile dwelling p. 167), live at the border of the Lisu region. Judging from their physical appearance, customs, and geographical location, they apparently belong to the so-called black Lisu who are mentioned by Rose and Brown, ibid., pp. 255 ff. (cf. p. 268 about Lama as a tribal name.') and more recently Gebauer, Anzeiger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien /Publications of the Vienna Academy of Sciences/, 1914, Mathematische-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse /Mathematical-Natural Science Class/ pp. 338 ff.--I consider the Henri d'Orléans designation of the pile dwelling as "Tibetan dwellings" misleading. They certainly are not real Tibetans.

do not differ from the houses of the Chinese Shan. One can conclude from this that the pile dwelling represented their original architectural style and that, by migrating from their native country, contact with the Chinese civilization introduced to them another construction method.

361 I also encountered an isolated Lisu village on my trip to Namhsan; it was located 16 kilometers from the Shan capital of Hsipaw, near the main road. This village, Pangsapyi, had /213/ once been a Palaung settlement, but none of their houses was standing any more. At the time

361 of my visit (June, 1912) the Lisu had been living there for only half a year; the government had deported them from their original homes at Kunhawt to Pangsapyi because of the damage they had done to the forests by their migratory agricultural system. There, having no fields, they are now working as coolies on the tea plantations of the Palaung.

342 [361] The village had eighty-nine inhabitants who lived in twelve houses, which were scattered over a deep slope, each house different in its size and style, built just as the terrain and the requirements of the occupant demanded (Plate VI, 4). The exteriors of the houses differed markedly from the Shan and Palaung houses in the same area. The awning at the end of the gables was missing. The entrance was almost always from the broad side of the house. In front of the house was a small veranda, or platform, which was reached by steps. The entire floor rested on piles; the piles were adapted to the steep mountain slopes. To the mountain side, the houses stood on level ground (18). The houses were

18. cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., Plate VII, Figure 2 and Plate VIII, Figure 2, where the steepness of the terrain was equalized by stone supports in layers.

entirely built of bamboo, the outer walls not of wickerwork, but of individual poles. For the roofing the grass mats, customary in Burma, were not used, but loose grass was squeezed between the bamboo planks. I measured the inside of one of the better houses and found a length of 4 3/4 meters, a width of 5 meters, and a height of the side walls at 1 1/2 meters. On the entrance side, the roof projected about 2 1/2 to 3 meters beyond the wall. Under the main post was the space for

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the 352
bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, 342
usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the 362
crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a 511
Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, 342
and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

1: Fitzgerald H-6 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families who are landowners in the country, while many of the richer merchants have invested their profits in land and become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These families with rural and urban connections can be classified broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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565 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed
369 for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the
423 sons have been given education up to the middle school
443 grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 The second class of family with city and village homes is
369 composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for com-
423 fort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed,
647 are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

1: Fitzgerald-H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the chief pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it
[294] grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags. Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only carefully clarified lard is burned in them.

We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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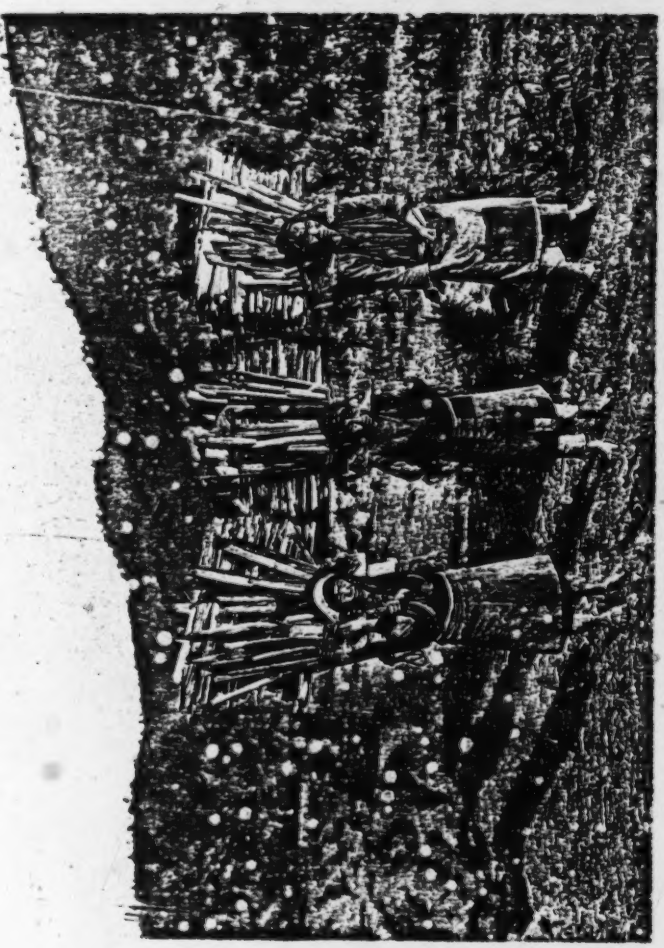

PLATE 8.—MIN-CHIA WOMEN

民家婦女

The Min-chia women are the main burden bearers. The load is carried on a wooden yoke, secured by a head strap. Firewood for the market of Chien-ch'uan, north of Ta-li.

[p. 28 H]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

243 beds, an arduous task for which all the labour of the village, men and women, is needed. Once the transplanting is over, the crop, apart from a little weeding, is left to grow until it matures in October. The harvest at Ta Li is usually ripe by the beginning of November, when the fields are drained, and the crop gathered. One kind of rice, which has become popular in recent years owing to its higher yield, is called "Tiao Ku," "Dropping rice" because the grain falls very readily when ripe, and therefore has to be threshed in the fields and cannot be carried back to the farm house. Large baskets are taken out to the fields and the grain is beaten out into them as the sheaves are reaped. The usual method with other kinds of rice is to bring the sheaves back to the village where they are threshed on a prepared floor with the flail. The rice is then taken to the mill to be husked, or stored [376] until required. Husking is always done at a water mill on the Ta Li plain, as the abundant water power makes the use of the treadmill found in other parts of Yunnan unnecessary.

804 In the vicinity of Ta Li it is calculated that in a normal year one *mu* yields from ten to twelve Chinese pecks or *tou* of rice. The *tou*, like other weights and measures in Yunnan varies from one locality to the next, for though it is always made up of ten *sheng* or measures, these in turn contain a varying number of rice bowls, which being the only constant measure are the best standard for comparison. The following table sets out the measures as used in the Ta Li district and their equivalents in English measures.

Measures and weights compared

12 bowls	= 1 *sheng*	= 9 lb	avoirdupois
120 bowls	= 1 *tou*	= 90 lb	,,

243 One sixth of an English acre (one *mu*) produces on average ten *tou* or 900 lbs of rice. If it be calculated that each member of a family consumes daily eight bowls of rice (four at

515 remnants of butter on their fingers, they rub it into their faces, and it forms a protection against the strong mountain sun.

Ornaments and Weapons

301 Men and women lay much more stress on ornament than on bodily hygiene. The men wear one earring (1), either on the right or the

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 6.

left ear. It is made of silver and is usually set with a large red coral. The tent nomads also /15/ occasionally wear a large, ring-shaped ornament of silver set with corals, above one ear. This is not, however, characteristic of their costume, but belongs to the sedentary Fantzu who live farther south in the region of Labrang. Less frequently the men wear simple silver finger rings as earrings. A rosary is 788 301 usually worn around the neck as a chain. It is made of thick black disks of fragrant wood, or, what is simpler and cheaper, of small wooden beads. Sometimes they also wear their rosary (2) at their

2. Rockhill 1), Plates 35, 36.

belt or on the rope around their hips. The black chain around their necks is called tsä-nga in Tibetan, or su-chu in Chinese. On this chain hangs in front either a round disk resembling a Chinese chess figure or a large round amber or lacquered ball. On their thin rosaries they wear a square or circular silver box containing some kind of sacred relics, mostly pieces of cloth, amulets and often a Buddha picture, usually that of the Dalai-Lama or the Panchan-Lama. (3). The front of this box is always decorated with a coral

3. Rockhill 1), Plate 5.

in the center. The length of the sides or the diameter of this small amulet box can vary a great deal, but averages about 6 to 9 centimeters and 4 to 6 centimeters respectively. It is about 1 to 2 centimeters deep.

411 Apart from these actual ornaments, however, the men set great store by the decoration of their weapons. They always carry their weapons with them when they go any distance from their tents, even in peaceful times. Their weapons consist of a gun, a sword and a dagger. Until recently old-fashioned guns (1) were generally used,

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 23.

with the customary fork and with a stock that often has a beautiful 411
silver mounting. These old-fashioned guns are still being made in Ho-chou. Within the last four years, however, many comparatively modern guns have been sold to the Fantzu by escaped Chinese soldiers who were racked with hunger. /16/ These modern weapons often still have forks which are chiefly made in Labrang.

Their swords (2) are about one meter long. They are not worn

2. Rockhill, Plate 22.

on a sword belt, but are stuck through the belt or the hip cord in front, so that they rest almost horizontally. The haft and scabbard are usually richly decorated with silver mountings set with corals.

A knife about 30 centimeters long hangs at their side, its handle and sheath consisting of brass or silver.

The women wear large silver ear pendants, richly set with corals 301
and turquoises. Little girls at the age of 7 or 8 get their first ear- 302
rings, mostly of simple brass. Finger rings (3) of silver or copper,

3. Rockhill, Plate 5.

also set with corals and turquoises, are worn on the left hand. Neck rings or necklaces are not worn. Special emphasis is put on hair ornaments. When the young girls get their first hairdo, the side braids are, as we have said, held together by a special ornament. This consists of cloth which the women themselves sew and trim with corals. (4)

4. For a description of women's hairdo compare Rockhill, page 690.

An important tool of the women, which has at the same time 301
developed into an ornament, is an anchor-shaped double hook of 234
brass, known in Tibetan as sao-sou (Chinese: nai-k'o, "milking 413
hook"). (1) It is usually set with a few corals. It is always worn

1. Illustrated in Futterer 6), Vol. I, page 34.

at the belt and is used by the women to hold the pail when milking. Sometimes their belt or hip cord is also ornamented with strips of red cloth and tassels.

mewu

Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231
a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231
only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411
carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231
from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak, a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243
As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat,

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibet Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 157.—A NA-KHI WITH CROSSBOW

納西族弩手

A Na-khi from the village of Lu-tien on the Li-ti-p'ing, showing how to use the crossbow.

[p. 298 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high."

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight.

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south.

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 202. — CH'OU KU-TSUNG (TIBETANS) FROM NEAR PEN-TZU-LAN

丑子蘭附近古宗男人

They wear a single garment and use cross bows, the arrows are stuck into the hair.

[p. 394 B]

2: Rock K5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 231. — LI-SU GUARD WITH CROSSBOW ON YO-WA-BU PASS

永寧大渡山頂哨兵

On the summit pass in lovely fir and spruce forest Li-su guards are on the lookout for bandits. They run to Yung-ning to notify the chief should robbers make their appearance. Lo-lo have now settled immediately east of Yo-wa-bu, and thus the pass is practically in the hands of robbers.

[p. 426-G]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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291 ankles. The gown of a man is shorter behind, about the same length as in front. In the winter time there may be worn a long gown woven of dark brown wool, or a goatskin coat. In cold weather the hair of this coat is turned inside, and in rainy weather it is turned outside. This skin coat is sleeveless. Both men and women wear instead of hats turbans of white cotton cloth bought in the markets, those of the men and the women are folded differently.

[164] Poor people who have insufficient clothes suffer from the cold in winter time. Bad colds are frequent, and sometimes colds develop into pneumonia

The puttees are made of white wool. In the vicinity of Lung Ch'i Chai women wear red bands around the puttees about half way between the ankles and the knees. In the region of Ts'a To a dark band is worn.

The best linen gowns of the men and the women have borders of blue cloth around the neck and down to the waist on which flowers are embroidered in white.

Woven belts are worn. Generally these are of white hemp cloth, but near Wen Ch'uan and Li Fan the woven belts are varicolored [171] and ornamented with beautiful geometric patterns The designs for these belts have apparently been borrowed from the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu, for in other parts of the Ch'iang region they occur rarely if at all, and they are very common among the Jia Rung and the Wa Ssu.

7. Tools, Implements and Utensils.

412 Most of the tools and implements closely resemble those of the Chinese. The hoe is wide flat, and thick, and its handle is about four feet long. A very useful implement is the thick iron sickle which serves to cut both wood and grass. Their axes are heavier and clumsier than foreign axes. As has been stated before, the loom consists of several pieces of wood, and the spindle is simply a stick of wood around which the thread or yarn has been wound.

The plow differs from that of the Chinese. The handle is shorter so that the plowman stoops over and pushes down when he plows, lifting the plow out of the ground when he turns around. The long beam is tied to the yoke, which is little more than a pole and is tied to the shoulders of two cows or oxen. The plowman sings

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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as he plows, and it is asserted that the animals cease pulling when the plowman stops singing. 412

In every home there is a square hole in the ground filled with dirt and ashes. This is a very simple stove, and probably has been used for centuries. Similar stoves are found in the temples in or near the sacred groves. In this square there is often an iron stove that consists of a circle about three feet in diameter resting on three iron legs equal distances apart. There are three iron pieces extending from these three legs towards the center, but not meeting. These three pieces hold the cooking vessel above the fire. The writer has seen similar iron stoves among the Lolos of the Ningyuan valley. Probably the ancient form of this stove was three pieces of stone chipped into triangles so that if placed equal distances apart one part of each stone can serve as a leg, and the other in the center hold up the cooking vessel. The stoves in the temples in and near the sacred groves consist of three such stones each. In many homes there are now typical Chinese stoves made of stones, lime, and clay, with two or three fire-holes over which iron kos or cooking vessels can be placed. There are no chimneys, and the smoke goes back out of the stove into the room. In the ko food is boiled fried, and baked. Large [252] wooden dippers are used to pour in and dip out water and other liquids, and iron dippers and ladels are used to stir the hot food, turn it over, or dip it out.

Ladders are generally trees in which large notches have been cut, a type of ladder that is widely used in the highlands of west China. 417

The walls of the Ch'iang homes are innocent of any pictures that might beautify them, and are blackened with smoke from [532] incense, candles, lamps, and fires.

IV. *Social Cutoms.*

1. Social Life

The Ch'iang lead a simple social life. There are no theatricals excepting those given in the Chinese cities and villlages. There are no social dances excepting near Chiu Tzu T'un. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance at any other time. One is tempted to conclude that the Ch'iang do not know how to play. The playthings of the children are often pebbles or broken tiles. When at leisure the 517

with the customary fork and with a stock that often has a beautiful 411
silver mounting. These old-fashioned guns are still being made in Ho-chou. Within the last four years, however, many comparatively modern guns have been sold to the Fantzu by escaped Chinese soldiers who were racked with hunger. /16/ These modern weapons often still have forks which are chiefly made in Labrang.

Their swords (2) are about one meter long. They are not worn

2. Rockhill, Plate 22.

on a sword belt, but are stuck through the belt or the hip cord in front, so that they rest almost horizontally. The haft and scabbard are usually richly decorated with silver mountings set with corals.

A knife about 30 centimeters long hangs at their side, its handle and sheath consisting of brass or silver.

The women wear large silver ear pendants, richly set with corals 301
and turquoises. Little girls at the age of 7 or 8 get their first ear- 302
rings, mostly of simple brass. Finger rings (3) of silver or copper,

3. Rockhill, Plate 5.

also set with corals and turquoises, are worn on the left hand. Neck rings or necklaces are not worn. Special emphasis is put on hair ornaments. When the young girls get their first hairdo, the side braids are, as we have said, held together by a special ornament. This consists of cloth which the women themselves sew and trim with corals. (4)

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developed into an ornament, is an anchor-shaped double hook of 234
brass, known in Tibetan as sao-sou (Chinese: nai-k'o, "milking 413
hook"). (1) It is usually set with a few corals. It is always worn

1. Illustrated in Futterer 6), Vol. I, page 34.

at the belt and is used by the women to hold the pail when milking. Sometimes their belt or hip cord is also ornamented with strips of red cloth and tassels.

Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia
443 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
438 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
482 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the
352 forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives [525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they [562] may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is considerable freedom between the sexes--that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by 171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet. While singing each line each person turned around com- [415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs" or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married. In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained.

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

234 of milk three times a day; an average cow gives two bucketfuls for the day. A milk bucket holds an average of /25/ 2 1/2 liters. The [415] buckets are made and repaired by Chinese. Good buckets are made of pine wood, first-class ones of cypress. Osiers are used as hoops.

The milk is drunk boiled or eaten as clabber. But most of the milk is used to make butter. Casein is derived from the buttermilk, and is filtered through a coarse bag, whereupon it is dried, stored in the form of coarse powder, and eaten. The whey is fed to the dogs. The butter is stored in mutton or yak maws, often for a long time, "up to more than 10 years." This old butter which gets very rancid is chiefly used in the lamaseries to feed guests at the festivals or to make Buddha images. Surplus butter is sent to the temple in which the son of the family is a lama. Lamas also often come to the tents and beg for butter, which is always willingly given to them. The price for old and new butter is the same. It comes to $0.50 per chin. (1) At home as well as in the temples old butter is made into

1. Chin, the Chinese pound, equals 605 grams.

lard in order to clarify it. This lard is used only as fuel for the sacrificial lamps.

236 The long yak hair from the animal's belly, back, and legs is plucked once a year in the fifth or sixth month. This is done by tying down the yak and winding the hair around a stick of wood and thus pulling it out in tufts. Yak hair is used to make cloth for the tent and for ropes. The latter are used to pull the tent widths taut, and as halters and hobbles for horses.

231 435 A four-year-old milch cow costs $15 to $20, an old ox ready to be slaughtered, $12 to $13. Calves are not sold. Yaks are slaughtered mostly in September and October. Some of the fresh meat is eaten, most of it is hung up to dry. The dried meat is either hung in the tent or is packed in leather. In this packed state it is often given to a temple for /26/ safekeeping. A yak skin costs $1 to $4; a good yak tail costs 10 cents, a white one, 20 to 30 cents. Yak horns are used as snuff containers, rarely as drinking horns. They also serve as milk bottles for babies.

232 Cattle are raised only by the sedentary Fantzu, not by the tent nomads. But the tent nomads buy individual bulls for breeding, because they like very much to use crossbreeds between beef cattle and yaks. A cross between a male beef and a female yak is particularly valued (Chinese: pien-niu). The pien-niu grows larger than a yak and has somewhat shorter and more curly hair than the

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The 222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to 313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds [534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them [415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

mew

The ordinary meal consists of butter and tsamba, but more butter 252
is eaten than tsamba. This is the way it is done: they fill a wooden bowl with tea (1) and add a good clump of butter (about a heaping

1. Such a bowl is on an average 5 centimeters deep and has a diameter at the brim of 10 to 12 centimeters. Rock- [415]
hill 1), Plate 14, Figure 3.

tablespoonful in the European sense) which melts in the hot tea. As they drink the butter tea, they try to blow away as much of the butter floating on top as possible, until a certain amount of tea and butter remain in the bowl. Then they sprinkle a suitable amount of tsamba into the bowl and knead it, along with the remaining tea and butter, with their fingers. When they have shaped it into a ball, they eat it without adding any other ingredients. The casein powder is also soaked in tea. Meat - of yak and sheep - is not eaten every [262]
day. They eat the meat of animals that have been killed or that have died of some disease. Sheep and yaks /32/ are not slaughtered [253]
but strangled. Most of the sheep and yaks are killed in September and October after they have grown fat on summer pastures. Some of the meat is eaten fresh; most of it is dried. The fresh meat is always boiled in water, not roasted. Hunks of cooked meat are cut off with a knife and eaten with the fingers. The intestines are stuffed with tsamba or Chinese bread (mo-mo) and eaten. The large intestine is generally used for this purpose, since the nomads have found that they can profitably sell the small intestine. "Mo-mo" is bought from Chinese bakers who live in the Chinese settlements next to the monasteries. As a rule, a yak is killed by several families together. Pork is eaten only at New Year. For this occasion wealthy [257]
families buy one or two pigs from the sedentary Fantzu. Poorer people buy no more than one pig which they pay for in butter the following summer.

Besides pork which, according to Hermanns, (1) is not generally 262

1. Hermanns 3), page 58. According to Ekvall 4), page 78, only the nomads who live farther away from the Chinese eat no pork.

eaten by the Amdo-nomads, yak meat and mutton is, of course, also eaten for New Year and at feasts, along with butter and tsamba, baked goods made of unparched barley flour, or mo-mo which is usually fried in rape-seed oil. Besides this, the nomads also buy

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in
[265] various ways, preferably boiled until it is soft, with sugar added.

263 Garlic and paprika are the chief condiments, also hua-chiao
273 (Zanthoxylum piperitum D.C.). Salt comes from the Kokonor.
733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.

276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 17, Figures 2 - 4.

264 The nomads eat three meals a day. Breakfast is rather late, after the livestock has been milked and driven out to pasture. The midday meal is eaten when the sun is at its height, the evening meal rather late, after dark. The food - mainly tsamba and butter - is the same at all meals. Guests are also offered food three times a day. Men and women eat the same food, but they are not permitted to eat together in the tent. The men eat in the right-hand section of the tent, the women in the left. The food must be handed from one section to the other around the hearth; it is considered very impolite to hand it over the hearth. (2)

2. so as not to offend the spirit of the hearth: Hermanns 3), page 48.

252 The cooking pots are large kettles made of brass about 80
415 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high. They are

252 made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass
415 industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper
[433] /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags.
415 Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

372 The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only care-
462 fully clarified lard is burned in them.
463 We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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as he plows, and it is asserted that the animals cease pulling when the plowman stops singing. 412

In every home there is a square hole in the ground filled with dirt and ashes. This is a very simple stove, and probably has been used for centuries. Similar stoves are found in the temples in or near the sacred groves. In this square there is often an iron stove that consists of a circle about three feet in diameter resting on three iron legs equal distances apart. There are three iron pieces extending from these three legs towards the center, but not meeting. These three pieces hold the cooking vessel above the fire. The writer has seen similar iron stoves among the Lolos of the Ningyuan valley. Probably the ancient form of this stove was three pieces of stone chipped into triangles so that if placed equal distances apart one part of each stone can serve as a leg, and the other in the center hold up the cooking vessel. The stoves in the temples in and near the sacred groves consist of three such stones each. In many homes there are now typical Chinese stoves made of stones, lime, and clay, with two or three fire-holes over which iron kos or cooking vessels can be placed. There are no chimneys, and the smoke goes back out of the stove into the room. In the ko food is boiled fried, and baked. Large wooden dippers are used to pour in and dip out water and other liquids, and iron dippers and ladels are used to stir the hot food, turn it over, or dip it out. [252]

Ladders are generally trees in which large notches have been cut, a type of ladder that is widely used in the highlands of west China. 417

The walls of the Ch'iang homes are innocent of any pictures that might beautify them, and are blackened with smoke from incense, candles, lamps, and fires. [532]

IV. *Social Cutoms.*

1. Social Life

The Ch'iang lead a simple social life. There are no theatricals excepting those given in the Chinese cities and villlages. There are no social dances excepting near Chiu Tzu T'un. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance at any other time. One is tempted to conclude that the Ch'iang do not know how to play. The playthings of the children are often pebbles or broken tiles. When at leisure the 517

682 Quarrels leading to murder happen more often, according to my interpreter, among the Mewu-Fantzu than among the neighboring Chinese. The Fantzu above all tend to become brutal when they are drunk. Murder also occurs. The motive for murder is either jealousy or covetousness (murder attended with robbery). It also happens that a man shoots another because he honestly believes he has been harmed by him through magic.

682 If a murder has been committed, the family of the victim does
628 not relax its efforts until it has revenged itself on the murderer, if possible by killing him. Blood revenge is taken also if murders have been committed in a state of intoxication or if a person suspected of black magic has been murdered. If /82/ blood revenge is not taken, one loses respect. However, blood revenge rarely occurs in actual fact, for the murderer usually flees beyond the borders of the tribal territory, seeking refuge with some other tribe. If the murderer is caught before the victim's family was able to carry out blood revenge, he is first of all soundly thrashed and held captive until he can pay a penalty of 80 yaks. Thereupon he is banished from the tribal territory for four years. There is no death penalty inflicted except by the clan of the blood avengers. The property of the murderer is seized if he was captured or if he escaped. Blood revenge is not considered murder and is not punished. The custom of blood revenge among the Mewu-Fantzu is thus already very much mitigated. It seems to be largely replaced by an indemnity in the form of yaks. For example, if a member of a ts'aowa group kills a member of another group, the two ts'aowa chieftains decide on the indemnity, which is usually a penalty of 80 yaks, at least 40 of which must be first-class, the rest can be less good. If the relatives of the murderer cannot meet the payment in full, the entire ts'aowa group to which the murderer belongs must make up the rest.

421 Foremost among the property rights of the nomads is, of course,
233 the question of the right to pasturelands. The pastureland is divided among the individual tent communities by the t'ou-mu. The land used for planting oats near the winter pastures is divided among the individual families. There is enough land for planting oats, and everyone can cultivate as much as he needs for his stock. The t'ou-mu divides the various families into tent communities. The lamaseries have their own pastures for yaks; they do not raise sheep. The boundaries of the pasturelands of individual tent communities must be respected just as strictly as those of the entire

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 324
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunting rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 663
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu. Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge. It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge. They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago (1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese. However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral, respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place within 692
the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for permission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work together in such cases.

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243 in favour of rice cultivation. The yield of rice, very much higher per acre than that of wheat or maize, the alternative cereal crops, enables a larger population to live in a restricted area. Furthermore, the climate of Ta Li (though not of the northern Min Chia areas) makes it possible to grow wheat and beans on the rice lands in winter, so that two crops a year can be harvested off the same land. A comparatively small holding of rice land, ten Chinese acres (*mu*) or an English acre and a half, is sufficient to support a family of five persons.[1] Consequently there was little incentive to undertake the cultivation of maize or fruit on the mountain sides while population still remained low, or fresh rice land in adjoining valleys was easily available. When these conditions ceased to apply the tradition of rice farming had secured so strong a hold upon the people that they preferred to emigrate to great distances rather than abandon their manner of life.

243 Other considerations have combined to enhance the
311 value of rice land and reinforce the hold which the "rice
423 standard" has obtained on the Min Chia mind. Since the area suitable for rice is limited, and was long ago brought under cultivation, good land has acquired a scarcity value, and this in turn has been enhanced by the universal will to ownership. The poor seek to buy land even at great sacrifice, the rich regard land purchase as the only safe investment. To be landless is regarded as a grave misfortune, and even to have to rent additional land is considered regrettable. It is of course true that in a community without banks or joint stock companies, land is the best investment, indeed the only really safe one. Land will survive most calamities. Fire may destroy merchandise or a hoard of treasure, and insur-

804 [1] The *Mu* or Chinese Acre by which land all over China is measured, is not, however a fixed unit. The *Mu* varies slightly in every district, and even in different villages. In Yunnan the equivalent of ⅓ of an English acre to the *Mu* is approximately correct for the Ta Li district.

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243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

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each of the two meals) it requires approximately 25 *tou* to 243
feed one man for a year, or 125 *tou* to feed a family of five persons. Taking the yield of the *mu* at 12 *tou* per year it follows that the produce of 10 *mu* (1 and 2-3rds English acres) is just sufficient to feed a family of five persons, but allows no margin for other expenditure. As the winter wheat crop also brings in a certain return it is possible for a family to live off 10 *mu*, which is confirmed by the testimony of Min Chia farmers themselves, who state that 10 *mu* is in fact the minimum holding necessary for a family to be self sufficient.

A poor farmer owning only 10 *mu* must however set aside 243
one *tou* of his yield as seed grain, it being calculated that one 427
tou of seed grain is sufficient to sow ten *mu*. It follows that most families having only 10 *mu* must in practice rent more land. Rents are paid in kind, at the rate of from five to six *tou* per *mu* of the rice crop and half a *tou* of wheat. Beans are not accepted as rent for the winter crop, wheat rents being calculated at about one tenth of rice rents, although the cash value of wheat is usually about one fifth of the price of rice out of season, and one tenth the price of rice just after the wheat harvest.

Large holdings are unknown in the Ta Li region, but many 243
families have more than the minimum ten *mu*. Holdings of 423
more than fifty *mu* are almost unknown, forty *mu* is the average of the most wealthy, and from this upper limit all gradations down to those who have less than five *mu*, under one English acre, are to be found. These small holdings are explained partly by the long process of subdivision occasioned by the break up of families, partly by the very high price of the land. The best rice land, that lying midway between the 434
mountain and the lake, sells, even since the fall of values 243
after opium suppression, for 200 Yunnan silver dollars the 423
mu. At the rate of exchange prevailing before the war with Japan started, the Yunnan silver dollar was worth about

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434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. 0d. or £45 0s. 0d. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 $ Nat. = 2 $ New Paper = 10 $ Old Paper	= 1*s.* 2*d.*	sterling
1 $ Yunnan Silver = 3 $ Nickel	= 0*s.* 9*d.*	,,
1 $ Nickel = 10 nickel cents	= 3*d.*	,,

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434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

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the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147]
women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families who are landowners in the country, while many of the richer merchants have invested their profits in land and become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These families with rural and urban connections can be classified broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

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565 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed
369 for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the
● 423 sons have been given education up to the middle school
443 grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 The second class of family with city and village homes is
369 composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for com-
423 fort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed,
647 are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

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country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the chief pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

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4. Occupations.

463 All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers
[423] have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses,
and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the
[462] members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing,
for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women
cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing,
winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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651 suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

[661] Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

651 The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or
262 three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. 0*s* 0*d*., would thus have paid £0 11*s*. 3*d*. in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about 1*s*. 2*d*. ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or 2*s*. 3*d*. Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig
[253] arises. For minor festivities pork can be bought in the city or at a market, thus the butchering tax falls mainly on the professional butchers of the city who cater for a steady market.

426 It is inevitable that with such small margins of ready cash available, the Min Chia farmer is often obliged to contract debts. A wedding, or a funeral, involves expenses for which there is no provision possible unless by borrowing money or mortgaging land. As the rates of interest are very high it is often impossible for the debt to be discharged when due,

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and in this way the peasants become more and more indebted to the richer landowners, who are also the moneylenders. The standard rate of interest on cash loans is three per cent per month, or any period less than a month. 36% per annum is to European standards a very high rate of interest, and this is by no means the highest rate prevailing in Ta Li. Pawnshops, which act as banks, charge 4% per month or 48% per annum. In practice of course, the peasant who wishes to borrow money cannot hope to pay at this rate of interest and is obliged to mortgage his land, which is the only asset which could be realised by his creditor. Mortgage rates are a little lower than those charged on cash loans or by the pawn shops, because the security is better. 2½ *tou* of rice is the interest demanded for an advance of 100 dollars nickel secured on land. The value of this quantity of rice in 1938 was 17.50 dollars nickel, so the rate of interest was not more than 17½% per annum on mortgages. Even this rate is of course very high and a farmer who had been compelled to mortgage half or more than half of his land would have great difficulty in making ends meet.

Since the abolition of opium cultivation the problem of debt has therefore greatly increased in the Ta Li region, and this in turn depresses purchasing power and adds to the economic depression. Land banks, which in other parts of China had been set up by the Central Government to assist the peasants and provide an alternative to the moneylender at cheaper rates, have not yet been established in Yunnan. In fact there are not as yet any banks at all in the rural districts of this province, even in the cities. In a purely agricultural countryside, without industries of any importance, and with only a restricted commerce, no bank which had not government support and backing can be established, or if established, charge rates of interest lower than those offered by the moneylending richer families.

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[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

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each of the two meals) it requires approximately 25 *tou* to 243
feed one man for a year, or 125 *tou* to feed a family of five persons. Taking the yield of the *mu* at 12 *tou* per year it follows that the produce of 10 *mu* (1 and 2-3rds English acres) is just sufficient to feed a family of five persons, but allows no margin for other expenditure. As the winter wheat crop also brings in a certain return it is possible for a family to live off 10 *mu*, which is confirmed by the testimony of Min Chia farmers themselves, who state that 10 *mu* is in fact the minimum holding necessary for a family to be self sufficient.

A poor farmer owning only 10 *mu* must however set aside 243
one *tou* of his yield as seed grain, it being calculated that one 427
tou of seed grain is sufficient to sow ten *mu*. It follows that most families having only 10 *mu* must in practice rent more land. Rents are paid in kind, at the rate of from five to six *tou* per *mu* of the rice crop and half a *tou* of wheat. Beans are not accepted as rent for the winter crop, wheat rents being calculated at about one tenth of rice rents, although the cash value of wheat is usually about one fifth of the price of rice out of season, and one tenth the price of rice just after the wheat harvest.

Large holdings are unknown in the Ta Li region, but many 243
families have more than the minimum ten *mu*. Holdings of 423
more than fifty *mu* are almost unknown, forty *mu* is the average of the most wealthy, and from this upper limit all gradations down to those who have less than five *mu*, under one English acre, are to be found. These small holdings are explained partly by the long process of subdivision occasioned by the break up of families, partly by the very high price of the land. The best rice land, that lying midway between the 434
mountain and the lake, sells, even since the fall of values 243
after opium suppression, for 200 Yunnan silver dollars the 423
mu. At the rate of exchange prevailing before the war with Japan started, the Yunnan silver dollar was worth about

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THE RICE STANDARD

Since the war with Japan began the National Currency has 436
fallen in relation to sterling, but the internal purchasing power of the local currency has hardly altered at all. Therefore it is better to express the value of the local currency in sterling in accordance with the rate of exchange prevailing before the war, in the first half of 1937.

In calculating the value of the yield of any farm in the Ta 434
Li region it must be remembered, that as rice cannot be exported in any quantity owing to the high cost and inadequate nature of the transport, when the crop is good the price is low, and when the price is high, it is because the yield is poor. The Min Chia farmer therefore never gets the maximum return from his land which is theoretically possible, and an estimate of the income derived from rice farming must take account of this. We may take the harvest of 1938 as an example. The year was good, the crop abundant ; consequently the price of rice was low, seven nickel cents to the *sheng*, or about 2½*d*. for nine lbs. The yield was high, twelve *tou* to the *mu*, therefore,

One *tou* of ten *sheng* gives 70 nickel cents = 7 $ Nickel
One *mu* yields 12 *tou* giving 84 $ Nickel
One acre or six *mu* gives 504 $ Nickel = £6 6*s*. 0*d*.

which is not a poor return on an investment of £45 0*s*. 0*d*. A further return of about one tenth the value of the rice crop is obtained from the wheat or other winter crops.

A family of moderate means, owning 18 *mu* or three acres, 434
would therefore have harvested in 1938 crops to the value of 511
about £20 0*s*. 0*d*. If the family consisted of some five or six 427
persons, adults and children, £10 0*s*. 0*d*. worth would be consumed by themselves as food, leaving at most half the crop to sell or exchange for other commodities. The purchasing power of such a family would in other words be at most £10 0*s*. 0*d*. per annum. If however they had to rent half

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434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 852
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 593
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can-
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed- 586
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 458
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-MU = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their

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III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph 20
lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those 487
written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read 482
them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by [203]
word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various 491
neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow 502
and Yin Shiu Wan 秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter 436
part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

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432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
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[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 524
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunting rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 663
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu. Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge. It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge. They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago (1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese. However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral, respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place within 692
the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for permission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work together in such cases.

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133 241 relief and the low temperatures limit the cultivation on any large scale. Most of the cultivated lands are located in the southeast, in the drainage area of the Cha-ku and the Black Rivers, on gentle slopes between an altitude of 5,000 to 9,000 ft.

133 241 433 Roughly speaking, over 50% of the total agricultural food stuffs produced in Lifan are produced along the Cha-Ku valley, between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao 茶谷脑, a distance of not more than 50 miles. And these crops are mostly grown on slopes rather than on alluvial plains at the valley bottoms. The total area of alluvial plains at the valley bottom between Weichow and Cha-ku-nao is smaller in area than the cultivated mountain slopes of even one mountain settlement, as for instance Chia-shan-chai 佳山寨. This shows the insignificance of alluvial lowlands and the importance of slope cultivation in the region. Besides the Cha-ku valley, the Black River valley which is the other tributary to the Min also has some fertile slope lands under cultivation. As all the valleys are separated by high mountains with steep slopes, the cultivated area on slopes is nowhere very extensive.

241 132 433 Besides the topographic limits of land utilization, climatic influences are also very strong. Though the climate varies from valley to valley, yet it is controlled by definite climatic laws. In regions where the altitude is below 6,000 ft., the summer temperature can go up as high as 86° F (30° C) and the minimum temperature during the hottest month, August, could go down to 57° F (14° C). On the average, the temperatures for six months, from the middle of October to the middle of April, are below the critical temperature for vegetation growth. That leaves a growing season of only about six months.

In the grasslands the annual average temperature is below 60° F. Even during the height of summer, the maximum temperature goes only as high as 74° or 75° during the day, and can go as far down as 33° F. The growing season is thus shortened to less than four months.

As far as moisture is concerned, the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft., being hidden between high mountain walls, are usually very dry, because little moisture can reach them. The average relative humidity for August last summer was below 50%. Between an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000, due to the orographic effect of air that is rising along the slopes, the average relative humidity for August last summer was below 60%, while the slopes above 7,000 ft. during the same period had an average relative humidity of about 80%. Thus during the severe drought in the summer, while the crops on the lower slopes were all withered and with no hope for any harvest, the oats, potatoes, and barley were flourishing on the upper slopes. The relative humidity is still higher as the altitude goes higher until it reaches the altitude of about 10,000 feet, when it begins to decrease again. Therefore, according to moisture distribution, the mountainous country is classified into four zones: the arid zone, the semi-arid zone, the humid zone, and the sub-humid zone.

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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

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each of the two meals) it requires approximately 25 *tou* to 243
feed one man for a year, or 125 *tou* to feed a family of five persons. Taking the yield of the *mu* at 12 *tou* per year it follows that the produce of 10 *mu* (1 and 2-3rds English acres) is just sufficient to feed a family of five persons, but allows no margin for other expenditure. As the winter wheat crop also brings in a certain return it is possible for a family to live off 10 *mu*, which is confirmed by the testimony of Min Chia farmers themselves, who state that 10 *mu* is in fact the minimum holding necessary for a family to be self sufficient.

A poor farmer owning only 10 *mu* must however set aside 243
one *tou* of his yield as seed grain, it being calculated that one 427
tou of seed grain is sufficient to sow ten *mu*. It follows that most families having only 10 *mu* must in practice rent more land. Rents are paid in kind, at the rate of from five to six *tou* per *mu* of the rice crop and half a *tou* of wheat. Beans are not accepted as rent for the winter crop, wheat rents being calculated at about one tenth of rice rents, although the cash value of wheat is usually about one fifth of the price of rice out of season, and one tenth the price of rice just after the wheat harvest.

Large holdings are unknown in the Ta Li region, but many 243
families have more than the minimum ten *mu*. Holdings of 423
more than fifty *mu* are almost unknown, forty *mu* is the average of the most wealthy, and from this upper limit all gradations down to those who have less than five *mu*, under one English acre, are to be found. These small holdings are explained partly by the long process of subdivision occasioned by the break up of families, partly by the very high price of the land. The best rice land, that lying midway between the 434
mountain and the lake, sells, even since the fall of values 243
after opium suppression, for 200 Yunnan silver dollars the 423
mu. At the rate of exchange prevailing before the war with Japan started, the Yunnan silver dollar was worth about

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434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. 0d. or £45 0s. 0d. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 $ Nat. = 2 $ New Paper = 10 $ Old Paper	= 1*s.* 2*d.*	sterling
1 $ Yunnan Silver = 3 $ Nickel	= 0*s.* 9*d.*	,,
1 $ Nickel = 10 nickel cents	= 3*d.*	,,

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THE RICE STANDARD

Since the war with Japan began the National Currency has 436
fallen in relation to sterling, but the internal purchasing power of the local currency has hardly altered at all. Therefore it is better to express the value of the local currency in sterling in accordance with the rate of exchange prevailing before the war, in the first half of 1937.

In calculating the value of the yield of any farm in the Ta 434
Li region it must be remembered, that as rice cannot be exported in any quantity owing to the high cost and inadequate nature of the transport, when the crop is good the price is low, and when the price is high, it is because the yield is poor. The Min Chia farmer therefore never gets the maximum return from his land which is theoretically possible, and an estimate of the income derived from rice farming must take account of this. We may take the harvest of 1938 as an example. The year was good, the crop abundant ; consequently the price of rice was low, seven nickel cents to the *sheng*, or about 2½*d*. for nine lbs. The yield was high, twelve *tou* to the *mu*, therefore,

One *tou* of ten *sheng* gives 70 nickel cents = 7 $ Nickel
One *mu* yields 12 *tou* giving 84 $ Nickel
One acre or six *mu* gives 504 $ Nickel = £6 6*s*. 0*d*.

which is not a poor return on an investment of £45 0*s*. 0*d*. A further return of about one tenth the value of the rice crop is obtained from the wheat or other winter crops.

A family of moderate means, owning 18 *mu* or three acres, 434
would therefore have harvested in 1938 crops to the value of 511
about £20 0*s*. 0*d*. If the family consisted of some five or six 427
persons, adults and children, £10 0*s*. 0*d*. worth would be consumed by themselves as food, leaving at most half the crop to sell or exchange for other commodities. The purchasing power of such a family would in other words be at most £10 0*s*. 0*d*. per annum. If however they had to rent half

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434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

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511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s.* 0*d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

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243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
● 435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

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438 tity to supply the local markets, rice can never be an export
435 crop for the Min Chia farmer. A quantity is sent up to Li
511 Chiang and Chien Ch'uan, which having a colder climate, are less productive; but the cost of transporting rice on mule back, the only means of transport, is so high that this trade can never develop on a large scale. Therefore, in a good year the price of rice at Ta Li falls very low and the farmer's purchasing power declines proportionately ; in a bad year the quantity of rice harvested is not sufficient to provide an export surplus, and the poorer farmers, after paying their rice rents, have difficulty in living off the remainder of the crop, and cannot afford to make other purchases. The rice standard is therefore a check on trade and a factor causing the standard of living to remain low.

249 The Min Chia, who are in most respects a practical and hard headed people, were not unaware of these disadvantages, and sought to escape from them by producing an export crop which would not interfere with the cultivation of rice, and would yet command a good price in distant markets. Such a crop must have a high value for small bulk, for as it must be transported for at least two weeks on mule back to reach any market of importance (either Yunnanfu or Burma) no bulky inexpensive commodity would show a profit after the costs of transport were deducted. Such a crop they found in opium, which was introduced into Yunnan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Opium admirably fulfilled the conditions outlined above. It was planted on the rice lands as a winter crop, harvested in May before the rice seedlings are transplanted. Therefore it did not interfere with rice cultivation. It was light and fetched a very high price in the markets of Yunnanfu whence it was transported to other parts of China. It thus provided the Min Chia with, from their point of view, the perfect export crop, which brought outside money into the closed economy of Ta Li and

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 Towards

443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
●435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0*s.* 0*d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make
[294] their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

234 of milk three times a day; an average cow gives two bucketfuls for the day. A milk bucket holds an average of /25/ 2 1/2 liters. The [415] buckets are made and repaired by Chinese. Good buckets are made of pine wood, first-class ones of cypress. Osiers are used as hoops.

The milk is drunk boiled or eaten as clabber. But most of the milk is used to make butter. Casein is derived from the buttermilk, and is filtered through a coarse bag, whereupon it is dried, stored in the form of coarse powder, and eaten. The whey is fed to the dogs. The butter is stored in mutton or yak maws, often for a long time, "up to more than 10 years." This old butter which gets very rancid is chiefly used in the lamaseries to feed guests at the festivals or to make Buddha images. Surplus butter is sent to the temple in which the son of the family is a lama. Lamas also often come to the tents and beg for butter, which is always willingly given to them. The price for old and new butter is the same. It comes to $0.50 per chin. (1) At home as well as in the temples old butter is made into

1. Chin, the Chinese pound, equals 605 grams.

lard in order to clarify it. This lard is used only as fuel for the sacrificial lamps.

236 The long yak hair from the animal's belly, back, and legs is plucked once a year in the fifth or sixth month. This is done by tying down the yak and winding the hair around a stick of wood and thus pulling it out in tufts. Yak hair is used to make cloth for the tent and for ropes. The latter are used to pull the tent widths taut, and as halters and hobbles for horses.

231 A four-year-old milch cow costs $15 to $20, an old ox ready 435 to be slaughtered, $12 to $13. Calves are not sold. Yaks are slaughtered mostly in September and October. Some of the fresh meat is eaten, most of it is hung up to dry. The dried meat is either hung in the tent or is packed in leather. In this packed state it is often given to a temple for /26/ safekeeping. A yak skin costs $1 to $4; a good yak tail costs 10 cents, a white one, 20 to 30 cents. Yak horns are used as snuff containers, rarely as drinking horns. They also serve as milk bottles for babies.

232 Cattle are raised only by the sedentary Fantzu, not by the tent nomads. But the tent nomads buy individual bulls for breeding, because they like very much to use crossbreeds between beef cattle and yaks. A cross between a male beef and a female yak is particularly valued (Chinese: pien-niu). The pien-niu grows larger than a yak and has somewhat shorter and more curly hair than the

mewu

yak. Its tail is thick and bushy but, unlike the yak, is clearly de- 232
fined at the root. It has larger horns than the yak. The pien-niu gets to be over 20 years old, that is, older than the yak. Male pien-niu are always castrated and used as pack oxen. The pien-niu is valued because of its greater strength, its longer life and better milk production; it also withstands the warmer climate of lower altitudes better than the yak. For the yak breeder, therefore, the pien-niu has a similar position as the mule has for the horse breeder.

The pien-niu cow drops her first calf after 3 to 4 years. The 231
price of a milch cow fluctuates between $40 and $50, and is thus 435
twice as high as that of a yak cow. A yak maw full of butter is the annual rent for a good pien-niu. A maw contains about 18 chin. The cross between a male yak and a female beef cow is called szu-pien-niu in Chinese. It is not regarded as valuable as the pien-niu, although it also lives to be 20 years old. The szu-pien-niu has a bushy tail, smaller horns and above all weaker legs than the pien-niu. The price of a szu-pien-niu is $30 to $40. The cross between the yak bull and the pien-niu cow (chia-pien-niu) is valued even less. It has the same fur as beef cattle, but is larger. This cross-breed lives to be only 10 years old. It costs about $30. A cross between /27/ a bull and a female pien-niu is called ga-ba. It lives to be no more than 7 or 8 years old. A ga-ba calf is immediately slaughtered, and the mother is then milked.

After yaks, sheep (1) are the most important domestic animals. 231

1. With regard to breeds, see Hermanns 3), page 87.

One family seldom owns more than 700 sheep; but there are also families that have no sheep at all. In the community made up of 20 tents where I lived there were seven families who had no sheep. The total number of sheep in this community came to more than 9,000, which means an average of 700 per herd owner. Sheep are not leased. One figures 40 to 50 ewes to one ram. The sheep drop their first young at two years; it drops only one lamb. A good ewe is allowed to die a natural death; otherwise sheep are slaughtered when they are two or three years old. Wethers are slaughtered at three or four years. A good sheep costs $3 to $3.50, a fat wether [436] $9.

Like the yaks, the sheep are driven to pasture early in the morn 233
ing and back to the tents at night. Some herd owners have simple, circular sheepfolds made of wooden beams next to their tents, into which they drive their sheep at night.

mewu

236 The sheep are sheared once a year in May or June. Neighbors
[476] help each other in this task without charge. It takes an average of two days to shear the herd of one family. A wether gives 1 chin of wool annually, a ewe, 1/2 chin. A chin of fleece costs 20 to 50 cents. At the time of my visit the demand for wool was so great
237 that the highest price was paid. A sheepskin costs $0.60 to $1.
435 However, skins of unborn lambs cost $2 to $4. A sheep gut is sold for $0.20 to $0.30; in He-tso, the nearest large town, the price goes
262 up to $0.40 when it is resold. More mutton than yak meat is eaten. Lambs are eaten only if they have died of some disease. The Fantzu do not drink sheep milk, but they use it for butter if they do not have enough yak milk.

231 /28/ The sheep often suffer from paralysis of both forelegs, and many die of this disease. Most of the animals die of starvation in February or March, especially if there has been much snow during
[476] the winter. If a family loses all its animals, everybody helps out by giving them others. The tent nomads do not often keep goats, but the sedentary Fantzu often do, and they also drink goat's milk.

Every family has at least one horse. The Mewu-Fantzu have a small breed of horses that measures about 130 centimeters at the withers. These Tibetan ponies are somewhat smaller and lighter than the Mongolian ponies or those from the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. They are closer to the tarpan (Equus gmelini) than the Przewalski type (1). These horses have a great deal of endurance

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 164 ff.

and are especially adapted for use in mountainous terrain. They
232 have hard hoofs which are not shoed in the steppes. Good stallions
135 are selected for breeding, the rest are castrated at four years. These horses live an average of 10 years; the men break them in at 3 years. The average price of a riding horse is $40 to $50; the highest price is $100. No horses are imported, but horse traders come from T'ao-chou and He-tso, and the Mewu-Fantzu sell them horses. Mules are not used by the tent nomads; asses cannot stand the high altitude.

492 The simple horse bridles of leather with brass mountings are made and sold by the Chinese, likewise the iron snaffles and the stirrups which can be of iron or brass. The Mewu-Fantzu use Hungarian saddles /bocksattel/ the wooden frames of which are made by the sedentary Tebu-Fantzu on the northern slopes of the

Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231
a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231
only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411
carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231
from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak; a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243
As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat

made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags. Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only carefully clarified lard is burned in them.

We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

CHAPTER 2

THE RICE STANDARD

RICE IS THE real standard of wealth among the Min Chia. 436
Direct barter of rice for commodities is common, rents 243
are paid and calculated in rice, and rice producing land is the chief investment of the wealthy, and the principal source of revenue for the government. No other crop compares 243
with rice either in actual value or in the estimation of the 311
people. Land which is unsuitable for rice cultivation is hardly regarded as anything better than waste. In consequence of this preoccupation with the rice crop the Min Chia neglect the development of other forms of agriculture and have failed to exploit all the possibilities of land on which rice cannot be grown.

The Min Chia are rarely if ever found on land where rice cultivation is impossible, they avoid the mountains, and when the excess of population makes its impossible for all to engage in rice farming, they prefer to emigrate to distant parts of the Province rather than cultivate other crops upon the mountain sides. Whether this is to be explained as the failure of an immigrant people of lowland origin to adapt itself to the life of mountaineers, or as the whole-hearted conversion of a people, once pastoral hillmen, to the advantages of intensive agriculture, there is no direct evidence to show. The Min Chia lack any tradition of immigration to their present home, and it may be regarded as certain that they have practised their present mode of life for at least seven centuries.

Although there is thus an ancient tradition in support of 243
rice farming, and an almost psychological aversion to living on the mountains, there are also strong economic arguments

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. 0d. or £45 0s. 0d. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 $ Nat. = 2 $ New Paper = 10 $ Old Paper	=	1*s.* 2*d.* sterling
1 $ Yunnan Silver = 3 $ Nickel	=	0*s.* 9*d.* ,,
1 $ Nickel = 10 nickel cents	=	3*d.* ,,

THE RICE STANDARD

Since the war with Japan began the National Currency has 436
fallen in relation to sterling, but the internal purchasing power of the local currency has hardly altered at all. Therefore it is better to express the value of the local currency in sterling in accordance with the rate of exchange prevailing before the war, in the first half of 1937.

In calculating the value of the yield of any farm in the Ta 434
Li region it must be remembered, that as rice cannot be exported in any quantity owing to the high cost and inadequate nature of the transport, when the crop is good the price is low, and when the price is high, it is because the yield is poor. The Min Chia farmer therefore never gets the maximum return from his land which is theoretically possible, and an estimate of the income derived from rice farming must take account of this. We may take the harvest of 1938 as an example. The year was good, the crop abundant ; consequently the price of rice was low, seven nickel cents to the *sheng*, or about 2½*d*. for nine lbs. The yield was high, twelve *tou* to the *mu*, therefore,

One *tou* of ten *sheng* gives 70 nickel cents = 7 $ Nickel
One *mu* yields 12 *tou* giving 84 $ Nickel
One acre or six *mu* gives 504 $ Nickel = £6 6*s*. 0*d*.

which is not a poor return on an investment of £45 0*s*. 0*d*. A further return of about one tenth the value of the rice crop is obtained from the wheat or other winter crops.

A family of moderate means, owning 18 *mu* or three acres, 434
would therefore have harvested in 1938 crops to the value of 511
about £20 0*s*. 0*d*. If the family consisted of some five or six 427
persons, adults and children, £10 0*s*. 0*d*. worth would be consumed by themselves as food, leaving at most half the crop to sell or exchange for other commodities. The purchasing power of such a family would in other words be at most £10 0*s*. 0*d*. per annum. If however they had to rent half

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

301 She[1] carries all her woredly possessions in the form of decorations in her hair,
436 and around her eeck and wrists. That is the reason why paper money is of no use in this region.

291 In regard to shoes, the Ch'iang people are asually bare-footed, or wear straw sandals. The Gia-rung people wear cloth shoes of the Taing dynasty style, and the Fan people and the Black River people wear boots. This is due to the differences in the winter temperature.

262 There is no tribal difference in foodstuffs, but rather a difference in crops according to differences in the attitude. Both the Ch'iang and Gia-rung who live below an altitude of 8,000 ft. use corn as their staple food. For those who live above 8,000, their cheap food supply is Irish potatoes and barley and oats. For the Fan people in the grasslands, it is barley flour and butter and milk, and practically no green vegetables. The reason for the corn diet of people living below 8,000 ft. altitude is that mountain farms are generally small and their improved land is still more limited. The farmers are poor, and therefore they are under compulsion to raise the crop which will give them the most food, and not crops which are usually more nutritious. For people who live above 8,000 ft., the humidity is higher and the temperature lower; therefore, natural conditions are not suitable for the cultivation of corn, which requires much sunshine, but is favorable for oats and potatoes. Therefore these people live on potatoes instead of corn.

241 In the grasslands agriculture is prohibited by geographical limitations.
264 People have to trade for barley flour mixed with bean powder. It is called Cham-Pa 糌粑. At meal time they just mix it with tea or milk, and that is their staple food. They eat with their hands; they do not bother with chopstick

264 The manner of eating is greatly affected by the distance from the Chinese,
352 The Ch'iang and Gia-rung tribes, who are nearer to the Chinese, use chopsticks, and their kitchens are built upon a double pattern; that is, they have the Chinese kitchen arrangement, and at the same time also have fire places in the centers of ther kitchens. The Gia-rung who live in the upper valley of the Cha-ku River, and the Black River people, and the Fan people, have only the fireplace and very little furniture in the home; no tables, no chairs, and no beds, but they use furs and woolen mats as bedding.

272 Tea seems to be the life blood of all. Tea drinking to the people of Li-fan county is far more important even than tea drinking is to the English.

D. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO GROUP LIVING.

1. GRAZING COOPERATIVES

241 Among the Ch'iang and Gia-rung in the drainage area of the Min in the southeast, the people are mainly agricultural. They cultivate the slopes between the high mountains and the deep valleys. The cultivable area is naturally limited, and every inch is valuable.

[1] [the Fan woman, -- Analyst]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph 20
lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those 497
written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read 482
them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by [203]
word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various 491
neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow 502
and Yin Shiu Wan 秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter 436
part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

Mewu

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The 462
only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. 463
Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used 285
for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They 231
have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences 476
between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of 651
the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese [441] [463] [583]
chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are 436
purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: 439
sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse an 237

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the orrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

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438 tity to supply the local markets, rice can never be an export
435 crop for the Min Chia farmer. A quantity is sent up to Li
511 Chiang and Chien Ch'uan, which having a colder climate, are less productive; but the cost of transporting rice on mule back, the only means of transport, is so high that this trade can never develop on a large scale. Therefore, in a good year the price of rice at Ta Li falls very low and the farmer's purchasing power declines proportionately ; in a bad year the quantity of rice harvested is not sufficient to provide an export surplus, and the poorer farmers, after paying their rice rents, have difficulty in living off the remainder of the crop, and cannot afford to make other purchases. The rice standard is therefore a check on trade and a factor causing the standard of living to remain low.

249 The Min Chia, who are in most respects a practical and hard headed people, were not unaware of these disadvantages, and sought to escape from them by producing an export crop which would not interfere with the cultivation of rice, and would yet command a good price in distant markets. Such a crop must have a high value for small bulk, for as it must be transported for at least two weeks on mule back to reach any market of importance (either Yunnanfu or Burma) no bulky inexpensive commodity would show a profit after the costs of transport were deducted. Such a crop they found in opium, which was introduced into Yunnan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Opium admirably fulfilled the conditions outlined above. It was planted on the rice lands as a winter crop, harvested in May before the rice seedlings are transplanted. Therefore it did not interfere with rice cultivation. It was light and fetched a very high price in the markets of Yunnanfu whence it was transported to other parts of China. It thus provided the Min Chia with, from their point of view, the perfect export crop, which brought outside money into the closed economy of Ta Li and

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

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441 The remainder of the inhabitants of Ta Li may be classi-
● 438 fied as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and
563 Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

441 A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which
563 on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral procession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these commodities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a government monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

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438 the manufacturing towns of Kiangsu. Since the fall of Shang-
443 hai these have had to be imported with some difficulty via Hong Kong and Canton, and more recently via French Indo-China. In consequence stocks were falling and prices rising
278 at the end of 1938. Medicine shops do not handle western
443 types of medicine. Their stocks include many kinds of herbs, and also highly valued medicaments of doubtful curative value such as deer and rhinoceros horn, powders made of fossil bones, and various minerals. This business is very lucrative and the owners of the medicine shops are among the richest merchants in the city. Much of their raw material is brought from the Tibetan marches and from the un-
438 administered forest tracks of northern Burma. Chinaware,
323 by which is meant porcelain, is imported from the famous potteries in Kiangsi. This ware is used by the wealthy; a local very much cheaper pottery from Yung Pei in northern Yunnan is sold at the fortnightly markets in great quantities.
443 The shops in the city thus provide a fairly wide range of
438 better class goods, but for food supplies and the articles of everyday use the population depends on the daily markets and the fortnightly fairs. Apart from the butchers there are no shops selling produce in the city. Vegetables, fish, rice, and grain are sold daily in the street markets which open about ten o'clock in the morning, when the peasants reach the city, and are usually over by four in the afternoon, when the country people set off for the villages before darkness can overtake them on the way.

The fortnightly "great markets" are held on the second and sixteenth of every lunar month on open spaces inside the north and south gates respectively. These fairs in fine weather attract very large numbers of people from the country and even from districts distant three days journey. During the morning all roads and paths leading towards the city are thronged with peasants and traders, women being

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quite as numerous as men. Some of the goods sold are 443
brought from districts fifty and more miles away, and, 438
especially in the winter months, some Tibetan horse dealers are sure to come down with ponies to sell. By mid-day the market is fully open. Booths are set up in long lines for the sale of silks, and other goods which would be damaged by the sun, temporary restaurants and tea houses do a thriving trade, while the air is rent with the shrill screaming of innumerable pigs, tugging and straining at the ropes which secure them by the hind legs. Elsewhere pottery, bamboo [286]
brooms, brass and copper ware from Li Chiang, fruit from the eastern shore of the lake, mats from Mi Tu, and a line of booths gay with the peasant embroideries made by the Min Chia women, attract a crowd of customers and idlers.

Bargaining is keen and shrewd. No one buys anything until every vendor has been visited, his wares priced, cheapened, and compared, and finally, after many return visits, when the price has been lowered by a nickel or two at most, the sale is made. Traders complain that now the crowds come more to see than to buy, and they regret the old days when opium was still grown. Some of the wares offered for sale are surprising. Carved doors and staircases for houses ready made and apparently of a standard size, are made in Hsi Chou north of Ta Li and offered for sale at these markets, to which they are brought fifteen miles on the backs of girls and men. There are the parrot sellers, whose "wares", small green parrots which are found wild in many parts of Yunnan, sit serenely, untied and tame, upon a large wooden frame of perches, carried on the vendor's shoulders. On the edge of the market, squatting on the ground, the Tibetan horse dealers, in their leather knee boots, with grimy bare chests, and long, matted, lousy hair, sit aloof and alien, watching their mounts, and the Mohammedan muleteers who come to look them over. Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia

443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia Towards
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0*s.* 0*d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

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443 and in this month it is sometimes possible to find curios—
438 usually of no value—which have been sold by some family in urgent need of funds. As a rule, however, the stock of the few merchants who sell curios, or secondhand objects of all descriptions, is as valueless as it is varied. Rusty swords, spearheads and daggers, are mixed up with bottles, tins, and cracked porcelain, cheap jade ornaments, silver bangles, an occasional broken bronze Buddha, and a quaint assortment of rubbish of European origin such as old table knives and forks, brass buttons of a Ghurka regiment, a battered English Grammar, or an old pair of opera glasses with the lenses missing. As an inspection of some European Curio shops "Chinese" wares shows equally well, the rubbish of one culture is a "curio" in another.

The fortnightly Ta Li market is thus essentially a means of exchanging local products, and not an occasion on which imported manufactured goods are sold in any quantity. On the other hand the two great annual fairs, the Third Month Fair held at Ta Li in the spring, and the Fish Pool Fair (Yu Tan Hui) held near Shang Kuan at the northern end of the plain, in the autumn, draw merchants from distant places to sell their wares, and afford the country people over a wide area an opportunity of buying the products of the coast and foreign countries. These two fairs, one in the brief slack season before the wheat is harvested and the rice planted, the other held just before the rice harvest, are timed to fit in with the programme of the farmers' year, so that the peasants can find leisure to travel some distance to attend them, when the weather is suitable. The Third Month usually corresponds fairly closely to the Solar April, before the monsoon breaks, and the Yu Tan Hui held in the Eighth Month, falls in the Solar month of September, when the rainy season is nearly over and the rains have in any case become sporadic and slighter.

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THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

The Third Month Fair, *Sa Wa Dser* in Min Chia or *San Yueh Kai* to the Chinese is held on the 16th of the Third Lunar Month this being the traditional birthday of the Boddhisatva Kuan Yin (Avolekitesvara) and the official name (never used) for the Fair is "Kuan Yin Shih" the "Kuan Yin Fair". The Fair usually lasts about five days, the date of termination depending on the volume of business. It is famous all over Yunnan, and seems to be very ancient, as it is said to have been instituted by King Pi Lo ko of Nan Chao in the eighth century. To-day one is constantly told that business is far less than in former times, and the abolition of opium cultivation is always given as the reason. It is interesting to observe, however, that the same remark was made to one of the first European travellers to visit Ta Li, Archibald Colquhoun, who passed through Ta Li in 1882. It is true that this was only a few years[1] after the end of the great Moslem rebellion which devastated Yunnan in the seventies. In Colquhoun's time opium cultivation was still universal. It is generally agreed that the attendance of the public is as great as ever, but that the customers come to look and not to buy.

The fair is held outside the west gate of Ta Li city on a piece of open ground on the first uncultivated slopes of the Ts'ang Shan mountain, which also serves the purpose of a burial ground for executed criminals. Here, among the crude graves of these unhonoured dead, a little town of tents and booths, arranged in orderly streets, springs up on the day before the fair opens. These are the shops of the merchants of perishable goods, cloth, silk, imported mixed goods, and indeed all the trades represented in the streets of Ta Li itself. In addition there are many Cantonese merchants who have come for the fair itself with manufactured goods

[1] Across Chryse, Archibald Colquhoun. Vol. 2. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. London. 1883.

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443 for sale, and there are the usual restaurant booths and tea
438 houses, always crowded, and serving excellent and tasty meals cooked on an improvised stove of stones and clay. At
278 least one half of the fair ground is occupied by the tents and
443 booths of the medicine merchants, for this fair is above all
438 famous as a market for drugs and herbs. The merchants, some of whom are from the marches of Tibet, bring enormous quantities of these goods to the Third Month Fair, which is attended by buyers representing the great medicine firms of the coastal cities and even of such distant places as Peking. The strange ingredients used in Chinese medicine, deer and rhinoceros horns, rare fungi from the forests of north Burma, the caterpillar plant (which, though really a seed pod, exactly resembles a caterpillar), tiger claws, and herbs which are probably possessed of more useful properties than these things, come very largely from the wild country of south west Yunnan and the great forests along the Yunnan Tibetan border ranges. Deer horns, believed to restore sexual potency, sell at the coast for as much as 5,000 National Currency dollars the pair (nearly £250 0*s.* 0*d.*) but they must be of a special kind, only found in the Burma-Yunnan borderland, and only those from the wild deer are valuable. The merchants state that the horn of the wild deer can be readily distinguished from horn of the same species reared in captivity.

443 These goods can of course be obtained for comparatively
438 low prices at the Ta Li fair, not far from their country of origin, and although the cost of transport to the coast is high, it is not difficult, comparing the cost and sale price, to understand why the Chinese medicine trade is one of the most profitable. The general merchandise imported for sale does not differ in character from that sold in the few mixed goods shops in Ta Li city, but the quality and range of the articles is superior. European or Shanghai piece goods, hats,

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hardware, and knitted woollen goods, especially for children, are most in demand, Some local specialities such as the hard wood carved furniture made near Teng Ch'uan north of Ta Li is also sold, but not in the quantity offered at the Yu Tan Hui in the autumn. 443 438

The horse market vies in importance with the drug and herb trade. Tibetan dealers come down to Ta Li in very large numbers for this fair, stopping on their way to the tea districts further south, for it is partly with the cash from the sale of their horses here that they buy the tea further south. With their wives and families they camp among the graves that cover the lower slopes near the fair ground, grazing their mules and ponies on the fresh spring grass. In order to show the merits of their horses a kind of "race meeting" is held on the third day of the fair, under the west wall of the city, where there is a stretch of flat ground, now further levelled to provide the "by pass" for the motor road which is planned to connect Ta Li with Li Chiang. The races are not competitive in the European manner, but consist of displays of horsemanship by one rider at a time. An official air is lent to the proceedings by the presence of the Magistrate of Ta Li and some of the officers of the garrison and other notables, who watch from a tent erected on a convenient mound. The horsemen, not all of whom are Tibetans, ride past the official tent at full gallop, and the points are awarded for the appearance of the horse, its paces, and the horsemanship of the rider. The winner is presented with a red silk flag inscribed with the official approbation, while the best of the other competitors get similar green flags. This flag is then pinned to the saddle of the horse, and the coveted distinction considerably enhances its value.

The general character of the Third Month Fair is thus not so much concerned with the wants of the farming population, the Min Chia themselves, as with purchase and sale of

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448 438 the products of the border regions of Yunnan, for which Ta Li, near the junction of the main east and west and north and south caravan routes, is a convenient site. Held at the city itself it is convenient for the purchasers who have come from distant places and must lodge in the town inns. Although a large number of the peasants from the plain attend the fair, perhaps half those present are strangers from the north or east, or town merchants who come to replenish their stocks. It is this large outside element which has made the Third Month Fair well known to Chinese from other provinces and from Yunnanfu (K'un Ming) whereas the still larger fair of the autumn, the Yu Tan Hui, has not this character and is comparatively unknown even to residents in eastern Yunnan.

The Yu Tan Hui, or Fish Pool Fair, is so called because it is held on a rocky hillside overlooking the northern end of the Erh Hai lake, close to a temple where there was once a large fish tank (now dry). The site is curious, and in many ways inconvenient. There is no town nearer than Teng Ch'uan, which is five miles away, or the decayed fortress of Shang Kuan, distant only a mile, but reduced to a small village within its crumbling walls. Although there are other villages within easy walking distance of the Fair Ground, none of these have more than one or two small and dilapidated inns apart from the ordinary farmhouses of the village. [487] On the other hand the site has good communications. The main north caravan road from Ta Li to Li Chiang and Tibet passes through the fair ground, and the branch road to Yung Pei, the pottery centre, crosses the Erh river estuary by a stone bridge at this point. Also the fair ground is on the shores of the lake, and the large junks can be moored in deep water against the rocky shore. If the customers were mainly merchants from distant places, as at the Third Month Fair, the inconvenience of the site would be considerable, but this fair is primarily for the country people, the Min Chia of

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443 the villages, and they either live within reach or are ready to
438 lodge in crowded farmhouses nearby.

The Fair is held on the 13th of the Eighth Month, a date corresponding in a normal year to 18th of September (1937) but if there is an intercalary month, the date falls later, as in 1938, when it was the 7th of October. In either case the rains are barely over, and in fact rain during the Fair is not uncommon. As the soil of the neighbourhood is red clay, the inconvenience caused by bad weather is considerable.

It is curious that this fair, where the accomodation is so limited, and the goods themselves only protected by flimsy tents of unwashed cotton cloth, should be held in a month where rain is certain and at a place so exposed. The only explanation is the fact that were it held later it would clash with the rice harvest, when the presence of the farmers would be impossible. The Yu Tan Hui is attended by immense crowds of people, nine tenths of whom are Min Chia farmers and their families, women being especially numerous. It continues for nine days on average, and is quite twice as large as the Third Month Fair. The streets of booths and tents cover a wide area on the hillside, nearly every shop in Ta Li, Teng Ch'uan, Chien Ch'uan, Hsia Kuan, and even further off places having its tent or stall. The customers are Min Chia farmers, but the vendors are the townsmen of the neighbouring cities, outside merchants being a minority.

The character of the fair and the goods sold are different from the Third Month Fair; here there are few medicine merchants, and fewer horses and Tibetan dealers, although in 1938, on the news that buyers from the Central Government Army were coming, large numbers of Tibetan mules were brought to the fair. Essentially however the Fair represents a reunion of all the merchants of the local cities at a site where their peasant customers can conveniently purchase city goods, and in exchange sell, not their farm pro-

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duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery, needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities. A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li, Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial: the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

[1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

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The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505] junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443 heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438 walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764 side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods, walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324 can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443 Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438 stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505 many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443 and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438 summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats, protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

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505 house, while on others merchants recline upon the heaped
443 up packages and boxes which hold their goods.

438 In spite of the crowds and animation of the fair ground, merchants, as usual, complain that in recent years their
443 business has not been good. The farmers, they say cannot
438 afford to buy since opium cultivation was stopped, and now since the war with Japan began, the price of imported goods is still higher. In 1938 the merchants said that whereas the people would buy old stock, i.e. that purchased before the war and still sold at pre-war prices, there was practically no sale for new stock, purchased since the value of the Chinese dollar in relation to outside currencies dropped. It is indeed fairly obvious that most of the people came to see and be seen rather than to make more than one or two small purchases. The fair must always have been for the villagers as much a social as a commercial occasion. It offers to the women, and particularly to the girls, one of the few opportunities of seeing scenes of busy life, crowds of people, and of wearing their best clothes in public. This is clearly an important aspect of the matter to them, for at no other time or place is it possible to see so many Min Chia girls wearing their full costume, moving freely unattended through the crowds, making their own purchases, watching their friends or rivals do the same, modestly aware that their looks and costumes are being appraised by masculine eyes as well.

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CHAPTER 10

ON THE ROAD

491 489 "GOOD for ten years, bad for ten thousand"—the old Chinese proverb aptly characterises the stone-paved caravan paths which are the only roads of Yunnan. To modern ideas there are no real roads in Yunnan at all, except the motor road to Burma built in the past two years. That, indeed, is the only road on which wheeled vehicles can pass. But, as the English word "road" implies, a road was once a track primarily for riding, not for vehicles. Goods passed on pack animals not in carts, and this ancient manner of travel is still the daily practice of Yunnan. Once it is recognised that travel means walking or riding at a foot's pace, and that roads are any track along which a pack pony can pick its way, then all journeys are long and slow, but no place is really inaccessible.

438 484 Consequently, the people of Yunnan, the Min Chia and their neighbours, do intercommunicate, although to the stranger the country appears to be almost impassable. It is really the indomitable Chinese trader who has opened up these difficult and precarious communications, for the indigenous population left to themselves would probably have remained isolated. The Chinese merchant and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese government, built the bridges without which the rivers, too deep to ford, and too swift to ferry, would have been impassable. They built them with the labour of the native population to serve the needs of the ruling race, as is commonly the case in all colonial development. Trade is still in the hands of the immigrant Chinese merchants, and though the personnel of the official class is drawn from all the civilised races of Yunnan its spirit and

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policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery. 438 484

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility 492 482

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492 between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent
482 different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers
492 who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus
439 the longest caravan route in constant use is the road con-
487 necting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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since the fall of the exchange made goods bought in Burma too dear for the Yunnan market. Another long regular route is the tea road from Pu Erh in south Yunnan, about twenty days' journey south of Ta Li, to A Tun Tze on the border of Tibet in north Yunnan, which is eighteen stages from Ta Li. At this point the tea is handed over to Tibetan caravans which take it on to Lhasa and other points in Tibet. This road passes through Hsia Kuan and Ta Li, and the section from Hsia Kuan to Wei Hsi, half-way to A Tun Tze, is usually worked by men from the Ta Li plain.

These routes are called roads, because that is the usual translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and where possible they have trodden out a new track on one side. This practice is resented by the owners of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant strong hedges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse on such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

Mewu

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The 462 463
only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser.
Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes.
They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from
Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making.
Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack
animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used 285
for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are
generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow
baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mush-
rooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They 331
have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences 476
between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire
tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many
animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic.
If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out.
There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never
sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they
get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of 651
the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese
police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth
month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but
each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals
and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas.
Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for
the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese [441] [463] [563]
chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are 436
purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands
there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver
dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller
units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is
the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2
tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among
the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled
by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: 439
sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 237

439 yak tails, skins of sheep, of lambs and unborn lambs, of dogs, foxes
237 and groundhogs, more rarely skins of goats, gazelles and wolves. After New Year, for which pigs were slaughtered, they also sell pig bristles. Finally, they sell musk, field mushrooms, the chüo-ma root (Potentilla anserina) and hsiao-hsiang, a plant used in making incense candles.

439 The Chinese sell to the Fantzu: dress goods (silk and cotton), leopard skins for the men's fur coats, ornaments, weapons, kitchen utensils, especially cooking pots, needles, thread, matches, bridles with snaffle and stirrup. Tsamba is purchased from the sedentary Fantzu, often also wood. Woodenware, especially saddles, eating bowls and spoons come chiefly from the sedentary Fantzu who live in southern Kansu and northern Szechuan.

201 Bargaining is carried on very cautiously. The Tibetans do not
439 come out with the price immediately, but /37/ according to a custom also widespread in China, the two parties shake hands under their long sleeves, and the price demanded of the buyer is indicated by stretching out the fingers. They keep a dead-pan expression, so that they will not betray toward one another their real feelings about the transaction. Often such a transaction in sign language is carried on not by the two partners alone; bystanders act as go-betweens or lend support to one of the two parties, but likewise only in sign language under their sleeves.

439 The Mohammedan and Chinese traders come to the tent camps of the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) But the Fantzu also often go to the

1. For details see Ekvall 4).

Chinese settlements next to the temples on the caravan road from Ho-chou to Labrang, or to the nearest Chinese cities. An important trading station for the Mewu-Fantzu is the Chinese-Mohammedan settlement next to the large monastery of He-tso; somewhat farther away and less important is the trading station near the monastery of Ka-chia-chiu-szu; a large trading center still farther away is the one near the large temple city of Labrang. The more sizeable Chinese cities visited by the Mewu-Fantzu are the district cities of T'ao-chou (the old part of the city), Ho-chou and Ning-hou. In T'ao-chou they buy chiefly metalware, for example, copper and brass kettles. Frequently the nomads bring wood with their yaks from the sedentary Fantzu of the lower areas to Ho-chou and Ning-hou, and buy goods with the money they have thus earned. The nomads

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

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But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

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441 438 563 The remainder of the inhabitants of Tà Li may be classified as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

441 563 A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

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of business. Thus some of the tailors may be Chinese, or of such mixed origin as to be very doubtfully Min Chia, and the distribution of trades among the Chinese is even less fixed. Though not rigidly defined like an Indian caste system there is still a marked separation between the kinds of business done by Chinese and Min Chia on the one hand, and different groups of Chinese on the other.

Shops in Ta Li City

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Barbers	11	Ssu Ch'uanese
Bedding	8	Yunnan Chinese
Books and stationery	5	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Brassmiths	7	Min Chia
Butchers	5	Min Chia
Cakes and confectionery	5	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Carpenters	5	Min Chia
Charcoal braziers	1	Min Chia
Coffins	13	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Crackers, incense and candles	7	Ssu Ch'uanese
Crockery	2	Yunnanese
Dentist	1	Cantonese
Drapers (cloth)	4	Min Chia
Embroidery	1	Min Chia
Furriers	4	Min Chia
Hatters	39	All groups
Ironmongers	6	Min Chia
Marbles	17	Ssu Ch'uanese and Min Chia
Medicine shops	55	Cantonese and Yunnanese

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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

Shop	Number	Ethnic Group
•441 563 Mixed imported goods	31	Cantonese and Yunnanese
Musical instruments	1	Ssu Ch'uanese
Paper images (for funerals)	4	Min Chia
Photographer	1	Cantonese
Picture sellers	5	Yunnanese
Printers	6	Yunnanese
Ready made clothes	11	Min Chia
Restaurants and Tea houses	64	Min Chia and Yunnanese Moslems
Saddlers	9	Min Chia
Second hand clothing	6	Min Chia
Shoe shops	73	All groups mostly Ssu Ch'uanese
Silk stores (mercers)	42	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Silversmiths	18	Min Chia
Tailors	42	Min Chia
Tinsmiths	7	Min Chia
Tobacco, straw sandals, etc.	101	Min Chia
Transport firms	3	Moslem Yunnanese
Trunk makers	6	Min Chia
Watchmakers	3	Yunnanese
Wine and salt shops	64	Min Chia
Writing brush makers	4	Yunnanese
	697	

441 The above list is as clearly defined as possible, but in fact many shops do two kinds of business, for example a marble

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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

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cession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small [291]
shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these com- [275]
modities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a govern- [263]
ment monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

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Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese [441] [463] [583] chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are 436 purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

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village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous 226
and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large [342]
boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population en- [361]
gages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no 443
shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

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443 held on fixed days at one or other of a few large villages. Equally, all produce is sold either daily on the streets of Ta Li, or at the large fortnightly fairs in the city and the smaller markets held every six days in one of these market villages. Commerce is thus not part of the activity of the village as such, and it will be convenient to describe the character and scope of Min Chia trade in a separate chapter.

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where the [illegible] schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though the apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

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The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families who are landowners in the country, while many of the richer merchants have invested their profits in land and become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These families with rural and urban connections can be classified broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

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565 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed
369 for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the
423 sons have been given education up to the middle school
443 grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 The second class of family with city and village homes is
369 composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for com-
423 fort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed,
647 are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

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438 the manufacturing towns of Kiangsu. Since the fall of Shang-
443 hai these have had to be imported with some difficulty via Hong Kong and Canton, and more recently via French Indo-China. In consequence stocks were falling and prices rising
278 at the end of 1938. Medicine shops do not handle western
443 types of medicine. Their stocks include many kinds of herbs, and also highly valued medicaments of doubtful curative value such as deer and rhinoceros horn, powders made of fossil bones, and various minerals. This business is very lucrative and the owners of the medicine shops are among the richest merchants in the city. Much of their raw material is brought from the Tibetan marches and from the un-
438 administered forest tracks of northern Burma. Chinaware,
323 by which is meant porcelain, is imported from the famous potteries in Kiangsi. This ware is used by the wealthy; a local very much cheaper pottery from Yung Pei in northern Yunnan is sold at the fortnightly markets in great quantities.

443 The shops in the city thus provide a fairly wide range of
438 better class goods, but for food supplies and the articles of everyday use the population depends on the daily markets and the fortnightly fairs. Apart from the butchers there are no shops selling produce in the city. Vegetables, fish, rice, and grain are sold daily in the street markets which open about ten o'clock in the morning, when the peasants reach the city, and are usually over by four in the afternoon, when the country people set off for the villages before darkness can overtake them on the way.

The fortnightly "great markets" are held on the second and sixteenth of every lunar month on open spaces inside the north and south gates respectively. These fairs in fine weather attract very large numbers of people from the country and even from districts distant three days journey. During the morning all roads and paths leading towards the city are thronged with peasants and traders, women being

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quite as numerous as men. Some of the goods sold are 443
brought from districts fifty and more miles away, and, 438
especially in the winter months, some Tibetan horse dealers are sure to come down with ponies to sell. By mid-day the market is fully open. Booths are set up in long lines for the sale of silks, and other goods which would be damaged by the sun, temporary restaurants and tea houses do a thriving trade, while the air is rent with the shrill screaming of innumerable pigs, tugging and straining at the ropes which secure them by the hind legs. Elsewhere pottery, bamboo [286]
brooms, brass and copper ware from Li Chiang, fruit from the eastern shore of the lake, mats from Mi Tu, and a line of booths gay with the peasant embroideries made by the Min Chia women, attract a crowd of customers and idlers.

Bargaining is keen and shrewd. No one buys anything until every vendor has been visited, his wares priced, cheapened, and compared, and finally, after many return visits, when the price has been lowered by a nickel or two at most, the sale is made. Traders complain that now the crowds come more to see than to buy, and they regret the old days when opium was still grown. Some of the wares offered for sale are surprising. Carved doors and staircases for houses ready made and apparently of a standard size, are made in Hsi Chou north of Ta Li and offered for sale at these markets, to which they are brought fifteen miles on the backs of girls and men. There are the parrot sellers, whose "wares", small green parrots which are found wild in many parts of Yunnan, sit serenely, untied and tame, upon a large wooden frame of perches, carried on the vendor's shoulders. On the edge of the market, squatting on the ground, the Tibetan horse dealers, in their leather knee boots, with grimy bare chests, and long, matted, lousy hair, sit aloof and alien, watching their mounts, and the Mohammedan muleteers who come to look them over. Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia

 Towards

443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 0*s.* 0*d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

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443 438 and in this month it is sometimes possible to find curios—usually of no value—which have been sold by some family in urgent need of funds. As a rule, however, the stock of the few merchants who sell curios, or secondhand objects of all descriptions, is as valueless as it is varied. Rusty swords, spearheads and daggers, are mixed up with bottles, tins, and cracked porcelain, cheap jade ornaments, silver bangles, an occasional broken bronze Buddha, and a quaint assortment of rubbish of European origin such as old table knives and forks, brass buttons of a Ghurka regiment, a battered English Grammar, or an old pair of opera glasses with the lenses missing. As an inspection of some European Curio shops "Chinese" wares shows equally well, the rubbish of one culture is a "curio" in another.

The fortnightly Ta Li market is thus essentially a means of exchanging local products, and not an occasion on which imported manufactured goods are sold in any quantity. On the other hand the two great annual fairs, the Third Month Fair held at Ta Li in the spring, and the Fish Pool Fair (Yu Tan Hui) held near Shang Kuan at the northern end of the plain, in the autumn, draw merchants from distant places to sell their wares, and afford the country people over a wide area an opportunity of buying the products of the coast and foreign countries. These two fairs, one in the brief slack season before the wheat is harvested and the rice planted, the other held just before the rice harvest, are timed to fit in with the programme of the farmers' year, so that the peasants can find leisure to travel some distance to attend them, when the weather is suitable. The Third Month usually corresponds fairly closely to the Solar April, before the monsoon breaks, and the Yu Tan Hui held in the Eighth Month, falls in the Solar month of September, when the rainy season is nearly over and the rains have in any case become sporadic and slighter.

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The Third Month Fair, *Sa Wa Dser* in Min Chia or *San Yueh Kai* to the Chinese is held on the 16th of the Third Lunar Month this being the traditional birthday of the Boddhisatva Kuan Yin (Avolekitesvara) and the official name (never used) for the Fair is "Kuan Yin Shih" the "Kuan Yin Fair". The Fair usually lasts about five days, the date of termination depending on the volume of business. It is famous all over Yunnan, and seems to be very ancient, as it is said to have been instituted by King Pi Lo ko of Nan Chao in the eighth century. To-day one is constantly told that business is far less than in former times, and the abolition of opium cultivation is always given as the reason. It is interesting to observe, however, that the same remark was made to one of the first European travellers to visit Ta Li, Archibald Colquhoun, who passed through Ta Li in 1882. It is true that this was only a few years[1] after the end of the great Moslem rebellion which devastated Yunnan in the seventies. In Colquhoun's time opium cultivation was still universal. It is generally agreed that the attendance of the public is as great as ever, but that the customers come to look and not to buy.

The fair is held outside the west gate of Ta Li city on a piece of open ground on the first uncultivated slopes of the Ts'ang Shan mountain, which also serves the purpose of a burial ground for executed criminals. Here, among the crude graves of these unhonoured dead, a little town of tents and booths, arranged in orderly streets, springs up on the day before the fair opens. These are the shops of the merchants of perishable goods, cloth, silk, imported mixed goods, and indeed all the trades represented in the streets of Ta Li itself. In addition there are many Cantonese merchants who have come for the fair itself with manufactured goods

[1] Across Chryse, Archibald Colquhoun. Vol. 2. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. London. 1883.

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443 for sale, and there are the usual restaurant booths and tea
438 houses, always crowded, and serving excellent and tasty meals cooked on an improvised stove of stones and clay. At
278 least one half of the fair ground is occupied by the tents and
443 booths of the medicine merchants, for this fair is above all
438 famous as a market for drugs and herbs. The merchants, some of whom are from the marches of Tibet, bring enormous quantities of these goods to the Third Month Fair, which is attended by buyers representing the great medicine firms of the coastal cities and even of such distant places as Peking. The strange ingredients used in Chinese medicine, deer and rhinoceros horns, rare fungi from the forests of north Burma, the caterpillar plant (which, though really a seed pod, exactly resembles a caterpillar), tiger claws, and herbs which are probably possessed of more useful properties than these things, come very largely from the wild country of south west Yunnan and the great forests along the Yunnan Tibetan border ranges. Deer horns, believed to restore sexual potency, sell at the coast for as much as 5,000 National Currency dollars the pair (nearly £250 0*s.* 0*d.*) but they must be of a special kind, only found in the Burma-Yunnan borderland, and only those from the wild deer are valuable. The merchants state that the horn of the wild deer can be readily distinguished from horn of the same species reared in captivity.

443 These goods can of course be obtained for comparatively
438 low prices at the Ta Li fair, not far from their country of origin, and although the cost of transport to the coast is high, it is not difficult, comparing the cost and sale price, to understand why the Chinese medicine trade is one of the most profitable. The general merchandise imported for sale does not differ in character from that sold in the few mixed goods shops in Ta Li city, but the quality and range of the articles is superior. European or Shanghai piece goods, hats,

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hardware, and knitted woollen goods, especially for children, are most in demand, Some local specialities such as the hard wood carved furniture made near Teng Ch'uan north of Ta Li is also sold, but not in the quantity offered at the Yu Tan Hui in the autumn. 443 438

The horse market vies in importance with the drug and herb trade. Tibetan dealers come down to Ta Li in very large numbers for this fair, stopping on their way to the tea districts further south, for it is partly with the cash from the sale of their horses here that they buy the tea further south. With their wives and families they camp among the graves that cover the lower slopes near the fair ground, grazing their mules and ponies on the fresh spring grass. In order to show the merits of their horses a kind of "race meeting" is held on the third day of the fair, under the west wall of the city, where there is a stretch of flat ground, now further levelled to provide the "by pass" for the motor road which is planned to connect Ta Li with Li Chiang. The races are not competitive in the European manner, but consist of displays of horsemanship by one rider at a time. An official air is lent to the proceedings by the presence of the Magistrate of Ta Li and some of the officers of the garrison and other notables, who watch from a tent erected on a convenient mound. The horsemen, not all of whom are Tibetans, ride past the official tent at full gallop, and the points are awarded for the appearance of the horse, its paces, and the horsemanship of the rider. The winner is presented with a red silk flag inscribed with the official approbation, while the best of the other competitors get similar green flags. This flag is then pinned to the saddle of the horse, and the coveted distinction considerably enhances its value.

The general character of the Third Month Fair is thus not so much concerned with the wants of the farming population, the Min Chia themselves, as with purchase and sale of

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Yu T'an Hui (Fishpool) Fair.

Western Min Chia girl wearing her regional head-dress.

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[Face p. 64]

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448 438 the products of the border regions of Yunnan, for which Ta Li, near the junction of the main east and west and north and south caravan routes, is a convenient site. Held at the city itself it is convenient for the purchasers who have come from distant places and must lodge in the town inns. Although a large number of the peasants from the plain attend the fair, perhaps half those present are strangers from the north or east, or town merchants who come to replenish their stocks. It is this large outside element which has made the Third Month Fair well known to Chinese from other provinces and from Yunnanfu (K'un Ming) whereas the still larger fair of the autumn, the Yu Tan Hui, has not this character and is comparatively unknown even to residents in eastern Yunnan.

The Yu Tan Hui, or Fish Pool Fair, is so called because it is held on a rocky hillside overlooking the northern end of the Erh Hai lake, close to a temple where there was once a large fish tank (now dry). The site is curious, and in many ways inconvenient. There is no town nearer than Teng Ch'uan, which is five miles away, or the decayed fortress of Shang Kuan, distant only a mile, but reduced to a small village within its crumbling walls. Although there are other villages within easy walking distance of the Fair Ground, none of these have more than one or two small and dilapidated inns apart from the ordinary farmhouses of the village. [487] On the other hand the site has good communications. The main north caravan road from Ta Li to Li Chiang and Tibet passes through the fair ground, and the branch road to Yung Pei, the pottery centre, crosses the Erh river estuary by a stone bridge at this point. Also the fair ground is on the shores of the lake, and the large junks can be moored in deep water against the rocky shore. If the customers were mainly merchants from distant places, as at the Third Month Fair, the inconvenience of the site would be considerable, but this fair is primarily for the country people, the Min Chia of

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443 the villages, and they either live within reach or are ready to
438 lodge in crowded farmhouses nearby.

The Fair is held on the 13th of the Eighth Month, a date corresponding in a normal year to 18th of September (1937) but if there is an intercalary month, the date falls later, as in 1938, when it was the 7th of October. In either case the rains are barely over, and in fact rain during the Fair is not uncommon. As the soil of the neighbourhood is red clay, the inconvenience caused by bad weather is considerable.

It is curious that this fair, where the accomodation is so limited, and the goods themselves only protected by flimsy tents of unwashed cotton cloth, should be held in a month where rain is certain and at a place so exposed. The only explanation is the fact that were it held later it would clash with the rice harvest, when the presence of the farmers would be impossible. The Yu Tan Hui is attended by immense crowds of people, nine tenths of whom are Min Chia farmers and their families, women being especially numerous. It continues for nine days on average, and is quite twice as large as the Third Month Fair. The streets of booths and tents cover a wide area on the hillside, nearly every shop in Ta Li, Teng Ch'uan, Chien Ch'uan, Hsia Kuan, and even further off places having its tent or stall. The customers are Min Chia farmers, but the vendors are the townsmen of the neighbouring cities, outside merchants being a minority.

The character of the fair and the goods sold are different from the Third Month Fair; here there are few medicine merchants, and fewer horses and Tibetan dealers, although in 1938, on the news that buyers from the Central Government Army were coming, large numbers of Tibetan mules were brought to the fair. Essentially however the Fair represents a reunion of all the merchants of the local cities at a site where their peasant customers can conveniently purchase city goods, and in exchange sell, not their farm pro-

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443 duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery,
438 needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone, leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities.
[326] A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li,
[292] Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded
[301] headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia girls wear across the left shoulder.

291 Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min
443 Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull
438 caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular attraction. But almost every shop has something intended for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the
322 shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The
443 carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is
438 here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial: the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as far as K'un Ming.

313 [1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

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505 house, while on others merchants recline upon the heaped
443 up packages and boxes which hold their goods.
438 In spite of the crowds and animation of the fair ground, merchants, as usual, complain that in recent years their
443 business has not been good. The farmers, they say cannot
438 afford to buy since opium cultivation was stopped, and now since the war with Japan began, the price of imported goods is still higher. In 1938 the merchants said that whereas the people would buy old stock, i.e. that purchased before the war and still sold at pre-war prices, there was practically no sale for new stock, purchased since the value of the Chinese dollar in relation to outside currencies dropped. It is indeed fairly obvious that most of the people came to see and be seen rather than to make more than one or two small purchases. The fair must always have been for the villagers as much a social as a commercial occasion. It offers to the women, and particularly to the girls, one of the few opportunities of seeing scenes of busy life, crowds of people, and of wearing their best clothes in public. This is clearly an important aspect of the matter to them, for at no other time or place is it possible to see so many Min Chia girls wearing their full costume, moving freely unattended through the crowds, making their own purchases, watching their friends or rivals do the same, modestly aware that their looks and costumes are being appraised by masculine eyes as well.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the borrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231/7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

123 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
2-, however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf. Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

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country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the chief pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

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and in this way the peasants become more and more indebted to the richer landowners, who are also the moneylenders. The standard rate of interest on cash loans is three per cent per month, or any period less than a month. 36% per annum is to European standards a very high rate of interest, and this is by no means the highest rate prevailing in Ta Li. Pawnshops, which act as banks, charge 4% per month or 48% per annum. In practice of course, the peasant who wishes to borrow money cannot hope to pay at this rate of interest and is obliged to mortgage his land, which is the only asset which could be realised by his creditor. Mortgage rates are a little lower than those charged on cash loans or by the pawn shops, because the security is better. 2½ *tou* of rice is the interest demanded for an advance of 100 dollars nickel secured on land. The value of this quantity of rice in 1938 was 17.50 dollars nickel, so the rate of interest was not more than 17½% per annum on mortgages. Even this rate is of course very high and a farmer who had been compelled to mortgage half or more than half of this land would have great difficulty in making ends meet.

Since the abolition of opium cultivation the problem of debt has therefore greatly increased in the Ta Li region, and this in turn depresses purchasing power and adds to the economic depression. Land banks, which in other parts of China had been set up by the Central Government to assist the peasants and provide an alternative to the moneylender at cheaper rates, have not yet been established in Yunnan. In fact there are not as yet any banks at all in the rural districts of this province, even in the cities. In a purely agricultural countryside, without industries of any importance, and with only a restricted commerce, no bank which had not government support and backing can be established, or if established, charge rates of interest lower than those offered by the moneylending richer families.

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249 185 276 It speaks well for the influence of the Central Government in a remote area, and for the authority of the Provincial Government of Yunnan and its officers, that this campaign of opium suppression has been carried out with perfect success and without occasioning revolts, lawlessness or open resistance, although it has vitally affected the entire population of Yunnan, very much to their immediate detriment.

249 185 276 458 No one will seriously question the right and duty of the government to suppress the cultivation of opium as the only sure way of eventually suppressing the consumption of the drug and freeing the Chinese people from an undoubted evil. No one, either, who has lived in western China will doubt their courage in undertaking a task both difficult and highly unpopular. That the nation will ultimately derive great benefit from the ending of the opium habit is incontestable; but that the immediate effects in western Yunnan have been most serious is also unquestionable. In the absence of any alternative export crop to replace opium, and the absence of communications making any more bulky export commercially profitable, the result of suppression has been a profound economic depression in the areas affected. Land values fell by one third in 1936, and in that and subsequent years business at the great fairs in and near Ta Li, when the Min Chia make their annual purchases of goods produced abroad or on the coast, fell to a fraction of that done in former years.

248 185 Against this must be set the efforts of the government to provide a new export crop and develop communications. It is probable that had not the war with Japan absorbed the energies and the money of the government in the national struggle these efforts would have been more effective than they have been. An attempt has been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton. This has made some small progress in other districts, but the climate and soil of Ta Li are not suitable, and cotton growing could not be attempted there.

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883 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
[633 of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually
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482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says "Slippery place", and the one behind replies "Mend your pace" (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

Porters and litter bearers are always Ssu Ch'uanese, and usually ragged wretches drawn from the poorest class who have taken to the roads to earn a hard living. Most of them are opium smokers, but though this probably shortens their lives, they do not seem to be any the worse for it when on the road. They spend their entire lives travelling to and fro over these mountain roads, and though unable to read and quite unfamiliar with maps, many porters know every road in south-west China, and can repeat the names of the stage points from Bhamo to Ch'ung King, more than a thousand [733 miles. They never seem to save enough money to retire, 461] for their wages go on opium to ease the pain in their aching shoulders after twenty miles of rough road. The muleteers, who are men of substance, owning their animals and often some land as well, despise these human beasts of burden, who are also strangers from another province.

484 Neither muleteers, porters, or travellers have any real 491 protection against bad weather. In the winter months, when most travelling is done, rain is rare and light, but on the high ground it turns to sleet or snow, and conditions can be very bad in such weather. The mud road becomes a slippery slide on which neither man nor beast can keep a sure footing, and the broken stone paving is, if anything, worse

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511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 5[illegible]r 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s.* 0*d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

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the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplant- 462
ing of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147]
women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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tices are given a real feast with as much pork, chicken, delicacies and wine as they can stuff away. 883 874

The peasant boy begins to work as a herd before he is strong enough to do field work. Oxen, water buffalo, and sheep are usually left in charge of small boys of eight or nine years, who spend the day with their charges on the slopes of the mountain, or by the shore of the lake among the willow groves, playing the flute, or astride the broad back of the good-tempered water buffalo, wallowing in the shallows of the lake. The animals are allowed to graze on the narrow dykes between the rice fields, but under the watchful eyes of their young herdsmen the well-trained beasts never dare to wander into the tempting unfenced crops on either side. The complete control which a small boy exercises over a huge water buffalo in these circumstances, though it does not seem strange to the Min Chia, astonishes visitors who know the ways of domestic animals in other lands. The lazy, sunny days on the back of a water buffalo must seem in retrospect a golden age to the young Min Chia when he has grown old enough to do the hard unceasing work on the land, wading through thick mud when ploughing, or hoeing the roots out of the heavy black soil of the drained fields. 883 462

The peasant girl begins to work at the same age, or earlier than her brother. Apart from helping the older women at the domestic tasks, the young girls carry loads of produce to the market, and at an early age, thirteen or fourteen, they are left in charge to sell this and bring the proceeds home at night. This free and independent life spent all day in the busy scenes of a town street, or a village market place away from the supervision of parents gives the Min Chia girl a self confidence and assurance rarely found in the women of eastern countries, and is at once a proof of, and a tribute to, the good sense of the Min Chia mothers and the good

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883 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
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Ch'iang

4. Occupations.

463 [423] [462] All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses, and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

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mewu

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 352
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two 342
meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

● 462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make
[294] their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

Mewu

The women of the tent nomads do not go out to work like the 462 wives of the sedentary Fantzu. Year in and year out their whole time is taken up by caring for the animals.

The children are put to work early tending the animals. The 857 girls must, in addition, also gather dung, but the boys do not help in this occupation. The girls start to milk when they are 12 or 13 years old.

Animal Husbandry

The Mewu-Fantzu live exclusively from the products of their 231 livestock. They keep yaks, cattle, sheep and horses, also dogs, of course. The most important animal is the yak. The yaks of the Mewu region are generally pure black, occasionally /24/ spotted with white. There are yaks with and without horns. Lack of horns seems to be a recessive hereditary characteristic. There are wealthy families who own more than 100 yaks; but the average number is much less. The 20 tents in the community where I lived together owned 700 yaks, which means an average of 35 per family. The highest number of yaks per family in this community was 70, the lowest 7. It can also happen that poor people do not own any yaks at all, but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows.

Not all families have bulls, but the owner of a bull does not get paid for covering. A cow drops her first calf when she is 2 to 3 years old. The gestation period of the yak is 9 months. Most calves are born in the third or fourth month. In the seventh or eighth month the cows are again covered. Good cows are allowed to grow very old; they are alsughtered only when they are 17 or 18 years old. The calf is gradually weaned, but the amount of milk it gets is reduced very soon after birth. When it is one or two months old the calf gets a nose plug, to prevent it from sucking. The adult yak gets a nose ring made of a bent length of a sturdy withe. Calves and young bulls are often driven to pasture in pairs with their fore-legs tied together, so that they cannot stray too far away.

The oxen are used as pack animals when they are three years old. At the age of 15 or 16 they are fattened and killed. The yaks graze all the year round; only when there is deep snow, which may happen every year in January and February, do they get some green cut oats. The yaks are never given any salt, and therefore always show a definite hunger for it. Milking is done exclusively by the 234 women and girls. The yak cow will let itself be milked only when her calf is tethered near by. A very good milch cow gives a bucket

made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags. Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only carefully clarified lard is burned in them.

We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. 462 463 Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu. 225

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials. 231 476

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries (36) but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given. 651

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese, chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials. [441] [463] [563] 436

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 439 237

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 852
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 593
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can-
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed- 586
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 428
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-MU = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

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Ch'iang

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mewu

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags. Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only carefully clarified lard is burned in them.

We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

Mewu

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas. 462 463

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu. 225

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials. 231 476

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, 36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given. 651

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese, chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials. [441] [463] [563] 436

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 439 237

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434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 *os.* *od.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* *od.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 *os.* *od.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 *os.* *od.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 *os.* *od.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

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provide the labourers with three meals of rice. Labour is 243 engaged mainly in the planting and harvest seasons, and even 465 large farms do not have hired hands permanently on the pay roll. A farm of forty *mu*, or about seven acres, which is large in the Ta Li region, would pay out not more than fifty dollars nickel in the year or about 12*s*. To which must be added the rice for the labourers' meals.

Taxation in Yunnan is light. The land tax and a tax on 651 slaughtering animals are the only direct taxes paid by the people. The newly introduced income tax, first collected in 1938, only applies to the salaries of government officials and teachers, who can ill afford to pay it, and to merchants whose income exceeds 10,000 National Dollars per annum. There are none in this category at Ta Li. The land tax is levied only on cultivated land, and was formerly graded into three categories, applied to the best, medium, and poor land. In 1938 this was changed to a flat rate applied to all cultivated land without distinction. Collected in two equal instalments twice annually, the old tax was as follows:

Grade	*Tax per mu*	*Sterling equivalent*
Best land	4.00 dollars nickel	One shilling (6.0*s*. an acre)
Medium land	3.00 ,, ,,	ninepence (4*s*. 6*d*. an acre)
Poor land	2.00 ,, ,,	sixpence (3*s*. 0*d*. an acre)

The new system requires a flat rate of 2.40 dollars nickel from all land. This is also collected in two equal instalments at the end and in the middle of the year.

This new rate is about equivalent to sevenpence halfpenny per *mu*, which being very much lower than the old rate of a shilling on the best land, and not a very great increase over the old rate of sixpence on the worst, would

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domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the 517
family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the
ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even [465]
the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women 357
of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried 567
girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and
wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited.
Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there
is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one
servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is
always a "*ya t'ou*," that is to say a slave girl. This system,
which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is
hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the
Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un
Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave
girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed 732
individuals, who, coming from the poor families where 357
goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too 567
deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it
must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride,
and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls
are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families
as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some
small remuneration, and if possible, to find them a husband
when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li
plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than
in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the
richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min
Chia women are more independent in character than the
other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the
whole much better treated than, for example, they are in
K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants
are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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231 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common
476 variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable
342 harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not
222 enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high
224 mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窝, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窝, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

236 The sheep are sheared once a year in May or June. Neighbors
[476] help each other in this task without charge. It takes an average of two days to shear the herd of one family. A wether gives 1 chin of wool annually, a ewe, 1/2 chin. A chin of fleece costs 20 to 50 cents. At the time of my visit the demand for wool was so great
237 that the highest price was paid. A sheepskin costs $0.60 to $1.
435 However, skins of unborn lambs cost $2 to $4. A sheep gut is sold for $0.20 to $0.30; in He-tso, the nearest large town, the price goes
262 up to $0.40 when it is resold. More mutton than yak meat is eaten. Lambs are eaten only if they have died of some disease. The Fantzu do not drink sheep milk, but they use it for butter if they do not have enough yak milk.

231 /28/ The sheep often suffer from paralysis of both forelegs, and many die of this disease. Most of the animals die of starvation in February or March, especially if there has been much snow during
[476] the winter. If a family loses all its animals, everybody helps out by giving them others. The tent nomads do not often keep goats, but the sedentary Fantzu often do, and they also drink goat's milk.

Every family has at least one horse. The Mewu-Fantzu have a small breed of horses that measures about 130 centimeters at the withers. These Tibetan ponies are somewhat smaller and lighter than the Mongolian ponies or those from the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. They are closer to the tarpan (Equus gmelini) than the Przewalski type (1). These horses have a great deal of endurance

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 164 ff.

and are especially adapted for use in mountainous terrain. They
232 have hard hoofs which are not shoed in the steppes. Good stallions
135 are selected for breeding, the rest are castrated at four years. These horses live an average of 10 years; the men break them in at 3 years. The average price of a riding horse is $40 to $50; the highest price is $100. No horses are imported, but horse traders come from T'ao-chou and He-tso, and the Mewu-Fantzu sell them horses. Mules are not used by the tent nomads; asses cannot stand the high altitude.

492 The simple horse bridles of leather with brass mountings are made and sold by the Chinese, likewise the iron snaffles and the stirrups which can be of iron or brass. The Mewu-Fantzu use Hungarian saddles /bocksattel/ the wooden frames of which are made by the sedentary Tebu-Fantzu on the northern slopes of the

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Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used 225
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443 mid-day a long line of Min Chia Towards
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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883 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
[533 of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually
461] done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged
583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

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policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery.

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility

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492 between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent
482 different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers
492 who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus
439 the longest caravan route in constant use is the road con-
487 necting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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492 cook their own supper. Hay and fresh-cut grass can be
485 bought in these towns on the street, or from girls who come round to the inns to sell it for about one nickel a load, or about one and one-third farthings for all a girl can carry on her back. When the men have cooked and eaten their supper, about seven o'clock or a little later, they go to sleep until they awake for their midnight meal, for there is nothing to do in a Chinese village after dark, and darkness falls about seven or eight at latest in these southern latitudes. The object of this curious routine, which seems to waste the best hours of the day in a prolonged halt, is to feed the animals free on the mountain grass, instead of having to buy more hay and fodder for them. Therefore, the early start obviates the need of buying fodder from the inn in the morning as well as the evening. No muleteer could ever give a really satisfactory explanation for the habit of rising in the early hours, eating a meal, and then going to sleep again. It is a habit which perhaps explains why other travellers do not like to sleep, or rather try to sleep, in horse inns.

Travellers not attached to a caravan do not have to follow this routine, though if they are riding mules, the men insist on a long midday halt to feed the animals free on mountain grass. The usual starting hour for travellers is eight in the morning, after taking an early meal. As this has to be cooked it means that all travellers rise at dawn, but those who travel with porters can start a little later.
482 Porters and litter carriers go faster than pack animals on
492 the flat, but have to make frequent short halts, and their pace on the steep ascents is, if anything, slower than the mules. Consequently, they do not do a longer stage than the caravans, and by the end of the day have not done the whole stage any faster. For this reason, and because it is more expensive to hire porters than to take mules,

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482 most travellers ride. The hire of a mule per day is on
492 the average one dollar fifty cents silver, but the price depends on the nature of the journey. If going towards K'un Ming or some other important centre, the price is lower, for there is more competition and the muleteers can be certain of taking a load of goods back on the return journey. If the journey is outward to the north of Yunnan or to some small place, the price is higher, as the muleteer may have to bring his beasts back unladen.

482 Women and those who are sick, or who do not care to
493 ride, can travel by litter, or *h'ua kan*, meaning literally a "flowery pole," the West China substitute for the sedan chair. In this mountainous country a sedan chair is too heavy and awkward for ordinary use, and only the highest officials use them, more as mark of "face" than for convenience. The *h'ua kan* is a light simple construction of two bamboo poles joined at the ends by two cross pieces, which rest on the shoulders of the porters. The seat is contrived of a mesh of cords covered with the traveller's bedding, with a loop as a foot rest. A light hood of oil cloth is sometimes fixed over the traveller's head on curved bamboo lathes. The average Yunnanese, especially women, are light enough to be carried in this way by two men, but heavier individuals have to have three porters, the third man relieving the others in turn. Porters are paid a dollar silver a day, and as other men have to be hired to carry the baggage, this method of travelling is more expensive.

482 *H'ua Kan* carriers travel at a rapid pace, rather faster than a quick walk, and keep this up on the flat for about three miles. They then rest for perhaps a quarter of an hour, if possible, at a wayside teahouse, or if there is none, at some place where there is a shady tree. On the ascents they slow down to a steady deliberate pace which they can keep up for long distances, with short halts every hour or

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482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says "Slippery place", and the one behind replies "Mend your pace" (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 7. — MIN-CHIA PEASANTS

民 家 農 夫

The Min-chia tribespeople are said to be the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom. They are now scattered all over Yün-nan, but their main stronghold is still Ta-li and the region of Yün-lung 雲龍. They carry their loads by means of a peculiar yoke which rests on their shoulders, a strap passes over the forehead. When stopping to rest they use a stick to prop the wooden yoke, and the left hand rests in the head strap. Chu-ko Liang (A.D. 181–234) is said to have invented these yokes during his conquest of Yün-nan when he employed the Min-chia as carriers.

[p. 28 G]

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PLATE 8. — MIN-CHIA WOMEN
民 家 婦

The Min-chia women are the main burden bearers. The load is carried on a wooden yoke, secured by a head strap.
Firewood for the market of Chien-ch'uan, north of Ta-li.

[p. 28 H]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate. 20 487 482 [203]

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes. 491

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow and Yin Shiu Wan 映秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries. 502

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills. 436

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

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4. Occupations.

463 All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers
[423] have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses, and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the
[462] members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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INVITATION TO THE FEAST

It is, perhaps, natural that in a country where the only means of communication are walking or riding at a foot's pace, and where in consequence everyone in the ordinary course of their business has to walk long distances, walking for exercise is not considered to be rational behaviour. For this reason excursions which have no definite aim in view are never made. Travel is looked upon, quite naturally in view of the conditions, as a hardship which should be avoided if possible, and only undertaken for urgent reasons of business. The Min Chia peasant who has his farm to work probably never goes more than a few miles from his native village in a lifetime. He would never go up the mountain unless it was to cut wood or fodder, and his visits to the city or places further off are only to attend the fortnightly fair or the country markets. Women travel even less. A few annual pilgrimages to the big festivals at temples, or short journeys to town for market days are all they are ever likely to do, and even the women of the wealthy class rarely if ever go to distant places. Their recreations are thus even more limited than those of the men, for they do not enjoy the same opportunities of feasting in a neighbour's house, except on great occasions such as a wedding. Yet wealthy though they may be they are not idle, for if a woman has few recreations she has many occupations. The care of numerous children, housework and cooking, take up most of the day, and in her spare time she has needlework and embroidery to pass the time. Few women read, for though they are taught sufficient characters in school to write letters or keep accounts, they have no time for reading as a pleasure. The peasant women, of course, for the most part still remain illiterate.

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CHAPTER 10

ON THE ROAD

491 489 "GOOD for ten years, bad for ten thousand"—the old Chinese proverb aptly characterises the stone-paved caravan paths which are the only roads of Yunnan. To modern ideas there are no real roads in Yunnan at all, except the motor road to Burma built in the past two years. That, indeed, is the only road on which wheeled vehicles can pass. But, as the English word "road" implies, a road was once a track primarily for riding, not for vehicles. Goods passed on pack animals not in carts, and this ancient manner of travel is still the daily practice of Yunnan. Once it is recognised that travel means walking or riding at a foot's pace, and that roads are any track along which a pack pony can pick its way, then all journeys are long and slow, but no place is really inaccessible.

438 484 Consequently, the people of Yunnan, the Min Chia and their neighbours, do intercommunicate, although to the stranger the country appears to be almost impassable. It is really the indomitable Chinese trader who has opened up these difficult and precarious communications, for the indigenous population left to themselves would probably have remained isolated. The Chinese merchant and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese government, built the bridges without which the rivers, too deep to ford, and too swift to ferry, would have been impassable. They built them with the labour of the native population to serve the needs of the ruling race, as is commonly the case in all colonial development. Trade is still in the hands of the immigrant Chinese merchants, and though the personnel of the official class is drawn from all the civilised races of Yunnan its spirit and

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policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery.

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu-Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility

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Regular transport muleteers are necessarily hard tough
492 men inured to all weathers, and independent in character. They live a life on the roads, doing a thirteen-days' stage and then back again month after month, with usually only one day's rest at the terminal points. It is sometimes customary for travellers to rest one day in seven or eight, but the regular transport caravans always make their full thirteen or fourteen days' stage without halts. Caravans number up to forty or fifty mules with one man to every three animals, the leading mules being particularly fine strong animals carrying a bell and a plumed headdress of woollen pompoms by which they can be heard and seen at a distance. These animals know every inch of the road and find their own way, the muleteers often walking well behind the caravan, for as long as the mules can hear the leader's bell they will follow without being urged. Some of the muleteers carry arms, either a pistol, an old rifle, or swords, and even in those parts of the country where "small bandits", that is to say individual footpads, still exist, such caravans are never molested, since the muleteers are both more courageous and better armed than the robbers.

492 The routine of travel followed by the caravan men is
484 curious, and to the ordinary traveller not very convenient. The men get up in the middle of the night, about two in the morning, and cook themselves a large meal of rice and vegetables, and then, when that is eaten, go to sleep again for another three hours. At six they rise, saddle the mules and start out at once without taking anything to eat. After about four hours on the road, round ten o'clock, they halt at some place where there is plenty of grass, a stream of water, and some shade trees—and in Yunnan such places are

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easy to find. The mules are then unsaddled and turned loose 492
to graze, a fire is lit and rice and vegetables cooked for the 484
midday meal. Some of the men sleep in the shade, and even after they have finished their meal they are in no hurry to depart, often spending fully two hours or more at these halting places. At last, about one o'clock, they call the mules in, each muleteer having a peculiar cry which the animals in his charge know and obey. They are saddled, and the loads lifted on, and the caravan goes on for another four hours or so until the stage point is reached about five in the evening.

The " horse inn " where they lodge is always one at the 492
far end of the town from the gate by which they enter, or at 485
the furthest extremity of the village street, to make the departure in the morning easier, as in this way two caravans bound in opposite directions do not have to cross in the narrow street when they set out almost before the sun has risen. Often the streets of a town are so narrow that two mules with their bulky packages fixed on either flank would hardly be able to pass without bumping, and the consequent confusion. As soon as the caravan enters the inn yard the leader and each mule in turn, as it comes in, is unloaded. The loads are neatly arranged in this order so that they can be placed on the right mules in the morning with the minimum delay or confusion. Each load is bound on to a a wooden frame which slips into slots on the pack saddle, and the loads can be taken off or put on independently of the saddle itself. Thus, the loads are never untied from one end of the journey to the other, and only have to be lifted on or off the pack saddles.

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going. The men wear straw sandals which grip well on 484
dry ground or rock, and can be replaced in any village 491
when worn out, but in wet weather they soon disintegrate, and the men finish the day barefoot splashing through the deep red mud. The wide straw hats with an oil cloth cover, which porters and muleteers wear, keep off most of the rain, but a felt blanket thrown over the shoulders is the only protection against the cold. They arrive soaked through at the inn, where they can perhaps dry their clothes and warm themselves at the cooking fire. Travellers, if in a *hua kan*, can get some protection from the hood, but this is inadequate in heavy rain, and the unprotected legs and feet are in any case soaked and frozen.

In summer, the rainy season, the roads are nearly im- 491
passable. The stone paving is usually lost to sight beneath muddy puddles of unknown depth, and the unpaved tracks on the mountain are deep in sticky mud. Streams overflow making wide stretches of water across the roads, or flow strongly down the road itself, the mountains are buried in thick mists making the way difficult to find, and the tracks, when passing above a gorge or ravine, are often carried away by a landslide. In such cases no one ever repairs the damage unless the route is the only possible one, the usual practice being to make a detour through the scrub above the washed out section. In this way the roads gradually depart further and further from the old line, until long stretches of paved path are abandoned, and slowly disappear under the brushwood.

It is indeed difficult to see why anyone ever took the trouble to make these paved paths, since they very soon fall into disrepair, and even when in good condition are most unsuitable for pack animals. The mules always avoid a stone path if they can find a strip of earth alongside, or can make a detour through the scrub. In north China, where cart and

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be much dryer and less wooded than the western face, 491
where the monsoon rains strike. The path, which is difficult enough for the animals on the climb, becomes much worse on the descent. Only a Yunnan-bred mule or pony would face a descent of broken stone steps, steep, set at all angles, often slippery with wet mud from some oozing stream, and the animal fully laden with loads weighing up to two hundred pounds. Yet they very rarely fall, picking their way from stone to stone, jumping a mud hole, or wading gingerly through the discoloured waters of a stream. This descent may take from two to three hours, about seven or eight miles, and leads to the last section of the stage, the final two or three miles across the cultivated valley to the small town or village which is the stage point.

Sometimes, even on the main routes, as for instance on 491
the road to Bhamo four days west of Hsia Kuan, there is 485
a long stretch of uninhabited mountain country with no cultivated valleys or villages. Here, after toiling all day up and down wooded ranges the caravans must rest for the night at some tiny collection of huts on the mountain side. Even on the most frequented roads it is rare to see any habitations after the valley is left behind, except perhaps at the midday halting place where there are a few teahouses and food stalls. Distances are long, roads execrable, the country deserted (and formerly full of robbers), the inns, when the day is done, dirty and dilapidated. The scenery and the climate are superb, but the inhabitants, accustomed to them from childhood, see no pleasure in travelling.

Distances in China are measured by the *li*, which is 804
approximately one-third of the English mile. As is often the 491
case with peasants in mountain lands, the measure is a variable unit depending on the nature of the road. Thus, in flat country, a *li* is really about one-third of a mile. Ta Li

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804 to Hsia Kuan is always said to be thirty *li*, along the plain,
491 and is ten miles in fact. When a muleteer says that the day's stage is seventy *li*, which includes crossing a range, the real distance is not twenty-three miles or so, but more nearly nineteen or twenty. This is the average length of a stage, but often it is called eighty *li*, which means a full twenty miles or more, and the longest stage on the K'un Ming-Bhamo road, from Sha Ch'iao to P'u P'eng, midway between Ta Li and K'un Ming, is said to be one hundred *li*, and is in fact a full thirty miles. Muleteers always know the length of the stage, but they usually have no idea of the distance between intermediate points. If, after travelling for about half the day, one asks a muleteer how far it is to the stage point, he may reply forty *li*, or ten *li*, or fifteen, apparently unable to calculate broken distances.

491 Stage points are either small cities or villages, which in
485 wild country may be only a few houses. The administrative walled cities, *hsien*, are often not situated on the main roads, or do not form stage points if they are, but only midday halts. This may be because the muleteers prefer to avoid the seats of authority. The administrative cities are generally up to three days' journey apart, and the intermediate stage points are villages, some of which are only collections of inns living entirely on the transit trade. Inns are of two kinds, "horse inns" and "guest inns". The "horse inn" is what in western Asia is called a caravanserai, a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by stables, and a big room on the fourth side for the muleteers, with a loft for hay and fodder overhead. These inns are frequented only by the regular transport caravans, and can stable about a hundred horses a night. Guest inns are also built round courtyards, and often have two, the one at the back surrounded by stables for the riding and baggage horses of

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travellers, while the front courtyard gives access to the 491
rooms where the guests sleep. These are small and simply 485
furnished with trestle and plank beds covered with a straw mat, for the traveller carries his own bedding. Sometimes they may have a table and a chair or two for meals, but usually there is only one table, on the courtyard verandah, where the guests dine. Most inns are dirty, unswept and tumbledown places, "battered caravanserais," which in summer are verminous, and in winter cold and draughty. On the other hand they are cheap. If there is a restaurant attached, as is often the case, the traveller will pay under one local dollar for food and lodging, and the meals are good and plentiful. If the value of the Yunnan new dollar is taken as eightpence, before the war with Japan, the traveller need not pay more than sixpence for two good meals and his room.

Almost all inns provide rice cooked in the inn kitchen, but in small places the traveller must buy and cook his own meat and vegetables. Inns also provide rice wine, and there is generally a teahouse nearby. In towns like Hsia Kuan, where the long-distance caravans change horses, there are immense inns with a series of courtyards running back from the street, able to stable two hundred horses if necessary, and these inns let out their rooms to business houses as offices. On the same roads in small places in the mountains there may be only one inn, almost a farmhouse, with two or three rooms at most, and there the horses have to be picketed in the courtyard while the late arrivals have to doss down wherever they can find room. Accommodation is thus always poor and often very bad, but food is always good and frequently excellent. In small towns a restaurant, simply a long dark room with a cooking stove and four or five tables, provides the most tasty and delicious meals for very low prices, and the small wayside places at the midday halting

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492 cook their own supper. Hay and fresh-cut grass can be
485 bought in these towns on the street, or from girls who come round to the inns to sell it for about one nickel a load, or about one and one-third farthings for all a girl can carry on her back. When the men have cooked and eaten their supper, about seven o'clock or a little later, they go to sleep until they awake for their midnight meal, for there is nothing to do in a Chinese village after dark, and darkness falls about seven or eight at latest in these southern latitudes. The object of this curious routine, which seems to waste the best hours of the day in a prolonged halt, is to feed the animals free on the mountain grass, instead of having to buy more hay and fodder for them. Therefore, the early start obviates the need of buying fodder from the inn in the morning as well as the evening. No muleteer could ever give a really satisfactory explanation for the habit of rising in the early hours, eating a meal, and then going to sleep again. It is a habit which perhaps explains why other travellers do not like to sleep, or rather try to sleep, in horse inns.

Travellers not attached to a caravan do not have to follow this routine, though if they are riding mules, the men insist on a long midday halt to feed the animals free on mountain grass. The usual starting hour for travellers is eight in the morning, after taking an early meal. As this has to be cooked it means that all travellers rise at dawn, but those who travel with porters can start a little later.
482 Porters and litter carriers go faster than pack animals on
492 the flat, but have to make frequent short halts, and their pace on the steep ascents is, if anything, slower than the mules. Consequently, they do not do a longer stage than the caravans, and by the end of the day have not done the whole stage any faster. For this reason, and because it is more expensive to hire porters than to take mules,

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the products of the border regions of Yunnan, for which Ta Li, near the junction of the main east and west and north and south caravan routes, is a convenient site. Held at the city itself it is convenient for the purchasers who have come from distant places and must lodge in the town inns. Although a large number of the peasants from the plain attend the fair, perhaps half those present are strangers from the north or east, or town merchants who come to replenish their stocks. It is this large outside element which has made the Third Month Fair well known to Chinese from other provinces and from Yunnanfu (K'un Ming) whereas the still larger fair of the autumn, the Yu Tan Hui, has not this character and is comparatively unknown even to residents in eastern Yunnan.

The Yu Tan Hui, or Fish Pool Fair, is so called because it is held on a rocky hillside overlooking the northern end of the Erh Hai lake, close to a temple where there was once a large fish tank (now dry). The site is curious, and in many ways inconvenient. There is no town nearer than Teng Ch'uan, which is five miles away, or the decayed fortress of Shang Kuan, distant only a mile, but reduced to a small village within its crumbling walls. Although there are other villages within easy walking distance of the Fair Ground, none of these have more than one or two small and dilapidated inns apart from the ordinary farmhouses of the village. On the other hand the site has good communications. The main north caravan road from Ta Li to Li Chiang and Tibet passes through the fair ground, and the branch road to Yung Pei, the pottery centre, crosses the Erh river estuary by a stone bridge at this point. Also the fair ground is on the shores of the lake, and the large junks can be moored in deep water against the rocky shore. If the customers were mainly merchants from distant places, as at the Third Month Fair, the inconvenience of the site would be considerable, but this fair is primarily for the country people, the Min Chia of

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492 between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent
482 different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers
492 who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus
439 the longest caravan route in constant use is the road con-
487 necting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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since the fall of the exchange made goods bought in Burma too dear for the Yunnan market. Another long regular route is the tea road from Pu Erh in south Yunnan, about twenty days' journey south of Ta Li, to A Tun Tze on the border of Tibet in north Yunnan, which is eighteen stages from Ta Li. At this point the tea is handed over to Tibetan caravans which take it on to Lhasa and other points in Tibet. This road passes through Hsia Kuan and Ta Li, and the section from Hsia Kuan to Wei Hsi, half-way to A Tun Tze, is usually worked by men from the Ta Li plain.

These routes are called roads, because that is the usual translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and where possible they have trodden out a new track on one side. This practice is resented by the owners of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant strong hedges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse on such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

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Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph 20
lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those 487
written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read 482
them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by [203]
word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various 491
neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow 502
and Yin Shiu Wan 秧秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter 436
part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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able, and cotton growing could not be attempted there. Silk, 231
which can also be conveniently and profitably transported 185
long distances on mule back, has been suggested. A few families on the Ta Li plain have taken up cocoon raising, but the technique is not generally understood, there are no large groves of mulberry trees, and many years will be needed before the production of silk can be of any commercial importance. So far the Min Chia have found no alternative to the opium crop. The government, as is now well known, have 489
completed the remarkable motor road from Yunnanfu to Burma, which is connected with Ta Li by a short branch. The road was built by forced labour and as a war measure. A railway, which however will not pass within forty miles of Ta Li, is now under construction. The eventual benefits of these improved communications will no doubt be felt by the Min Chia, but at present they are more conscious of the demands on their time and energies.

The suppression of opium has therefore left the Min Chia 243
for the present at the mercy of the rice standard, unalleviated by any cash crop raised for export. It is the working of this almost closed economy, as yet unaffected by any serious volume of intercourse with the outside world, which forms the subject of this chapter. Since rice is the dominating factor in this system it must have pride of place.

The method of rice cultivation is well known, nor do the Min Chia differ in this respect from other rice growing peoples. The rice is grown in seed beds planted in the latter part of March, the second lunar month, when frost need no longer be expected. The fields are cleared of the wheat and bean crop in May, and are then ploughed in readiness for the flooding, which is either effected by irrigation on land nearest the mountain, or by the monsoon rains which begin, on the average, at the end of May. As soon as the fields are flooded the rice seedlings are transplanted from the seed

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CHAPTER 10

ON THE ROAD

491 489 "GOOD for ten years, bad for ten thousand"—the old Chinese proverb aptly characterises the stone-paved caravan paths which are the only roads of Yunnan. To modern ideas there are no real roads in Yunnan at all, except the motor road to Burma built in the past two years. That, indeed, is the only road on which wheeled vehicles can pass. But, as the English word "road" implies, a road was once a track primarily for riding, not for vehicles. Goods passed on pack animals not in carts, and this ancient manner of travel is still the daily practice of Yunnan. Once it is recognised that travel means walking or riding at a foot's pace, and that roads are any track along which a pack pony can pick its way, then all journeys are long and slow, but no place is really inaccessible.

438 484 Consequently, the people of Yunnan, the Min Chia and their neighbours, do intercommunicate, although to the stranger the country appears to be almost impassable. It is really the indomitable Chinese trader who has opened up these difficult and precarious communications, for the indigenous population left to themselves would probably have remained isolated. The Chinese merchant and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese government, built the bridges without which the rivers, too deep to ford, and too swift to ferry, would have been impassable. They built them with the labour of the native population to serve the needs of the ruling race, as is commonly the case in all colonial development. Trade is still in the hands of the immigrant Chinese merchants, and though the personnel of the official class is drawn from all the civilised races of Yunnan its spirit and

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502 their only labour is to steer, or in calms, to punt. They often prefer to travel at night because in summer there is more wind after sundown, and if the wind fails it is tiring to have to do the hard work of punting or rowing in the hot sun. As they work, or sit idly steering the slow-moving boat, they beguile the time by singing improvised words to the one tune which Min Chia peasants always sing to. Time is no object. A trip from Shier Yu, the port of Ta Li, to Wa Shih or Shang Kuan may take four hours or less with a favourable wind, or seventeen hours if there is no wind at all. As they carry a cooking stove and provision of rice they are not dependent on the villages for food, while fish can often be bought from the fishermen on the lake itself.

579 489 The length and slowness of all travel in Yunnan is in fact the explanation of that indifference to time and punctuality which disturbs the foreign visitor. When a journey must in any case take several days, one more or less cannot matter, and as long as the stage point is reached in time for supper, it does not matter when the traveller starts. No Yunnanese would think of starting on a journey unless he allowed for a possible week's delay, through bad weather or—formerly a paramount consideration—delay due to unsafe roads and banditry. When the roads were still infested with robbers it was not uncommon for all travellers to wait in the last town below some dangerous pass until the authorities agreed to provide an escort, or until there were sufficient wealthy travellers assembled to pay for one. My arrival in one such town, some ten years ago, was hailed with delight, since I already had the escort which the local authorities were unwilling to provide for nearly fifty or sixty other travellers and four caravans of forty mules. All these, the next day, got safe and free escort over the pass which was known to be the haunt of a large gang of deserters from the provincial army.

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177 seas Italy and Germany would attack us in the west. One cannot ask for more knowledge of the outer world than that.

177 Against these factors making for change one must set the
489 massive forces of inertia which will limit and modify any influence from outside. First of these is the difficulty and inaccessibility of the country. There is the road to Burma and K'un Ming ; one road, long, expensive and difficult, and this is the only direct link with the outer world. The new Burma-Yunnan railway, which will be completed in a few years' time, will not pass within fifty miles of Min Chia country. These modern means of communication in any case only affect the lives of a handful of the rich, being mainly built for national rather than provincial purposes. The mass of the Min Chia will never ride in a bus to K'un Ming or Burma, if only because they could never afford to do so. Yunnan, being very mountainous, is not a country which can be rapidly opened up by the introduction of motor transport, as on the plains of India and north China. The existing routes are useless for any wheeled vehicle and the making of motor roads is a most elaborate and difficult engineering feat. Except for the road to Burma, which is a national war measure, there are no routes through Yunnan carrying a sufficient volume of trade to justify these expensive public works, consequently it is unlikely that any other large-scale motor roads will be built in western Yunnan for several years.

The only reason for which it would be worth while to open up western Yunnan by such roads would be if a large tourist traffic existed, such as pays for the mountain roads of Switzerland or California. Tourists indeed would find Yunnan a paradise if these communications existed, but it is extremely unlikely that such a traffic will come into being for at least fifty years more. Yunnan is very far from such

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large centres of wealth as exist in eastern Asia. It is more than a week's journey from Shanghai by steamer and train. The distance from Calcutta is about the same, and the lesser centres such as Rangoon or Singapore are all unable to support a large tourist traffic. 177 489

Western Yunnan is therefore likely to remain almost an unknown and rarely visited land, even by the Chinese from other provinces. At the present time the refugees from occupied or devastated China have only reached western Yunnan in small numbers, and were peace to be restored, few of them would stay in a country where very little money can be earned. This factor, the poverty of the country, is the other main obstacle to the forces of change. Until western Yunnan can find a product which can be exported cheaply and fetch a good price in the world market—a substitute for opium in fact—the people must remain poor. While communications remain bad such a product is hard to find, but communications cannot be much improved until the country can afford to pay the great expenses necessary. From this vicious circle there is no easy escape. 177

The natural conservatism of the common people is a factor against change which can easily be overrated. The events of the last twenty-five years have disproved the old belief that the Chinese were a conservative race. Their government until the fall of the Manchus was intensely opposed to any change, and the people followed its lead; under the republican government, which requires changes, the people, equally, have obeyed the orders given by their rulers. The rapid disappearance of such customs as foot binding, the total disappearance of the queue, prove how little the Chinese are attached to old social customs, while the complete absence of royalist feeling or any interest in the old monarchy shows how easily they will submit to

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312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
134 able to escape through the very narrow passage of the Dragon's Tail Pass, overflows on to the flat western shore. Unless the flood becomes so deep as to cover the ears of rice, this does no harm, and such exceptional depths are rare. Yet on account of these two risks the land nearest the lake shore, in appearance the best on the plain, is in fact of less value than fields nearer the mountain slopes.

134 Unlike almost all other parts of Yunnan the soil of the Ta Li plain is not the red clay associated with the prevailing Yunnan limestone rocks, but a heavy black soil due to the fact that Ts'ang Shan is an upthrust of granite breaking
133 through the limestone cap of the Yunnan plateau. This geological peculiarity has one serious disadvantage, the frequency of severe earthquakes on the Ta Li plain. Slight shocks are common in the dry season, especially after one of the winter spells of drizzle, but a major earthquake in the spring of 1925 not only destroyed most of the city of Ta Li but caused much greater havoc and a very heavy loss of life in the lakeside villages, where a wave from the lake did further damage. Local records mention other severe earthquakes in previous centuries, but for many years before 1925 no serious shock had occurred, nor has there been a major earthquake since that date.

311 Apart from a narrow belt of willow groves along the lake shore, where flooding is usual, the entire surface of the plain is under cultivation. The villages as far as possible are built on the shore itself, or on the lowest slopes of the mountain, to free as much land as possible for the cultiva-
[491] tion of rice. Even the main caravan road, a stone-paved path about six feet wide, skirts the slopes of the mountain, and the paths leading to villages and fields are narrow and follow the dykes along irrigation channels. Very little land is devoted to market gardening, usually only such patches by

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CHAPTER 10

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These routes are called roads, because that is the usual translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and where possible they have trodden out a new track on one side. This practice is resented by the owners of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant strong hedges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse on such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

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491 morning and descending to another valley in the afternoon. This is because the roads going from east to west have to
491 cross an endless series of steep ranges which run from north
133 to south. It might be hoped that if one travelled northwards or southwards one would therefore be able to follow the valleys, but this is rarely the case. The river valleys of Yunnan are for the most part gorges so narrow as to be impracticable, only opening out into a lake plateau at wide intervals. Consequently, if one travels from north to south it is not possible to follow the valley down stream, because it soon becomes a gorge. The road therefore climbs up to the crest of the range, follows along it until the next lake plateau is reached, and then descends again.

491 Consequently the average stage of about twenty miles
137 falls into four well-marked divisions. Firstly, two or three miles across the flat lake plateau between the rose hedges and rice fields until the second stage, the ascent, is reached. This is usually long and steep, a twisting track, once stone steps, now broken into a slide of rubble, rocks, and—after rain—slippery stretches of red mud. On both sides of the track the uncultivated slopes of the mountains are covered with scrub of azaleas, winter green, wild tea, and other flowering shrubs, shaded by a sparse forest of pine trees. As the road winds higher this forest gets taller and denser until, about the 10,000 ft. level, which on most roads is the crest, the pines give place to chestnuts and very tall well-grown non-deciduous trees of the ilex type, called Ch'un, beneath which there is a dense growth of rhododendron and bamboo. The tops of the mountains are often flat, with open grassy glades and running cold streams among the forest, and such a place is chosen for the midday halt, where the horses can graze.

491 The descent in the afternoon is made through similar forest, although sometimes the east side of a mountain will

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be much dryer and less wooded than the western face, 491
where the monsoon rains strike. The path, which is difficult enough for the animals on the climb, becomes much worse on the descent. Only a Yunnan-bred mule or pony would face a descent of broken stone steps, steep, set at all angles, often slippery with wet mud from some oozing stream, and the animal fully laden with loads weighing up to two hundred pounds. Yet they very rarely fall, picking their way from stone to stone, jumping a mud hole, or wading gingerly through the discoloured waters of a stream. This descent may take from two to three hours, about seven or eight miles, and leads to the last section of the stage, the final two or three miles across the cultivated valley to the small town or village which is the stage point.

Sometimes, even on the main routes, as for instance on 491
the road to Bhamo four days west of Hsia Kuan, there is 485
a long stretch of uninhabited mountain country with no cultivated valleys or villages. Here, after toiling all day up and down wooded ranges the caravans must rest for the night at some tiny collection of huts on the mountain side. Even on the most frequented roads it is rare to see any habitations after the valley is left behind, except perhaps at the midday halting place where there are a few teahouses and food stalls. Distances are long, roads execrable, the country deserted (and formerly full of robbers), the inns, when the day is done, dirty and dilapidated. The scenery and the climate are superb, but the inhabitants, accustomed to them from childhood, see no pleasure in travelling.

Distances in China are measured by the *li*, which is 804
approximately one-third of the English mile. As is often the 491
case with peasants in mountain lands, the measure is a variable unit depending on the nature of the road. Thus, in flat country, a *li* is really about one-third of a mile. Ta Li

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804 to Hsia Kuan is always said to be thirty *li*, along the plain,
491 and is ten miles in fact. When a muleteer says that the day's stage is seventy *li*, which includes crossing a range, the real distance is not twenty-three miles or so, but more nearly nineteen or twenty. This is the average length of a stage, but often it is called eighty *li*, which means a full twenty miles or more, and the longest stage on the K'un Ming-Bhamo road, from Sha Ch'iao to P'u P'eng, midway between Ta Li and K'un Ming, is said to be one hundred *li*, and is in fact a full thirty miles. Muleteers always know the length of the stage, but they usually have no idea of the distance between intermediate points. If, after travelling for about half the day, one asks a muleteer how far it is to the stage point, he may reply forty *li*, or ten *li*, or fifteen, apparently unable to calculate broken distances.

491 Stage points are either small cities or villages, which in
485 wild country may be only a few houses. The administrative walled cities, *hsien*, are often not situated on the main roads, or do not form stage points if they are, but only midday halts. This may be because the muleteers prefer to avoid the seats of authority. The administrative cities are generally up to three days' journey apart, and the intermediate stage points are villages, some of which are only collections of inns living entirely on the transit trade. Inns are of two kinds, "horse inns" and "guest inns". The "horse inn" is what in western Asia is called a caravanserai, a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by stables, and a big room on the fourth side for the muleteers, with a loft for hay and fodder overhead. These inns are frequented only by the regular transport caravans, and can stable about a hundred horses a night. Guest inns are also built round courtyards, and often have two, the one at the back surrounded by stables for the riding and baggage horses of

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travellers, while the front courtyard gives access to the 491
rooms where the guests sleep. These are small and simply 485
furnished with trestle and plank beds covered with a straw mat, for the traveller carries his own bedding. Sometimes they may have a table and a chair or two for meals, but usually there is only one table, on the courtyard verandah, where the guests dine. Most inns are dirty, unswept and tumbledown places, "battered caravanserais," which in summer are verminous, and in winter cold and draughty. On the other hand they are cheap. If there is a restaurant attached, as is often the case, the traveller will pay under one local dollar for food and lodging, and the meals are good and plentiful. If the value of the Yunnan new dollar is taken as eightpence, before the war with Japan, the traveller need not pay more than sixpence for two good meals and his room.

Almost all inns provide rice cooked in the inn kitchen, but in small places the traveller must buy and cook his own meat and vegetables. Inns also provide rice wine, and there is generally a teahouse nearby. In towns like Hsia Kuan, where the long-distance caravans change horses, there are immense inns with a series of courtyards running back from the street, able to stable two hundred horses if necessary, and these inns let out their rooms to business houses as offices. On the same roads in small places in the mountains there may be only one inn, almost a farmhouse, with two or three rooms at most, and there the horses have to be picketed in the courtyard while the late arrivals have to doss down wherever they can find room. Accommodation is thus always poor and often very bad, but food is always good and frequently excellent. In small towns a restaurant, simply a long dark room with a cooking stove and four or five tables, provides the most tasty and delicious meals for very low prices, and the small wayside places at the midday halting

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491 points serve excellent well-cooked food. The Yunnanese
485 have no idea of comfort, yet are born cooks.

Regular transport muleteers are necessarily hard tough
492 men inured to all weathers, and independent in character. They live a life on the roads, doing a thirteen-days' stage and then back again month after month, with usually only one day's rest at the terminal points. It is sometimes customary for travellers to rest one day in seven or eight, but the regular transport caravans always make their full thirteen or fourteen days' stage without halts. Caravans number up to forty or fifty mules with one man to every three animals, the leading mules being particularly fine strong animals carrying a bell and a plumed headdress of woollen pompoms by which they can be heard and seen at a distance. These animals know every inch of the road and find their own way, the muleteers often walking well behind the caravan, for as long as the mules can hear the leader's bell they will follow without being urged. Some of the muleteers carry arms, either a pistol, an old rifle, or swords, and even in those parts of the country where "small bandits", that is to say individual footpads, still exist, such caravans are never molested, since the muleteers are both more courageous and better armed than the robbers.

492 The routine of travel followed by the caravan men is
484 curious, and to the ordinary traveller not very convenient. The men get up in the middle of the night, about two in the morning, and cook themselves a large meal of rice and vegetables, and then, when that is eaten, go to sleep again for another three hours. At six they rise, saddle the mules and start out at once without taking anything to eat. After about four hours on the road, round ten o'clock, they halt at some place where there is plenty of grass, a stream of water, and some shade trees—and in Yunnan such places are

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says " Slippery place", and the one behind replies " Mend your pace " (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

Porters and litter bearers are always Ssu Ch'uanese, and usually ragged wretches drawn from the poorest class who have taken to the roads to earn a hard living. Most of them are opium smokers, but though this probably shortens their lives, they do not seem to be any the worse for it when on the road. They spend their entire lives travelling to and fro over these mountain roads, and though unable to read and quite unfamiliar with maps, many porters know every road in south-west China, and can repeat the names of the stage points from Bhamo to Ch'ung King, more than a thousand miles. They never seem to save enough money to retire, [733 461] for their wages go on opium to ease the pain in their aching shoulders after twenty miles of rough road. The muleteers, who are men of substance, owning their animals and often some land as well, despise these human beasts of burden, who are also strangers from another province.

484 491 Neither muleteers, porters, nor travellers have any real protection against bad weather. In the winter months, when most travelling is done, rain is rare and light, but on the high ground it turns to sleet or snow, and conditions can be very bad in such weather. The mud road becomes a slippery slide on which neither man nor beast can keep a sure footing, and the broken stone paving is, if anything, worse

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going. The men wear straw sandals which grip well on 484
dry ground or rock, and can be replaced in any village 491
when worn out, but in wet weather they soon disintegrate, and the men finish the day barefoot splashing through the deep red mud. The wide straw hats with an oil cloth cover, which porters and muleteers wear, keep off most of the rain, but a felt blanket thrown over the shoulders is the only protection against the cold. They arrive soaked through at the inn, where they can perhaps dry their clothes and warm themselves at the cooking fire. Travellers, if in a *hua kan*, can get some protection from the hood, but this is inadequate in heavy rain, and the unprotected legs and feet are in any case soaked and frozen.

In summer, the rainy season, the roads are nearly im- 491
passable. The stone paving is usually lost to sight beneath muddy puddles of unknown depth, and the unpaved tracks on the mountain are deep in sticky mud. Streams overflow making wide stretches of water across the roads, or flow strongly down the road itself, the mountains are buried in thick mists making the way difficult to find, and the tracks, when passing above a gorge or ravine, are often carried away by a landslide. In such cases no one ever repairs the damage unless the route is the only possible one, the usual practice being to make a detour through the scrub above the washed out section. In this way the roads gradually depart further and further from the old line, until long stretches of paved path are abandoned, and slowly disappear under the brushwood.

It is indeed difficult to see why anyone ever took the trouble to make these paved paths, since they very soon fall into disrepair, and even when in good condition are most unsuitable for pack animals. The mules always avoid a stone path if they can find a strip of earth alongside, or can make a detour through the scrub. In north China, where cart and

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491 horse traffic is the ordinary way of travel, there are no paved roads, and in south China where horses are unknown, all traffic on these paved paths is by porter. It is only in Yunnan that pack horse and porter traffic are found in competition. As the paved roads are in fact a hindrance to horses rather than a help, one may surmise that at the time they were first built, in the Ming dynasty, the country was governed by officials from south China, who knew nothing about horse traffic and built the roads primarily for moving troops. The so-called Yunnan pony, a smaller animal even than the Mongolian pony used in north China, is really bred in Tibet and the border country where paved roads have never existed.

The character of the ancient bridges built by the Chinese authorities across the rivers of Yunnan also suggests that formerly horse traffic was less important. Many of these are humped stone bridges which pack animals have great difficulty in crossing without slipping on the steep smooth stones. In fact, if the stream is shallow, the muleteers always make the animals ford the river, and the animals themselves will often try to ford a deep stream to avoid crossing the bridge. The great rivers such as the Mekong and Salween are crossed by iron chain suspension bridges, some of which date from Ming times. These bridges are made of planks laid across heavy iron chains which are anchored in the rocks at either end. Since these chains are far too heavy to have been carried any distance they must have been forged on the spot with iron brought by mule pack.

At the present time these mediaeval methods of travelling are still unchallenged except by the new motor road from K'un Ming to Burma, which was opened for traffic in the late autumn of 1938. This immense undertaking was built by forced labour as a war measure, in two sections. The first section of 277 miles from K'un Ming to Hsia Kuan,

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near Ta Li, was finished in the spring of 1938, some parts of it having been in partial use for two years before that date. It crosses five major passes and winds for long distances on the crests of the mountains, in a region absolutely uninhabited. The second section, from Hsia Kuan to the Burmese frontier at Nam Kan is slightly longer, about 290 miles, and passes through much more difficult country. The mountains on this section are both higher and steeper, and the two great rivers, the Mekong and Salween, had to be bridged anew, as the old mule bridges were not strong enough for wheeled traffic. Work was started in December, 1937, and the first through traffic passed over the road from Burma in December, 1938, an achievement which is barely credible to anyone familiar with the country. This section was also built by forced labour, the inhabitants of districts up to one hundred miles from the road being brought to work on it, where they camped in shelters made of boughs and turf. It is probable that not far short of one hundred thousand men and women were employed in this year building the road.

It does not seem likely that the existence of the motor road will, at least for many years, destroy the old caravan trade. The silk road finds an outlet at Bhamo, which is the most convenient port on the Irrawaddy, and therefore does not follow the line of the motor road for the last one hundred and fifty miles. The tea road from south Yunnan to Tibet is also unaffected by the motor road which crosses it at right angles at Hsia Kuan. Moreover, it is likely to be much cheaper to send goods by mule than by motor car; the opening of the Hsia Kuan—K'un Ming section of the Burma road did not affect the transit of goods from K'un Ming by mule at all. Individual travellers, on the other hand, naturally preferred to travel by bus when possible, and do thirteen stages in three days. The passenger service, how-

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491 494 ever, remains irregular and slow. Days pass when there are no buses running, and when they do run they are often delayed by breakdowns or by subsidence of the new-made road.

491 The construction of motor roads does not therefore have at first any profound effect on the lives of the Yunnanese country folk. Indeed, their only direct concern with these roads is in the building of them, which they have to do by forced labour. This duty is the more unwelcome as they themselves cannot use the road when it is finished. Mules are not allowed on the motor roads, because the passage of large caravans of mules not only destroys the surface of the road when it is newly laid, but also interferes with motor traffic. The Yunnanese mule or pack pony has naturally never seen a motor car, or even a wheeled cart, and in consequence they stampede in wild alarm as soon as one appears. The proportion of muleteers to animals is small, for the caravans on the old pack roads need very little control, and therefore when a caravan of fifty or more mules stampedes at the sound of an approaching car, the ten or twelve men in charge cannot quiet them, loads are thrown off, and the frightened animals career wildly down the road communicating their panic to any other beasts they meet.

The muleteers therefore would not use the motor roads, even if they were allowed to do so, and the existing transport system derives no benefit from the construction of these roads. Nor do the other wayfarers, *hua kan* bearers and porters make much use of the new route. A motor road in mountainous country has to wind about by long detours to climb the ranges, and it is in practice quicker for those on foot to cut across the hills by the old paths which are so much shorter, if also steeper. Porters and litter bearers, as has been mentioned above, like to stop for a rest and a drink

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of tea every few miles, and these teahouse resting places 491
are all on the old tracks, since the motor road winding about the hillsides passes through uninhabited forest country for many miles on end. The same difficulty occurs in regard to sleeping accommodation, for the foot passenger can at most do twenty-five miles in a day, and in some parts the motor road, making a long detour, does not touch any village for more than forty miles. For these reasons the foot passenger traffic can make no use of the new road either.

Where a public bus service exists it is only a small 494
number of wealthy people who can afford to use it. The fare to Hsia Kuan from K'un Ming was at first seventeen New Yunnan dollars, and then was raised to twenty-one. No poor man could afford this fare for a single journey, low though it is by European standards. A poor man, even a young student going up to K'un Ming to the Middle School, would find it much cheaper to walk the distance in thirteen days than to ride in the bus for three. By walking he would only have the small charges for food and lodging to pay, for he would take his scanty luggage on his back. The large numbers of men who go down to Burma for work in the winter months also always travel on foot, carrying their baggage on baskets and poles. For the poor man in Yunnan, Shanks' pony is and will long remain the only conveyance.

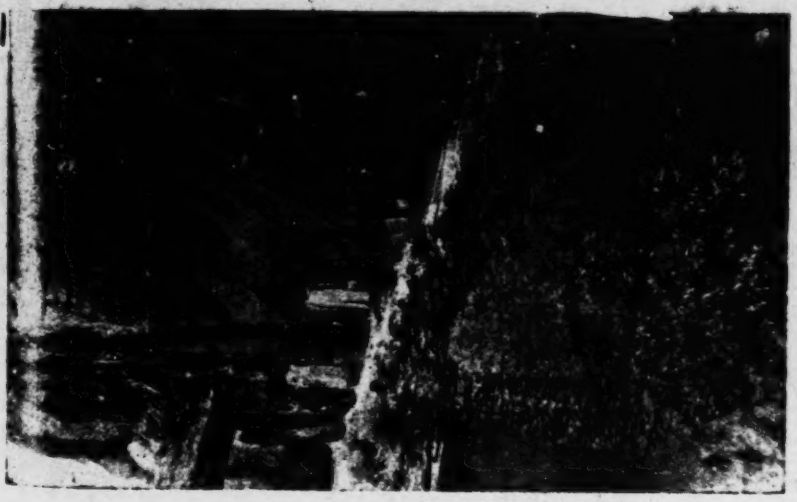
Unlike any other province in China, except neighbouring 505
Kwei Chou, Yunnan has no water communications of any importance. There are no navigable rivers in the province. Although it is crossed by four of the greatest rivers, the Yang Tze, West River, Mekong and Salween, not one of them can be navigated in Yunnan. Yet in spite of the isolation and distance from other navigable water, there is an active boat traffic on the great Yunnan Lakes, and on the most isolated of all, the Erh Hai at Ta Li, the boats are the biggest and best made of any in Yunnan. The Erh Hai

3 Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

361

A Ch'iang village.

491



A road in the Ch'iang country.

[FACING p. 34]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph 20
lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those 497
written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read 482
them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by [203]
word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various 491
neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow 502
and Yin Shiu Wan 秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter 436
part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

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policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery.

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility

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492 between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent
482 different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers
492 who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus
439 the longest caravan route in constant use is the road con-
487 necting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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since the fall of the exchange made goods bought in Burma too dear for the Yunnan market. Another long regular route is the tea road from Pu Erh in south Yunnan, about twenty days' journey south of Ta Li, to A Tun Tze on the border of Tibet in north Yunnan, which is eighteen stages from Ta Li. At this point the tea is handed over to Tibetan caravans which take it on to Lhasa and other points in Tibet. This road passes through Hsia Kuan and Ta Li, and the section from Hsia Kuan to Wei Hsi, half-way to A Tun Tze, is usually worked by men from the Ta Li plain.

These routes are called roads, because that is the usual translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and where possible they have trodden out a new track on one side. This practice is resented by the owners of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant strong hedges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse on such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

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491 points serve excellent well-cooked food. The Yunnanese
485 have no idea of comfort, yet are born cooks.

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492 men inured to all weathers, and independent in character. They live a life on the roads, doing a thirteen-days' stage and then back again month after month, with usually only one day's rest at the terminal points. It is sometimes customary for travellers to rest one day in seven or eight, but the regular transport caravans always make their full thirteen or fourteen days' stage without halts. Caravans number up to forty or fifty mules with one man to every three animals, the leading mules being particularly fine strong animals carrying a bell and a plumed headdress of woollen pompoms by which they can be heard and seen at a distance. These animals know every inch of the road and find their own way, the muleteers often walking well behind the caravan, for as long as the mules can hear the leader's bell they will follow without being urged. Some of the muleteers carry arms, either a pistol, an old rifle, or swords, and even in those parts of the country where "small bandits", that is to say individual footpads, still exist, such caravans are never molested, since the muleteers are both more courageous and better armed than the robbers.

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484 curious, and to the ordinary traveller not very convenient. The men get up in the middle of the night, about two in the morning, and cook themselves a large meal of rice and vegetables, and then, when that is eaten, go to sleep again for another three hours. At six they rise, saddle the mules and start out at once without taking anything to eat. After about four hours on the road, round ten o'clock, they halt at some place where there is plenty of grass, a stream of water, and some shade trees—and in Yunnan such places are

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easy to find. The mules are then unsaddled and turned loose 492
to graze, a fire is lit and rice and vegetables cooked for the 484
midday meal. Some of the men sleep in the shade, and even after they have finished their meal they are in no hurry to depart, often spending fully two hours or more at these halting places. At last, about one o'clock, they call the mules in, each muleteer having a peculiar cry which the animals in his charge know and obey. They are saddled, and the loads lifted on, and the caravan goes on for another four hours or so until the stage point is reached about five in the evening.

The " horse inn " where they lodge is always one at the 492
far end of the town from the gate by which they enter, or at 485
the furthest extremity of the village street, to make the departure in the morning easier, as in this way two caravans bound in opposite directions do not have to cross in the narrow street when they set out almost before the sun has risen. Often the streets of a town are so narrow that two mules with their bulky packages fixed on either flank would hardly be able to pass without bumping, and the consequent confusion. As soon as the caravan enters the inn yard the leader and each mule in turn, as it comes in, is unloaded. The loads are neatly arranged in this order so that they can be placed on the right mules in the morning with the minimum delay or confusion. Each load is bound on to a a wooden frame which slips into slots on the pack saddle, and the loads can be taken off or put on independently of the saddle itself. Thus, the loads are never untied from one end of the journey to the other, and only have to be lifted on or off the pack saddles.

Once unloaded in the right order, the horses are unsaddled, each saddle being placed on the right load, and the animals are then given their feed in the stables. Not until all their wants have been attended to, do the men begin to

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492 cook their own supper. Hay and fresh-cut grass can be
485 bought in these towns on the street, or from girls who come round to the inns to sell it for about one nickel a load, or about one and one-third farthings for all a girl can carry on her back. When the men have cooked and eaten their supper, about seven o'clock or a little later, they go to sleep until they awake for their midnight meal, for there is nothing to do in a Chinese village after dark, and darkness falls about seven or eight at latest in these southern latitudes. The object of this curious routine, which seems to waste the best hours of the day in a prolonged halt, is to feed the animals free on the mountain grass, instead of having to buy more hay and fodder for them. Therefore, the early start obviates the need of buying fodder from the inn in the morning as well as the evening. No muleteer could ever give a really satisfactory explanation for the habit of rising in the early hours, eating a meal, and then going to sleep again. It is a habit which perhaps explains why other travellers do not like to sleep, or rather try to sleep, in horse inns.

Travellers not attached to a caravan do not have to follow this routine, though if they are riding mules, the men insist on a long midday halt to feed the animals free on mountain grass. The usual starting hour for travellers is eight in the morning, after taking an early meal. As this has to be cooked it means that all travellers rise at dawn, but those who travel with porters can start a little later.
482 Porters and litter carriers go faster than pack animals on
492 the flat, but have to make frequent short halts, and their pace on the steep ascents is, if anything, slower than the mules. Consequently, they do not do a longer stage than the caravans, and by the end of the day have not done the whole stage any faster. For this reason, and because it is more expensive to hire porters than to take mules,

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482 most travellers ride. The hire of a mule per day is on
492 the average one dollar fifty cents silver, but the price depends on the nature of the journey. If going towards K'un Ming or some other important centre, the price is lower, for there is more competition and the muleteers can be certain of taking a load of goods back on the return journey. If the journey is outward to the north of Yunnan or to some small place, the price is higher, as the muleteer may have to bring his beasts back unladen.

482 Women and those who are sick, or who do not care to
493 ride, can travel by litter, or *h'ua kan*, meaning literally a "flowery pole," the West China substitute for the sedan chair. In this mountainous country a sedan chair is too heavy and awkward for ordinary use, and only the highest officials use them, more as mark of "face" than for convenience. The *h'ua kan* is a light simple construction of two bamboo poles joined at the ends by two cross pieces, which rest on the shoulders of the porters. The seat is contrived of a mesh of cords covered with the traveller's bedding, with a loop as a foot rest. A light hood of oil cloth is sometimes fixed over the traveller's head on curved bamboo lathes. The average Yunnanese, especially women, are light enough to be carried in this way by two men, but heavier individuals have to have three porters, the third man relieving the others in turn. Porters are paid a dollar silver a day, and as other men have to be hired to carry the baggage, this method of travelling is more expensive.

482 *H'ua Kan* carriers travel at a rapid pace, rather faster than a quick walk, and keep this up on the flat for about three miles. They then rest for perhaps a quarter of an hour, if possible, at a wayside teahouse, or if there is none, at some place where there is a shady tree. On the ascents they slow down to a steady deliberate pace which they can keep up for long distances, with short halts every hour or

Mewu

236 The sheep are sheared once a year in May or June. Neighbors
[476] help each other in this task without charge. It takes an average of two days to shear the herd of one family. A wether gives 1 chin of wool annually, a ewe, 1/2 chin. A chin of fleece costs 20 to 50 cents. At the time of my visit the demand for wool was so great
237 that the highest price was paid. A sheepskin costs $0.60 to $1.
435 However, skins of unborn lambs cost $2 to $4. A sheep gut is sold for $0.20 to $0.30; in He-tso, the nearest large town, the price goes
262 up to $0.40 when it is resold. More mutton than yak meat is eaten. Lambs are eaten only if they have died of some disease. The Fantzu do not drink sheep milk, but they use it for butter if they do not have enough yak milk.

231 /28/ The sheep often suffer from paralysis of both forelegs, and many die of this disease. Most of the animals die of starvation in February or March, especially if there has been much snow during
[476] the winter. If a family loses all its animals, everybody helps out by giving them others. The tent nomads do not often keep goats, but the sedentary Fantzu often do, and they also drink goat's milk.

Every family has at least one horse. The Mewu-Fantzu have a small breed of horses that measures about 130 centimeters at the withers. These Tibetan ponies are somewhat smaller and lighter than the Mongolian ponies or those from the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. They are closer to the tarpan (Equus gmelini) than the Przewalski type (1). These horses have a great deal of endurance

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 164 ff.

and are especially adapted for use in mountainous terrain. They
232 have hard hoofs which are not shoed in the steppes. Good stallions
435 are selected for breeding, the rest are castrated at four years. These horses live an average of 10 years; the men break them in at 3 years. The average price of a riding horse is $40 to $50; the highest price is $100. No horses are imported, but horse traders come from T'ao-chou and He-tso, and the Mewu-Fantzu sell them horses. Mules are not used by the tent nomads; asses cannot stand the high altitude.

492 The simple horse bridles of leather with brass mountings are made and sold by the Chinese, likewise the iron snaffles and the stirrups which can be of iron or brass. The Mewu-Fantzu use Hungarian saddles /bocksattel/ the wooden frames of which are made by the sedentary Tebu-Fantzu on the northern slopes of the

Min-shan, and sold to the nomads. (2) These frames are put together 492

2. Compare Rockhill, page 716 f. Wooden frames are used as pack saddles for yaks and pien-niu. These are also customarily used in China. Cf. Rockhill, Plate 26.

by the nomads among whom there are regular saddlers. The wooden frame is /29/ put on a thick felt pad which serves as a saddle cushion and is covered with gaily patterned pulu cloth. The saddle is slightly upholstered and is covered with leather; often it is decorated with brass mountings. A person who is worried about the health of his horse ties a bundle of gaily colored silk ribbons on its mane. This must be consecrated by a lama.

Each tent has at least one or two dogs. One of them is kept on 231
a chain fastened to a stake, the other is allowed to run loose. In the winter a hole is dug for the chained dog so that he can protect himself from the cold. The dogs get to be about 80 centimeters tall and have a very shaggy coat, especially in winter, of black, yellowish brown or yellowish gray color. They are very alert and bark at the slightest provocation. Often every dog of a camp will bark for hours, especially at night, when they catch the scent of some beast of prey. It is very difficult to approach a tent because of these dogs. One always has to have hands and pockets full of stones to be able to defend oneself against them. One can approach a tent without danger 231
only when its inmates hold back the unleashed dogs. Riders like to 411
carry a stick 60 to 70 centimeters long, to which is fastened a whip of leather about 1 meter long, with an angular iron tip. When they pass or stop at a tent they twirl it about to protect their horse from the dogs. You often see horses with large scars on their hind shanks 231
from dog bites; they are, of course, particularly skittish and often become restless even when they hear a dog bark far off. The dogs are fed tsamba and whey, sometimes also meat scraps. A good watchdog costs about as much as a yak, a less desirable one, as much as a sheep. The dogs are allowed to grow old and die a natural death. A good dog skin which is preferred as a cover for the couch, costs up to $10 or more, sometimes, however, only $2. [237 435]

/30/ The only useful crop which the tent nomads plant is oats. 243
As we said above, each family sows some oats next to its relatively low lying winter dwelling. The crop is planted in the fifth Chinese month and is cut green in the ninth and tenth. It is used as fodder for the horses in winter, less often also as yak fodder. All the oat

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

482 most travellers ride. The hire of a mule per day is on
492 the average one dollar fifty cents silver, but the price depends on the nature of the journey. If going towards K'un Ming or some other important centre, the price is lower, for there is more competition and the muleteers can be certain of taking a load of goods back on the return journey. If the journey is outward to the north of Yunnan or to some small place, the price is higher, as the muleteer may have to bring his beasts back unladen.

482 Women and those who are sick, or who do not care to
493 ride, can travel by litter, or *h'ua kan*, meaning literally a "flowery pole," the West China substitute for the sedan chair. In this mountainous country a sedan chair is too heavy and awkward for ordinary use, and only the highest officials use them, more as mark of "face" than for convenience. The *h'ua kan* is a light simple construction of two bamboo poles joined at the ends by two cross pieces, which rest on the shoulders of the porters. The seat is contrived of a mesh of cords covered with the traveller's bedding, with a loop as a foot rest. A light hood of oil cloth is sometimes fixed over the traveller's head on curved bamboo lathes. The average Yunnanese, especially women, are light enough to be carried in this way by two men, but heavier individuals have to have three porters, the third man relieving the others in turn. Porters are paid a dollar silver a day, and as other men have to be hired to carry the baggage, this method of travelling is more expensive.

482 *H'ua Kan* carriers travel at a rapid pace, rather faster than a quick walk, and keep this up on the flat for about three miles. They then rest for perhaps a quarter of an hour, if possible, at a wayside teahouse, or if there is none, at some place where there is a shady tree. On the ascents they slow down to a steady deliberate pace which they can keep up for long distances, with short halts every hour or

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border-Peoples AE3

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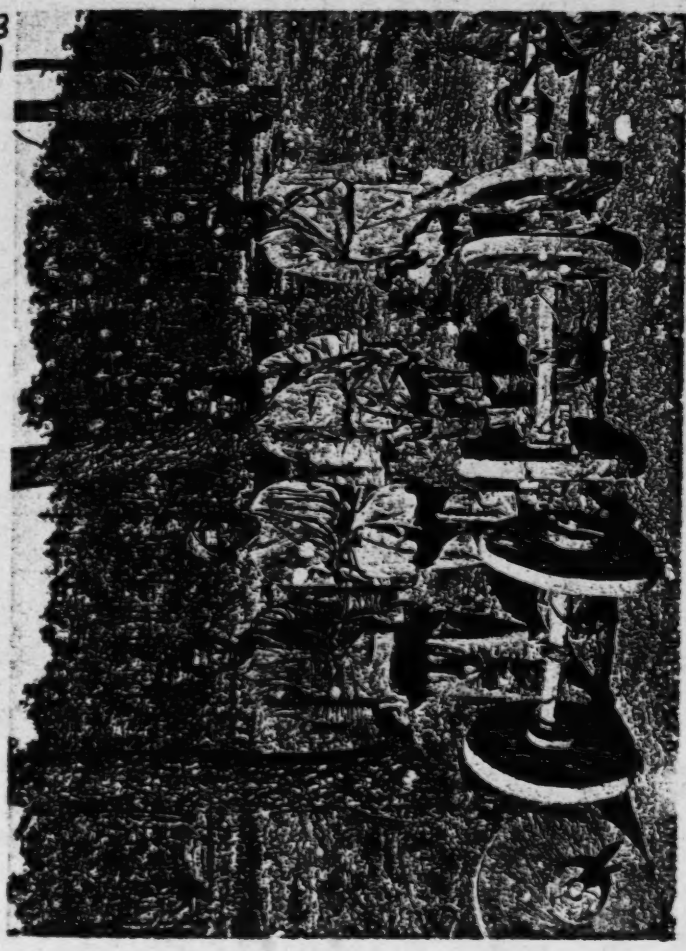

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 81. — NA-KHI WOODCUTTERS

納 西 伐 木 人

On these primitive, solid, wooden-wheeled vehicles Na-khi woodmen transport timber from Nga-ba in Li-chiang.

[p. 156 A]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

near Ta Li, was finished in the spring of 1938, some parts of it having been in partial use for two years before that date. It crosses five major passes and winds for long distances on the crests of the mountains, in a region absolutely uninhabited. The second section, from Hsia Kuan to the Burmese frontier at Nam Kan is slightly longer, about 290 miles, and passes through much more difficult country. The mountains on this section are both higher and steeper, and the two great rivers, the Mekong and Salween, had to be bridged anew, as the old mule bridges were not strong enough for wheeled traffic. Work was started in December, 1937, and the first through traffic passed over the road from Burma in December, 1938, an achievement which is barely credible to anyone familiar with the country. This section was also built by forced labour, the inhabitants of districts up to one hundred miles from the road being brought to work on it, where they camped in shelters made of boughs and turf. It is probable that not far short of one hundred thousand men and women were employed in this year building the road.

It does not seem likely that the existence of the motor road will, at least for many years, destroy the old caravan trade. The silk road finds an outlet at Bhamo, which is the most convenient port on the Irrawaddy, and therefore does not follow the line of the motor road for the last one hundred and fifty miles. The tea road from south Yunnan to Tibet is also unaffected by the motor road which crosses it at right angles at Hsia Kuan. Moreover, it is likely to be much cheaper to send goods by mule than by motor car; the opening of the Hsia Kuan—K'un Ming section of the Burma road did not affect the transit of goods from K'un Ming by mule at all. Individual travellers, on the other hand, naturally preferred to travel by bus when possible, and do thirteen stages in three days. The passenger service, how-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

491 ever, remains irregular and slow. Days pass when there are
494 no buses running, and when they do run they are often delayed by breakdowns or by subsidence of the new-made road.

491 The construction of motor roads does not therefore have at first any profound effect on the lives of the Yunnanese country folk. Indeed, their only direct concern with these roads is in the building of them, which they have to do by forced labour. This duty is the more unwelcome as they themselves cannot use the road when it is finished. Mules are not allowed on the motor roads, because the passage of large caravans of mules not only destroys the surface of the road when it is newly laid, but also interferes with motor traffic. The Yunnanese mule or pack pony has naturally never seen a motor car, or even a wheeled cart, and in consequence they stampede in wild alarm as soon as one appears. The proportion of muleteers to animals is small, for the caravans on the old pack roads need very little control, and therefore when a caravan of fifty or more mules stampedes at the sound of an approaching car, the ten or twelve men in charge cannot quiet them, loads are thrown off, and the frightened animals career wildly down the road communicating their panic to any other beasts they meet.

The muleteers therefore would not use the motor roads, even if they were allowed to do so, and the existing transport system derives no benefit from the construction of these roads. Nor do the other wayfarers, *hua kan* bearers and porters make much use of the new route. A motor road in mountainous country has to wind about by long detours to climb the ranges, and it is in practice quicker for those on foot to cut across the hills by the old paths which are so much shorter, if also steeper. Porters and litter bearers, as has been mentioned above, like to stop for a rest and a drink

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

of tea every few miles, and these teahouse resting places 491
are all on the old tracks, since the motor road winding about the hillsides passes through uninhabited forest country for many miles on end. The same difficulty occurs in regard to sleeping accommodation, for the foot passenger can at most do twenty-five miles in a day, and in some parts the motor road, making a long detour, does not touch any village for more than forty miles. For these reasons the foot passenger traffic can make no use of the new road either.

Where a public bus service exists it is only a small 494
number of wealthy people who can afford to use it. The fare to Hsia Kuan from K'un Ming was at first seventeen New Yunnan dollars, and then was raised to twenty-one. No poor man could afford this fare for a single journey, low though it is by European standards. A poor man, even a young student going up to K'un Ming to the Middle School, would find it much cheaper to walk the distance in thirteen days than to ride in the bus for three. By walking he would only have the small charges for food and lodging to pay, for he would take his scanty luggage on his back. The large numbers of men who go down to Burma for work in the winter months also always travel on foot, carrying their baggage on baskets and poles. For the poor man in Yunnan, Shanks' pony is and will long remain the only conveyance.

Unlike any other province in China, except neighbouring 505
Kwei Chou, Yunnan has no water communications of any importance. There are no navigable rivers in the province. Although it is crossed by four of the greatest rivers, the Yang Tze, West River, Mekong and Salween, not one of them can be navigated in Yunnan. Yet in spite of the isolation and distance from other navigable water, there is an active boat traffic on the great Yunnan Lakes, and on the most isolated of all, the Erh Hai at Ta Li, the boats are the biggest and best made of any in Yunnan. The Erh Hai

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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On the Burma Road. Yang Lao Kuan pass.

Min Chia junks on Erh Hai lake.

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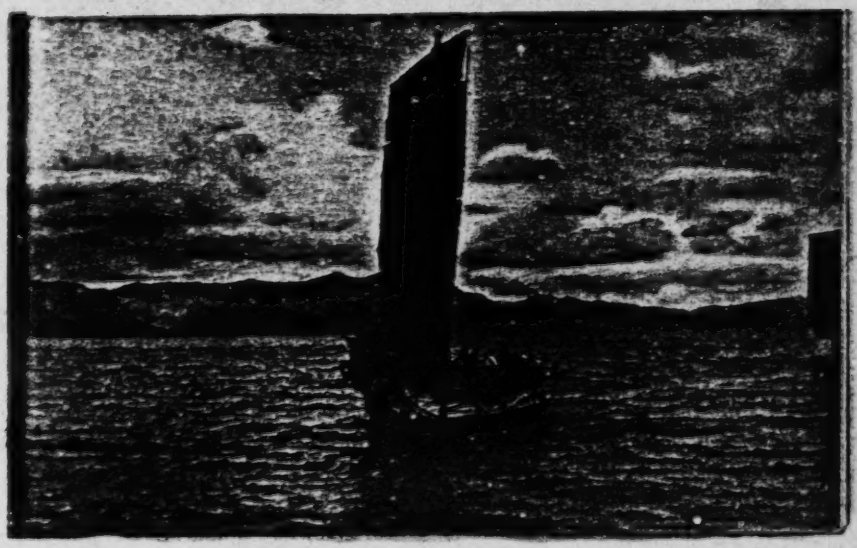

[Face p. 198]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

are usually shipped to all the villages and towns around the lake. 505

This traffic is entirely in the hands of Min Chia boat people, for none of the boat owners are Yunnanese Chinese or Moslems. The fact is interesting, for it raises the problem of whence the Min Chia obtained a knowledge of boat building and navigation. The nearest places where large sailing boats are in use are the Irrawaddy at Bhamo, about three hundred miles from Ta Li, and the K'un Yang lake, near which stands K'un Ming, the provincial capital. This lake is two hundred and seventy miles from Ta Li, and the junks used there are in every way unlike those that ply on the Erh Hai at Ta Li. The Erh Hai boats, which have the 501 distinction of sailing on what is probably the highest 502 sheet of navigated water in the world (6,700ft.), are much larger than those on the K'un Yang lake, and many details of their construction suggest that they are the product of a long and independent development. The largest ships are fifty feet long, with a beam of six to eight feet, and are built of heavy walnut planks, pegged together without the use of nails, the joints being closed with lime and cement, not caulked. This method seems clumsy, but in fact they do not leak if well looked after. The boat is almost flat-bottomed, but is fitted with a very large rudder which, when in use, projects deeper than the bottom of the boat and serves as a keel to correct leeway. This rudder has to be taken up and shipped when the boat approaches shallow water.

The Min Chia count on the wind for propulsion, and such oars as exist are rudimentary and clumsy paddles only used for manoeuvring the large boats in calms where the water is too deep to use poles. Boats are fitted with a mast which is made of pine, and is often thirty feet long. The sail is made of rice straw mats, strengthened with bamboo lathes so that when lowered it folds on itself in concertina fashion. It is raised by hauling on a cowhide rope, which passes over

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

501 the forked top of the mast, the slightly greasy cowhide
502 acting as a lubricant in the absence of pulleys. All ropes and sheets used on these boats are made of this material which is, of course, very strong and enduring. The larger boats have a cabin at the prow, which is raised well above the water line, and thus seems at a distance to be the poop, as in Chinese junks. On Erh Hai boats the necessity of shipping the heavy cumbersome rudder in shallow water makes it impossible to have the cabin at the poop. The whole boat can also be covered in rainy weather with curved mat roofs fitted on a bamboo frame, and is thus weatherproof, which makes boating by far the most comfortable way of travelling in the rainy season.

502 In a stiff breeze the Erh Hai boats can make very fast
132 passages, and sail fairly close to the wind, while when there is nothing but the slightest of airs it is still possible to sail them owing to the very large spread of the towering mat sail. On the other hand, they are admitted to be dangerous in the violent squally winds which sweep across the lake in winter. These winds off the Ts'ang Shan range are a peculiar feature of the winter climate of Ta Li, due to the conjunction of a very high mountain and the lake. They come at irregular intervals, without warning, and the direction of the wind is unpredictable. At one moment the air is still under a cloudless sky, at the next, with a roar like an express train, the squall sweeps down across the plain raising clouds of dust, and then is gone. A few minutes later another squall approaches, from the opposite direction. In such weather sailing is very dangerous, and the boatmen either hoist only a small part of the sail, or prefer to punt along the shallows.

502 The larger Erh Hai boats are usually handled by a crew of three or four, who are the owner and his family. Apart from hoisting the sail, which is heavy work requiring all hands,

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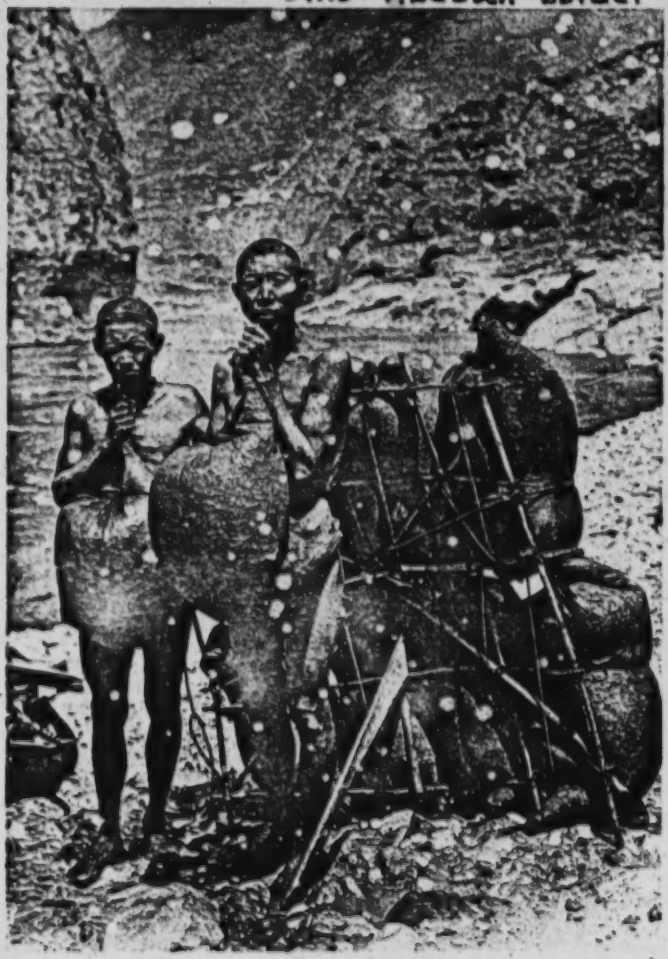

PLATE 143. — NA-KEI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR RAFT

於 羅 家 渡 的 水 手 们

Every time they plunge into the icy waters of the Yangtze, they must inflate their goatskin bags as well as those of the raft.

[p. 244 ⓒ]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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502 their only labour is to steer, or in calms, to punt. They often prefer to travel at night because in summer there is more wind after sundown, and if the wind fails it is tiring to have to do the hard work of punting or rowing in the hot sun. As they work, or sit idly steering the slow-moving boat, they beguile the time by singing improvised words to the one tune which Min Chia peasants always sing to. Time is no object. A trip from Shier Yu, the port of Ta Li, to Wa Shih or Shang Kuan may take four hours or less with a favourable wind, or seventeen hours if there is no wind at all. As they carry a cooking stove and provision of rice they are not dependent on the villages for food, while fish can often be bought from the fishermen on the lake itself.

579 489 The length and slowness of all travel in Yunnan is in fact the explanation of that indifference to time and punctuality which disturbs the foreign visitor. When a journey must in any case take several days, one more or less cannot matter, and as long as the stage point is reached in time for supper, it does not matter when the traveller starts. No Yunnanese would think of starting on a journey unless he allowed for a possible week's delay, through bad weather or—formerly a paramount consideration—delay due to unsafe roads and banditry. When the roads were still infested with robbers it was not uncommon for all travellers to wait in the last town below some dangerous pass until the authorities agreed to provide an escort, or until there were sufficient wealthy travellers assembled to pay for one. My arrival in one such town, some ten years ago, was hailed with delight, since I already had the escort which the local authorities were unwilling to provide for nearly fifty or sixty other travellers and four caravans of forty mules. All these, the next day, got safe and free escort over the pass which was known to be the haunt of a large gang of deserters from the provincial army.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph 20
lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those 487
written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read 482
them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by [203]
word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various 491
neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow 502
and Yin Shin Wan 茂州 and between Wei Chow and Tsugulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter 436
part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is 432

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505] junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443 heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438 walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764 side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods, walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324 can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443 Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438 stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505 many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443 and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438 summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats, protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

505 house, while on others merchants recline upon the heaped
443 up packages and boxes which hold their goods.
438 In spite of the crowds and animation of the fair ground, merchants, as usual, complain that in recent years their
443 business has not been good. The farmers, they say cannot
438 afford to buy since opium cultivation was stopped, and now since the war with Japan began, the price of imported goods is still higher. In 1938 the merchants said that whereas the people would buy old stock, i.e. that purchased before the war and still sold at pre-war prices, there was practically no sale for new stock, purchased since the value of the Chinese dollar in relation to outside currencies dropped. It is indeed fairly obvious that most of the people came to see and be seen rather than to make more than one or two small purchases. The fair must always have been for the villagers as much a social as a commercial occasion. It offers to the women, and particularly to the girls, one of the few opportunities of seeing scenes of busy life, crowds of people, and of wearing their best clothes in public. This is clearly an important aspect of the matter to them, for at no other time or place is it possible to see so many Min Chia girls wearing their full costume, moving freely unattended through the crowds, making their own purchases, watching their friends or rivals do the same, modestly aware that their looks and costumes are being appraised by masculine eyes as well.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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Kwei Chou, Yunnan has no water communications of any importance. There are no navigable rivers in the province. Although it is crossed by four of the greatest rivers, the Yang Tze, West River, Mekong and Salween, not one of them can be navigated in Yunnan. Yet in spite of the isolation and distance from other navigable water, there is an active boat traffic on the great Yunnan Lakes, and on the most isolated of all, the Erh Hai at Ta Li, the boats are the biggest and best made of any in Yunnan. The Erh Hai

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Border Peoples AE3

505 is thirty miles in length, with a width varying from seven miles at the widest point, to about three miles at the narrowest. It is thus an excellent means of communication between the towns and villages on its shores, and there is regular traffic in goods and passengers between these places.

Ta Li itself is not on the shores of the lake, being about two miles from the nearest point where boats touch, the village of Shier Yu. There is a local belief that once the water of the lake came much further up on the plain than is now the case, and this seems to be confirmed by the existence of humped-back bridges across what are now small ditches, but which it is said were once waterways on which boats navigated. On the other hand, Hsia Kuan and Shang Kuan, the two fortress towns at either end of the lake, are built on the edge of the water, and Têng Ch'uan beyond the northern end of the lake, can be reached by smaller boats going up the Erh river estuary. There are also three or four large market villages on the eastern shore, of which the most important is Wa Shih. Heavy and bulky freight is frequently shipped at Hsia Kuan and carried up to Shang Kuan by boat, where it is taken on by mule to districts further north, as this saves mule hire for two stages. At the Yu Tan Hui fair, held near Shang Kuan, almost all the goods and many of the passengers arrive by boat, but this, of course, is an exceptional occasion. The greater part of the lake traffic is in perishable foodstuffs, which are consumed locally. Thus, all the fruit for the Ta Li and Hsia Kuan markets comes across the lake from Wa Shih and other villages on the eastern shore, which are only a day's journey from the orange groves in the Pin Ch'uan plain. On their return journey these boats take firewood, which is scarce on the dry eastern shore, and also cargoes of dressed granite building stone and marbles for tomb stones. Tiles for roofing, which are made near Hsia Kuan,

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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are usually shipped to all the villages and towns around the lake. 505

This traffic is entirely in the hands of Min Chia boat people, for none of the boat owners are Yunnanese Chinese or Moslems. The fact is interesting, for it raises the problem of whence the Min Chia obtained a knowledge of boat building and navigation. The nearest places where large sailing boats are in use are the Irrawaddy at Bhamo, about three hundred miles from Ta Li, and the K'un Yang lake, near which stands K'un Ming, the provincial capital. This lake is two hundred and seventy miles from Ta Li, and the junks used there are in every way unlike those that ply on the Erh Hai at Ta Li. The Erh Hai boats, which have the 501 distinction of sailing on what is probably the highest 502 sheet of navigated water in the world (6,700ft.), are much larger than those on the K'un Yang lake, and many details of their construction suggest that they are the product of a long and independent development. The largest ships are fifty feet long, with a beam of six to eight feet, and are built of heavy walnut planks, pegged together without the use of nails, the joints being closed with lime and cement, not caulked. This method seems clumsy, but in fact they do not leak if well looked after. The boat is almost flat-bottomed, but is fitted with a very large rudder which, when in use, projects deeper than the bottom of the boat and serves as a keel to correct leeway. This rudder has to be taken up and shipped when the boat approaches shallow water.

The Min Chia count on the wind for propulsion, and such oars as exist are rudimentary and clumsy paddles only used for manoeuvring the large boats in calms where the water is too deep to use poles. Boats are fitted with a mast which is made of pine, and is often thirty feet long. The sail is made of rice straw mats, strengthened with bamboo lathes so that when lowered it folds on itself in concertina fashion. It is raised by hauling on a cowhide rope, which passes over

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ཕྱང་ཐང (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 昌蒲桶. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] ཀྱ་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཆུ

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 秋江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ཆང་ཡུལ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

[a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

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[p. 362 H]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 192. — THE SALWEEN AT CHANG-RA

懸崖空拉渡

In the winter the crossing of the Salween is accomplished by dug-out canoes paddled by Lu-tzu; in the summer a single rope stretched across the river serves as a bridge. The Salween flows here at 5,800 feet.

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243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

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438 tity to supply the local markets, rice can never be an export
435 crop for the Min Chia farmer. A quantity is sent up to Li
511 Chiang and Chien Ch'uan, which having a colder climate, are less productive; but the cost of transporting rice on mule back, the only means of transport, is so high that this trade can never develop on a large scale. Therefore, in a good year the price of rice at Ta Li falls very low and the farmer's purchasing power declines proportionately ; in a bad year the quantity of rice harvested is not sufficient to provide an export surplus, and the poorer farmers, after paying their rice rents, have difficulty in living off the remainder of the crop, and cannot afford to make other purchases. The rice standard is therefore a check on trade and a factor causing the standard of living to remain low.

249 The Min Chia, who are in most respects a practical and hard headed people, were not unaware of these disadvantages, and sought to escape from them by producing an export crop which would not interfere with the cultivation of rice, and would yet command a good price in distant markets. Such a crop must have a high value for small bulk; for as it must be transported for at least two weeks on mule back to reach any market of importance (either Yunnanfu or Burma) no bulky inexpensive commodity would show a profit after the costs of transport were deducted. Such a crop they found in opium, which was introduced into Yunnan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Opium admirably fulfilled the conditions outlined above. It was planted on the rice lands as a winter crop, harvested in May before the rice seedlings are transplanted. Therefore it did not interfere with rice cultivation. It was light and fetched a very high price in the markets of Yunnanfu whence it was transported to other parts of China. It thus provided the Min Chia with, from their point of view, the perfect export crop, which brought outside money into the closed economy of Ta Li and

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THE RICE STANDARD

Since the war with Japan began the National Currency has 436
fallen in relation to sterling, but the internal purchasing power of the local currency has hardly altered at all. Therefore it is better to express the value of the local currency in sterling in accordance with the rate of exchange prevailing before the war, in the first half of 1937.

In calculating the value of the yield of any farm in the Ta 434
Li region it must be remembered, that as rice cannot be exported in any quantity owing to the high cost and inadequate nature of the transport, when the crop is good the price is low, and when the price is high, it is because the yield is poor. The Min Chia farmer therefore never gets the maximum return from his land which is theoretically possible, and an estimate of the income derived from rice farming must take account of this. We may take the harvest of 1938 as an example. The year was good, the crop abundant ; consequently the price of rice was low, seven nickel cents to the *sheng*, or about 2½*d*. for nine lbs. The yield was high, twelve *tou* to the *mu*, therefore,

One *tou* of ten *sheng* gives 70 nickel cents = 7 $ Nickel
One *mu* yields 12 *tou* giving 84 $ Nickel
One acre or six *mu* gives 504 $ Nickel = £6 6*s*. 0*d*.

which is not a poor return on an investment of £45 0*s*. 0*d*. A further return of about one tenth the value of the rice crop is obtained from the wheat or other winter crops.

A family of moderate means, owning 18 *mu* or three acres, 434
would therefore have harvested in 1938 crops to the value of 511 ●
about £20 0*s*. 0*d*. If the family consisted of some five or six 427
persons, adults and children, £10 0*s*. 0*d*. worth would be consumed by themselves as food, leaving at most half the crop to sell or exchange for other commodities. The purchasing power of such a family would in other words be at most £10 0*s*. 0*d*. per annum. If however they had to rent half

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434 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that por-
● 511 tion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth
427 £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his fam-
465 ily can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

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511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s.* 0*d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

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CHAPTER 9

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

WHAT are called modern comforts are unknown as yet to the Min Chia, rich or poor. There is no water supply except wells, no lighting except oil lamps or candles, no sanitation at all. Glass windows are a rare luxury never installed throughout a house, and the panes are small and of inferior quality. Most windows are of paper pasted over wooden lattices, which are very artistic but quite opaque, admitting only a dim light. The only system of heating houses in the cold winter evenings or wet days is the use of charcoal burners, for no Min Chia house has fireplaces or chimneys. In a Min Chia house with paper windows one may have either light or heat, but not both at once. For if the windows are shut the light is dim, and if they are kept open the charcoal brazier is not sufficient to keep the room warm.

These discomforts are inevitable in a country so far removed from the centres where modern luxuries are produced, but the Min Chia do not make the most of the materials they have to hand, even when they are well able to afford them. A bamboo lattice screen hung over the doorway or window will keep out flies from a room in summer, and such screens are occasionally used. Most rooms, however, do not have them, and in the spring months before the rains, the ordinary Min Chia house is black with flies, about which everyone complains. Yet it never seems to occur to them to make use of lattice screens at every doorway. This attitude is indeed usual. Rich men live in discomfort, of which they are well aware, but seem to lack the knowledge of how to improve conditions.

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a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the 352
bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, 342
usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the 362
crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a 511
Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, 342
and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

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342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one some-
[372] [237] times sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it
[294] grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

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352 The furniture of a Min Chia home is simple. Tables of two kinds, square for eating meals, and smaller oblong occasional tables for tea cups, which, with hard straight back chairs, are ranged around the sides of the guest room. There are also the long carved tables, something like a narrow European sideboard, which are used as altars and stand against the far wall facing the entrance of the guest room. Benches supplement the hard chairs, but except in a few rare rich households, there is no such thing as an easy chair even of the crudest type. The cane armchairs now made in K'un Ming are occasionally brought to Ta Li by members of the wealthier families, but it is exceptional to find more than two or three of these chairs in the best
513 houses. The Min Chia bed is simply a plank platform on four
352 wooden legs, unsprung and unyielding. This is covered with mats and then with quilts until the hardness of the planks is somewhat modified—but for the European body most inadequately modified—and reclining on such a bed is the
352 Min Chia idea of comfort. For cupboards the Min Chia use large chests, and locally made cabinets, of inferior workmanship.

Most of this furniture is very roughly made of soft woods, painted black, or black with red tops, in the case of tables and benches. But a better quality of hard wood furniture, tables, chairs, altars and benches is made at Têng Ch'uan north of Ta Li, and sold at the Yu Tan Hui fair. These pieces are made of red Ch'un wood, a hard wood of the ilex type found only at high altitudes on the Yunnan mountain ranges. The Têng Ch'uan Ch'un wood furniture is beautifully carved and very well made, the table tops cut from a single piece of wood measuring as much as 3ft. by 2ft. 6in. But though handsome, it is only made in the traditional pieces, and does not meet the demands of comfort. If a Min Chia wishes to make a guest comfortable he offers him

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ornament and a silk tassel. (1) Their jewelry they buy from the 292

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 33, 34.

Chinese.

Hair Style

The Fantzu wear their hair cut short; it is only at the parting 302
that many men still wear a small, thin braid that looks like a rat tail. Their method of cutting hair is still very primitive. They use an old sickle that is no longer good for cutting grass, and they sharpen it after a fashion on suitable stones found in the field. In contrast to the Chinese, the Fantzu, oddly enough, cut their hair from the top down. Only the sorcerers (bömı-bu) wear long hair, which they wrap in a head scarf. Their beards they pluck out, like the Chinese, with brass tweezers which they carry on their rosaries or on a chain around their necks. Only lamas occasionally wear beards. /14/

The women wear a very complicated coiffure. Little girls of six or seven have their hair dressed for the first time. The style consists of three rather thick braids that hang down from the parting and many smaller, thin braids on the sides, held together above the ears with a special ornament. The coiffure of the women is the same, except that they wear many more braids that hang far down and are held together with a complicated ornament. (1) Beside the two

1. A similar ornament of another nomad tribe is shown in Hermanns 3), illustration 51.

center braids, the woman wears 80 to 100 thin braids on either side. These braids must reach to the knees. Since a woman's hair is often not long enough or thick enough for this type of coiffure, she buys switches from Chinese traders.

For the rest, the Tibetans do not know very much about caring 515
for their bodies. They do not wash, and their bodies are covered with a black film of dirt. Since they also do not wash their furs, conditions are ideal for the propagation of body lice. The Fantzu wash only their mouth, face and hands, with cold water. They do not use a wash basin for this, but take a mouthful of water from a pottery jug, rinse out their mouths, then spit out the water into their hands and use it to wash their face and hands. After washing, they rub butter into their face. After eating, too, if they have

515 remnants of butter on their fingers, they rub it into their faces, and it forms a protection against the strong mountain sun.

Ornaments and Weapons

301 Men and women lay much more stress on ornament than on bodily hygiene. The men wear one earring (1), either on the right or the

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 6.

left ear. It is made of silver and is usually set with a large red coral. The tent nomads also /15/ occasionally wear a large, ring-shaped ornament of silver set with corals, above one ear. This is not, however, characteristic of their costume, but belongs to the sedentary Fantzu who live farther south in the region of Labrang. Less frequently the men wear simple silver finger rings as earrings. A rosary is usually worn around the neck as a chain. It is made of thick black disks of fragrant wood, or, what is simpler and cheaper, of small wooden beads. Sometimes they also wear their rosary (2) at their

788 301

2. Rockhill 1), Plates 35, 36.

belt or on the rope around their hips. The black chain around their necks is called tsä-nga in Tibetan, or su-chu in Chinese. On this chain hangs in front either a round disk resembling a Chinese chess figure or a large round amber or lacquered ball. On their thin rosaries they wear a square or circular silver box containing some kind of sacred relics, mostly pieces of cloth, amulets and often a Buddha picture, usually that of the Dalai-Lama or the Panchan-Lama. (3). The front of this box is always decorated with a coral

3. Rockhill 1), Plate 5.

in the center. The length of the sides or the diameter of this small amulet box can vary a great deal, but averages about 6 to 9 centimeters and 4 to 6 centimeters respectively. It is about 1 to 2 centimeters deep.

411 Apart from these actual ornaments, however, the men set great store by the decoration of their weapons. They always carry their weapons with them when they go any distance from their tents, even in peaceful times. Their weapons consist of a gun, a sword and a dagger. Until recently old-fashioned guns (1) were generally used,

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 23.

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517 As has been said, the Min Chia have the Chinese respect for learning, but this does not mean that they are very given to intellectual pursuits. Few men read for pleasure, perhaps because the conditions in which they live make it really difficult to do so, or because the constant study of their youth has sickened them. The literature of China is not all solemn philosophy or learned historical commentary. It contains many famous novels and collections of short stories, as well as the works in this vein of modern writers. All these books can be bought quite cheaply in Ta Li city, and are in fact read, but by students, rarely by grown men. It may well be that the younger generation, taught by more modern methods using the current rather than the classical literature, reads with more facility than their elders, and also finds reading more congenial, since they have not wearisome memories of learning classical works by heart before they could understand one word of the text. Whether inspired by duty or pleasure, the only people seen constantly reading, and frequenting the bookshops, are the young.

Almost the only place where a man can get sufficient light to read, or a woman to sew, in a Min Chia home, is the verandah which surrounds the inside of the courtyard, and from which the rooms open off. It might be thought that in a climate like that of Ta Li, when on most days of the year it is pleasant to sit out either in the shade or in the warm winter sun, the Min Chia would make some comfortable way of using the courtyard verandah. But in practice, though they sit there most of the day, they use no chair or couch, but squat down on tiny stools leaning precariously against the columns which support the gallery overhead. Here the older ladies sew and gossip while the children play in the courtyard, the younger women chop wood, wash clothes, thresh grain and do their other

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domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the 517
family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even [465]
the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women 357
of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried 567
girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited. Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is always a "*ya t'ou*," that is to say a slave girl. This system, which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed 732
individuals, who, coming from the poor families where 357
goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too 567
deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride, and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some small remuneration, and possible, to find them a husband when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min Chia women are more independent in character than the other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the whole much better treated than, for example, they are in K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

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732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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as he plows, and it is asserted that the animals cease pulling when the plowman stops singing. 412

In every home there is a square hole in the ground filled with dirt and ashes. This is a very simple stove, and probably has been used for centuries. Similar stoves are found in the temples in or near the sacred groves. In this square there is often an iron stove that consists of a circle about three feet in diameter resting on three iron legs equal distances apart. There are three iron pieces extending from these three legs towards the center, but not meeting. These three pieces hold the cooking vessel above the fire. The writer has seen similar iron stoves among the Lolos of the Ningyuan valley. Probably the ancient form of this stove was three pieces of stone chipped into triangles so that if placed equal distances apart one part of each stone can serve as a leg, and the other in the center hold up the cooking vessel. The stoves in the temples in and near the sacred groves consist of three such stones each. In many homes there are now typical Chinese stoves made of stones, lime, and clay, with two or three fire-holes over which iron kos or cooking vessels can be placed. There are no chimneys, and the smoke goes back out of the stove into the room. In the ko food is boiled fried, and baked. Large [252] wooden dippers are used to pour in and dip out water and other liquids, and iron dippers and ladels are used to stir the hot food, turn it over, or dip it out.

Ladders are generally trees in which large notches have been cut, a type of ladder that is widely used in the highlands of west China. 417

The walls of the Ch'iang homes are innocent of any pictures that might beautify them, and are blackened with smoke from [532] incense, candles, lamps, and fires.

IV. *Social Cutoms.*

1. Social Life

The Ch'iang lead a simple social life. There are no theatricals excepting those given in the Chinese cities and villlages. There are no social dances excepting near Chiu Tzu T'un. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance at any other time. One is tempted to conclude that the Ch'iang do not know how to play. The playthings of the children are often pebbles or broken tiles. When at leisure the 517

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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives
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517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they
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In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

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more than one table is served. The number of guests may 574
therefore be from four to six, depending on the number of members of the family who will be present. All the guests are, of course, men, and it is not usual for young boys to be invited to these parties. When the guests arrive they are shown into the guest room, or if that is too small to be convenient, the room adjoining, normally some one's bedroom, will be re-arranged for the occasion. Tea 521
is then served with cigarettes, and conversation is carried 574
on until everyone has arrived, perhaps for nearly an hour. The guests arrive early or late in accordance with their willingness, or otherwise, to converse during this wait. After the meal it is customary to leave at once, so that the preliminary period of conversation and tea drinking corresponds to the conversation after dinner in the West.

When everyone has arrived, and the dinner is ready, the 574
host invites them to enter the dining room and be seated. 576
But this is not a simple or rapid operation. The table is round, and the place of honour is that which faces the entrance on the far side of the table, and which usually has the host's best bed and quilts as seat. Every one at once endeavours to sit down as far as possible from this place. The host, protesting, grabs the more honoured or elderly guest by the arm and endeavours to push him towards the seat of honour, but he, levered out of the chair he first sat in, promptly sits down in the next furthest from the place which he knows quite well he must ultimately occupy. All the other guests perform a similar pantomime, the hosts pulling them up and pushing them, protesting politely, to their destined seats. At last this contest of politeness is over and all are seated. The table has as yet nothing on it but chopsticks, small saucers of soy sauce, and four plates of cold food, ham, pickled vegetables, sliced sausage and some other cold vegetable dish.

 Min Chia

857 children have quite a large variety of toys, all
524 made locally, for the cheap Japanese toy, or its Shanghai-made competitor, have not yet reached the rural parts of Yunnan. Hobby horses, spinning tops, wooden swords and spears, marbles, dolls, and small wooden toy water mills, are the most elaborate and enduring, for many toys are made of paper for some special occasion, such as the Kwan Yin festival and the New Year. Kites are not regarded strictly as toys, for they are also flown by men as well as by boys. The kite flying season is conventionally limited to the spring, and any one who tried to fly a kite at other seasons would be considered eccentric. This curious idea prevails all over China, but I have never been able to hear a satisfactory explanation. The kite is a Chinese invention, and of great antiquity, often made in the shape of a dragon. It seems possible that it was originally a representation of the Rain Dragon, flown in spring in connection with some rain making rite, and that some faint memory of this inspires the convention which limits kite flying to that season. The fire balloons called K'un Ming lamps, mentioned earlier, which are now regarded as toys, are also only flown at one season for a limited period, and some connection with the Shu Pao ceremony is admitted.

Children also play a number of round games such as hide and seek, touch-last, hop scotch, and one, of Chinese origin, called "breaking the city wall", in which a line of boys hold hands and one other has to charge them and
[304] break through, but without using his hands or fists. Except for the last, which is a boys' game, all the others are played by girls and boys together, in the courtyard of their home, for as the Min Chia have never bound the feet of their girls, and the custom is now rapidly disappearing among the Chinese and half Chinese, little girls are quite as active as their brothers. In recent years the introduction of basketball as a school game has led to this becoming the national

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857 ball game of China. It has several advantages for the
524 Chinese, for it can be played on a small piece of ground, which is often all that is available, and it does not require the special boots needed for football, which few Chinese schoolboys could afford. In most parts of China the ground is hard and dry for a large part of the year, and any game such as Rugby Football, or Association, in which the players are likely to fall, or be barged down, is dangerous unless played on a specially softened and prepared ground, and that of course is rarely available. Basket ball, introduced by the schools and also played by soldiers in barracks, is thus the only foreign game known to the Min Chia.

857 When a boy or girl is seven years old schooling begins.
872 Before that, in well-to-do families, the child will have already been taught the elements of writing and have begun to learn to read. During the school years most children live at home, only those who attend the Middle Schools and come from distant villages, boarding at the school. Although elementary education is widespread, only a small proportion of boys, and still fewer girls go on to the
883 Middle School. At thirteen or fourteen school ends for
874 most boys, and they either begin to do full time work on the land, or are apprenticed to a tradesman. The apprentice system is only followed in the city, for in the villages there is no trade but agriculture or lake fishing. The apprentice may be engaged at any age over fourteen years, and is bound to serve his master for four years. In return he must be taught the craft, fed, lodged in the shop, and given a new suit of coat and trousers every New Year's day. He receives no pay during these years, but he shares in the family festivities, and on the occasion of the festival of the God of Wealth, locally known as the Golden Armoured God (Chin Chia Ts'ai Shen), when the merchants picnic near the God's temple outside the west gate, the appren-

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slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, 574
and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his 264
guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause, and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a friendly wave of the chopsticks, " Please help yourselves". The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff manners of the first part of the meal give way to an increasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly 574
fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two 524
neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which 273
enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, introduced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions ; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes " stone " and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another ; paper

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574 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The
524 loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this
273 being called "*Kan Pei*" "dry cup."

By the time this game has been played three or four times
574 most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are
264 eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the "Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

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(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way 796
similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the 779
Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight varia- 795
tions. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs derisively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on [525]
one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

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545 the annual or bi-annual festival of some patron deity. In such cases the play is given on a raised stage at the end of the courtyard, and the guests usually feast first, or during the plays, several being given in succession from about two in
525 the afternoon until nearly midnight. Guests who are not members of the Guild can be invited, and these occasions are often used for gambling, Poker and Ma Chang being the favourite games. Poker has been introduced from Europe, as its Chinese name "*Pa sze*" from the English word "Pass" reveals.

The Min Chia are also fond of gambling, card games being the favorite with adults, and dice with children. Boys throw dice for minute sums of money, the "cash" which is still in use in the countryside, usually gathering in some convenient large gateway with smooth stone steps for this sport. The parents do not seem to consider that this game is unsuitable for children. Adults usually invite guests for cards or Ma Chang early in the afternoon; the play then continues until evening, when the feast is served which ends the entertainment. Stakes are rather high, from one dollar silver to five dollars silver a point, and it is admitted that sometimes men are ruined through gambling losses. Card games or Ma Chang are never played "for love". To the Min Chia the latter game is especially a gambler's game, and indeed in China generally this game has the reputation associated with Baccarat or Chemin de Fer in Europe. Gambling as a form of entertainment is popular not so much for itself, as because there is nothing else to take its place. For the wealthy man who has leisure life in a small town such as Ta Li is dull. The comforts of home life are not sufficient to encourage reading as a pleasure, and there is little to do if he goes out in search of distraction. Card games are always popular in such communities, in all parts of the world, but it is unfortunate, in view of the narrow

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margins of their economy, that the Min Chia take no 525
pleasure in them unless they are played for high stakes.

Outdoor sports and games are almost unknown. As has 526
been seen basket ball is slowly becoming a popular school game, but it is never played by grown men, except soldiers. Tennis is still virtually unheard of. The Garrison Commander and his staff officers, men who had spent a large part of their lives in other parts of China, or at K'un Ming, had a court in the grounds of the Garrison Headquarters, but after they departed for the war front it was no longer used. Nor do the Min Chia hunt or shoot. Very occasionally young men will go out with a gun on the mountain side, but it is in no sense an organised sport. On the other hand, fishing parties are frequently given by those who live near the lake. Small boats are hired, and the guests are invited for the day, most of which is spent fishing with the line from the boats in the lagoons, or in the shallows of the lake, until in the late afternoon a feast is served. The fish caught are usually small both in size and number, but the guests seem to be more attracted by the boating than by the fishing for which it is an excuse.

Boating on the lake, except at the festival of the Dragon 527
King, is not practised as a pleasure, partly no doubt because the lakeside people have to do it for their livelihood, and those from the city or inland villages can rarely spare the time to walk a considerable distance to the lake, find and hire a boat, and then amuse themselves by aimless cruising. This would seem a fantastic waste of money to the Min Chia. But if some reason can be given for the expedition, they are delighted to find an excuse for sailing on the lake. One such excuse, or reason, is provided by the pear harvest in the orchards on the eastern shore. It has become a custom, annually renewed by some of the lakeside families who are fairly well-to-do, to invite friends for a day's

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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PLATE 141.—NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR INFLATED GOATSKINS

打渡木筏的纳西人

The only way to cross the Yangtse to Bbĕr-ddĕr is by means of goatskin rafts. The men are Na-khi from the village of Za-ba opposite Ta-ku.

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[p. 244 E]

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor
527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure
788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are
[764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

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769 and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there.
527 Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of
788 reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

769 The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn,
527 for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

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769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a momument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

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the belief that drowned persons have been claimed by the 766
Dragon of the Lake, the recovered corpses of those who lose their life in this way are buried on the foreshore, among the willows which line the water. They are given elaborate tombs if they were fathers of a family, just as if death had not been due to drowning, but they are never buried with the family on the mountain slopes. Graves are always orientated 787
in accordance with the instructions of a geomancer, but 766
they invariably face the lake at some angle, and are never faced towards the mountain. The orientation of graves is believed to be intimately connected with the repose of the dead, and if misfortune falls upon a family, or the ghost of the deceased is believed to walk, it is attributed to wrong orientation of the grave, and the monument is reconstructed accordingly.

In all parts of China the Lunar New Year, which falls early 527
in February, is the principal holiday in the calendar, and is celebrated by feasting and festivity. It is usual for shops to close, formerly for as long as two weeks, and even now very little business is done in the first half of the First Month. The 15th of the 1st Month, the last day of the Feast of Lanterns, was the old official end of the holiday season, a period which very much resembles the Christmas holidays of western Europe. In just the same way the New Year holiday is a time for family reunions, a festival in which the religious background is not so prominent as the secular feasting and holiday making. In Ta Li the Min Chia celebrate the New Year with rites, which though they may be affected by Chinese practice in the past, are now strange to Chinese visitors from the eastern provinces. These rites are performed privately in the home and are therefore akin to the Shu Pao ceremonies of Ancestor Worship described above. It is characteristic of Min Chia practice, however, to find Buddhist elements incorporated in the ceremony.

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527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

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of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* (prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ancestral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family. 527 769 788

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their goodwill and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

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527 769 788 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 779 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of 779
releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously 796
as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of 527
the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the 796
temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th 796

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margins of their economy, that the Min Chia take no 525
pleasure in them unless they are played for high stakes.

Outdoor sports and games are almost unknown. As has 526
been seen basket ball is slowly becoming a popular school game, but it is never played by grown men, except soldiers. Tennis is still virtually unheard of. The Garrison Commander and his staff officers, men who had spent a large part of their lives in other parts of China, or at K'un Ming, had a court in the grounds of the Garrison Headquarters, but after they departed for the war front it was no longer used. Nor do the Min Chia hunt or shoot. Very occasionally young men will go out with a gun on the mountain side, but it is in no sense an organised sport. On the other hand, fishing parties are frequently given by those who live near the lake. Small boats are hired, and the guests are invited for the day, most of which is spent fishing with the line from the boats in the lagoons, or in the shallows of the lake, until in the late afternoon a feast is served. The fish caught are usually small both in size and number, but the guests seem to be more attracted by the boating than by the fishing for which it is an excuse.

Boating on the lake, except at the festival of the Dragon 527
King, is not practised as a pleasure, partly no doubt because the lakeside people have to do it for their livelihood, and those from the city or inland villages can rarely spare the time to walk a considerable distance to the lake, find and hire a boat, and then amuse themselves by aimless cruising. This would seem a fantastic waste of money to the Min Chia. But if some reason can be given for the expedition, they are delighted to find an excuse for sailing on the lake. One such excuse, or reason, is provided by the pear harvest in the orchards on the eastern shore. It has become a custom, annually renewed by some of the lakeside families who are fairly well-to-do, to invite friends for a day's

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527 excursion to the pear orchards. A boat is hired, a large number of cooking utensils, rice bowls, and baskets of light refreshments, put on board, and the party, perhaps fifteen or so strong, and including the women of the household, embarks. The crossing of the lake takes from three-quarters of an hour to three hours, depending on the wind, so an elastic time-table is essential. The time is whiled away, if the crossing is slow and tedious, by smoking, eating melon seeds and pine nuts, or, for the older men, smoking opium.

Arrived at Dao Chi, the small village on the nearest point of the eastern shore, everyone disembarks and makes for the pear orchards on the mountain sides above the village. A tour of these is made, and the fruit sampled, and carried away in baskets, a small payment being made to the owners of each orchard. Meanwhile, the women, having found a suitable spot, are cooking and preparing the afternoon meal, while some of the young men and boys go down to bathe from the rocky shore, or to fish. About four in the afternoon the meal is served, with the usual Fire Pot, and a light consumption of wine, and the return journey is started before the evening breeze fails. The purchase of several large baskets of fruit, a little cheaper than they could be bought in Ta Li market, is made the excuse for this picnic, for the Min Chia must have a reason for undertaking such an expedition.

This applies equally to all excursions. The "*dso mu*" visits to the graves, described earlier, are in reality nothing but picnics justified by reverence to the ancestral graves, and the same sort of reason is required for visiting any other spot. Consequently, the Min Chia only know a restricted number of the innumerable beauty spots lying close to hand on the mountain. One may visit Wu Wei Ssu, a Buddhist temple with a beautiful garden and some very fine old cedar trees, lying four miles north of the

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527 city on the lower mountain slopes. The feast cooked in the temple kitchens (in spite of the fact that no meat or wine should be used in a temple) is served after the guests have spent the afternoon playing cards in the garden. A similar sort of excursion is made to Chung Ho Ssu, the Taoist temple (with an important shrine to the Mountain God) which lies immediately behind and above the city at about 9,000ft. The attraction here is, of course, the magnificent view over the plain and lake, with the city spread out below. These two excursions, which are perhaps still partly pilgrimages for some people, are often made by women also, but very few Min Chia of either sex go to any other places on the mountain.

Young men, it is true, sometimes visit two other beauty spots, which are more difficult of access. Ch'ing P'i Ch'i the Jade Green Spring, which wells up, a perfect azure blue colour, in a cave at the head of a rocky gorge some six miles south of the city, is visited for its beauty and also for the rock inscriptions cut in ancient times to celebrate the visits of distinguished persons. But there are many other gorges, cascades and waterfalls, which are never visited by any one but grass cutters. Unless a place is famous, and has some definite "sight," the Min Chia do not consider it worth a visit, and many men have never troubled to go a mile or two from the city to see scenery which in any other country would be world famous.

A few young men, in recent years an increasing number, for the interest taken by visiting Chinese has stimulated their curiosity, make the ascent of the mountain to the tarn called the Hsi Ma T'ang—the Horse Washing Pool—a name derived from the legend that a deity brings his celestial steeds to this place. This point is only reached by a long and hard climb of five to six hours through the bamboo and rain forests. It lies a hundred feet or so under

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527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

137 824 [247] Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea, which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives
[525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they
[562] may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is considerable freedom between the sexes—that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by
171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet While singing each line each person turned around com-
[415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

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The ordinary meal consists of butter and tsamba, but more butter 252
is eaten than tsamba. This is the way it is done: they fill a wooden bowl with tea (1) and add a good clump of butter (about a heaping

1. Such a bowl is on an average 5 centimeters deep and has a diameter at the brim of 10 to 12 centimeters. Rock- [415]
hill 1), Plate 14, Figure 3.

tablespoonful in the European sense) which melts in the hot tea. As they drink the butter tea, they try to blow away as much of the butter floating on top as possible, until a certain amount of tea and butter remain in the bowl. Then they sprinkle a suitable amount of tsamba into the bowl and knead it, along with the remaining tea and butter, with their fingers. When they have shaped it into a ball, they eat it without adding any other ingredients. The casein powder is also soaked in tea. Meat - of yak and sheep - is not eaten every [262]
day. They eat the meat of animals that have been killed or that have died of some disease. Sheep and yaks /32/ are not slaughtered [253]
but strangled. Most of the sheep and yaks are killed in September and October after they have grown fat on summer pastures. Some of the meat is eaten fresh; most of it is dried. The fresh meat is always boiled in water, not roasted. Hunks of cooked meat are cut off with a knife and eaten with the fingers. The intestines are stuffed with tsamba or Chinese bread (mo-mo) and eaten. The large intestine is generally used for this purpose, since the nomads have found that they can profitably sell the small intestine. "Mo-mo" is bought from Chinese bakers who live in the Chinese settlements next to the monasteries. As a rule, a yak is killed by several families together. Pork is eaten only at New Year. For this occasion wealthy [27]
families buy one or two pigs from the sedentary Fantzu. Poorer people buy no more than one pig which they pay for in butter the following summer.

Besides pork which, according to Hermanns, (1) is not generally 262

1. Hermanns 3), page 58. According to Ekvall 4), page 78, only the nomads who live farther away from the Chinese eat no pork.

eaten by the Amdo-nomads, yak meat and mutton is, of course, also eaten for New Year and at feasts, along with butter and tsamba, baked goods made of unparched barley flour, or mo-mo which is usually fried in rape-seed oil. Besides this, the nomads also buy

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

●527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the asser- 551 tion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

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scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating.

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

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769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a momument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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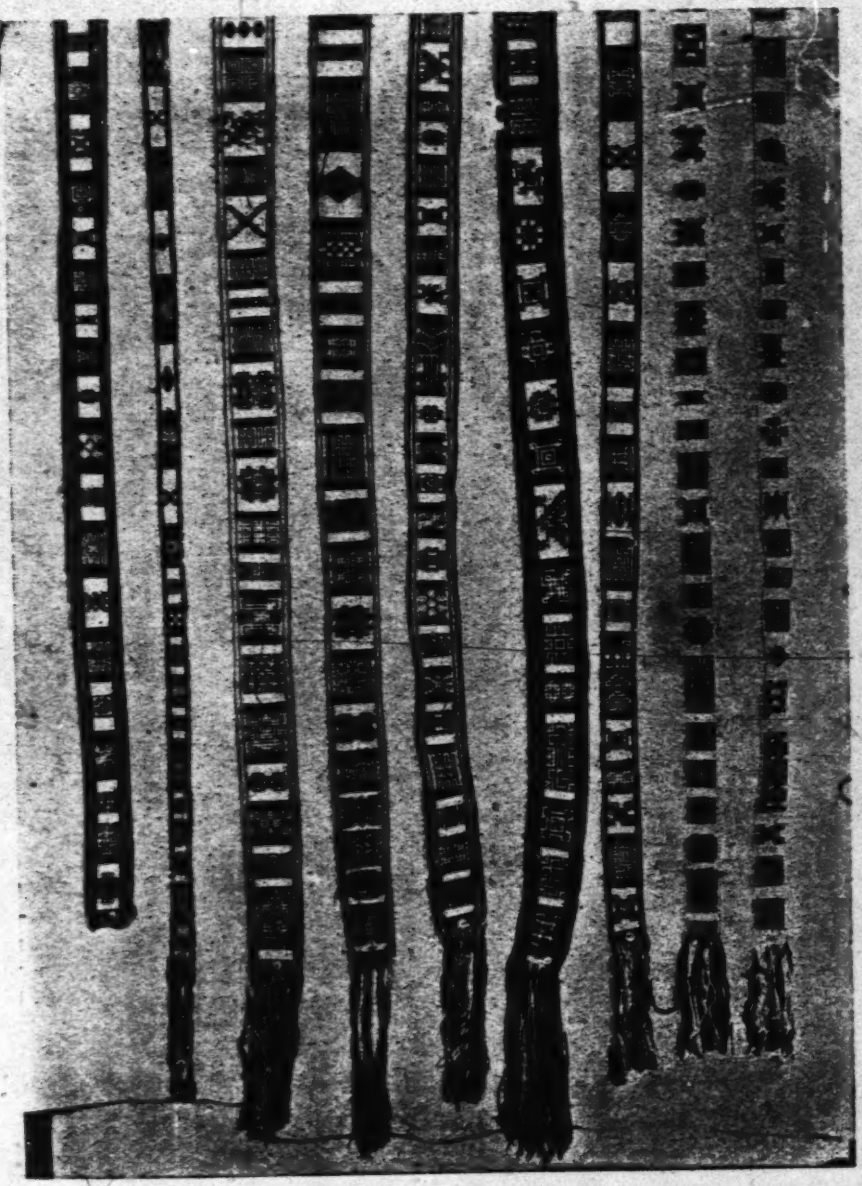

Ch'iang belts. Obverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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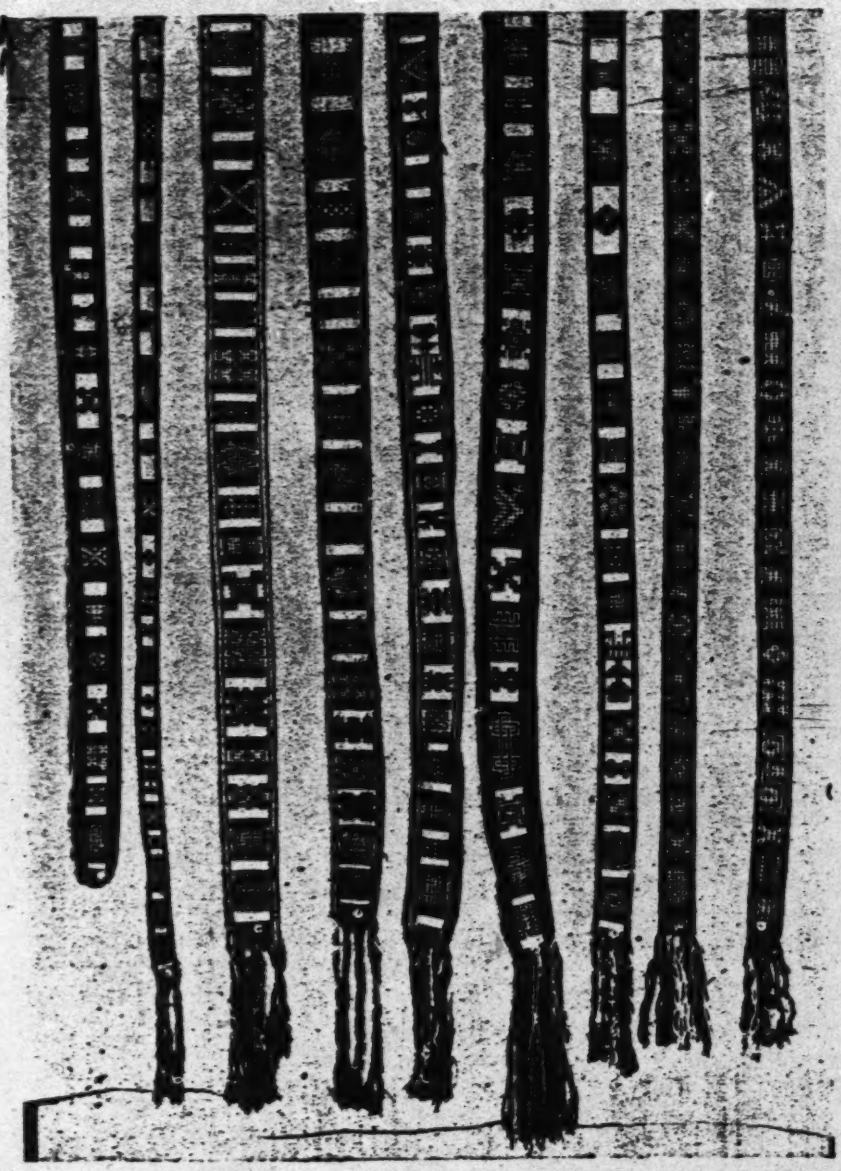
3:Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3



Ch'iang Belts. Reverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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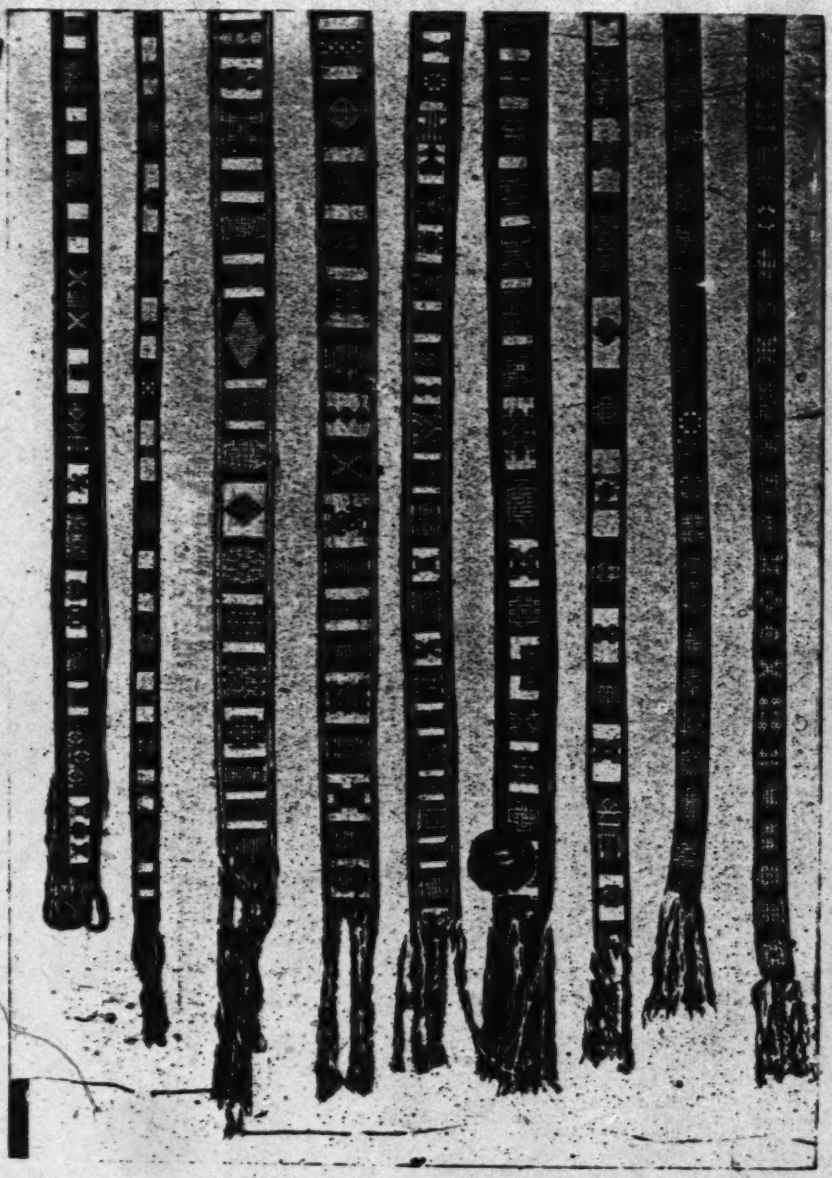

Ch'iang belts. Reverse. From the *West China Union University Museum.*

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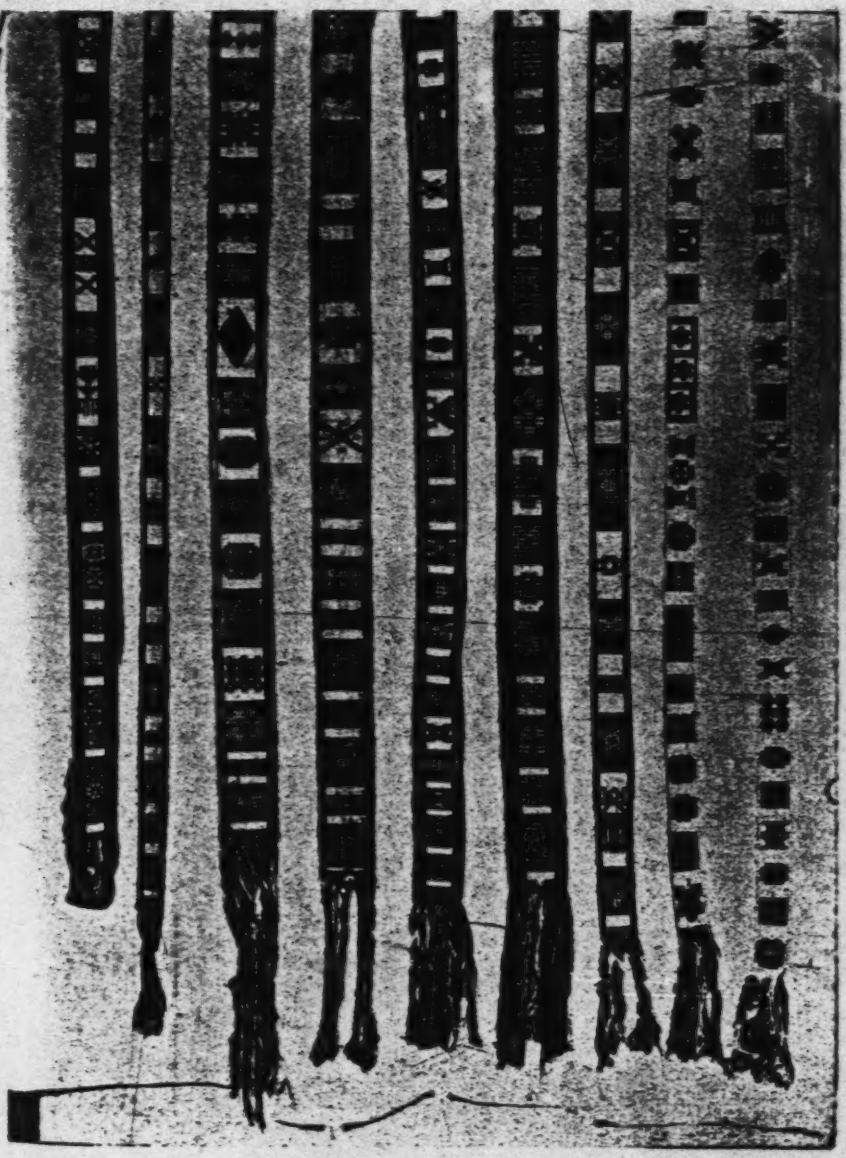

Ch'iang Woven Belts, reverse.
From the *West China Union University Museum.*

[FACING p. 42]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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Stone horse, mutilated for superstitious reasons.

Erh Yuan Min Chia girl.

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[Face p. 144]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

as he plows, and it is asserted that the animals cease pulling when the plowman stops singing. 412

In every home there is a square hole in the ground filled with dirt and ashes. This is a very simple stove, and probably has been used for centuries. Similar stoves are found in the temples in or near the sacred groves. In this square there is often an iron stove that consists of a circle about three feet in diameter resting on three iron legs equal distances apart. There are three iron pieces extending from these three legs towards the center, but not meeting. These three pieces hold the cooking vessel above the fire. The writer has seen similar iron stoves among the Lolos of the Ningyuan valley. Probably the ancient form of this stove was three pieces of stone chipped into triangles so that if placed equal distances apart one part of each stone can serve as a leg, and the other in the center hold up the cooking vessel. The stoves in the temples in and near the sacred groves consist of three such stones each. In many homes there are now typical Chinese stoves made of stones, lime, and clay, with two or three fire-holes over which iron kos or cooking vessels can be placed. There are no chimneys, and the smoke goes back out of the stove into the room. In the ko food is boiled fried, and baked. Large [252] wooden dippers are used to pour in and dip out water and other liquids, and iron dippers and ladels are used to stir the hot food, turn it over, or dip it out.

Ladders are generally trees in which large notches have been cut, a type of ladder that is widely used in the highlands of west China. 417

The walls of the Ch'iang homes are innocent of any pictures that might beautify them, and are blackened with smoke from [532] incense, candles, lamps, and fires.

IV. Social Cutoms.

1. Social Life

The Ch'iang lead a simple social life. There are no theatricals excepting those given in the Chinese cities and villages. There are no social dances excepting near Chiu Tzu T'un. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance at any other time. One is tempted to conclude that the Ch'iang do not know how to play. The playthings of the children are often pebbles or broken tiles. When at leisure the 517

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
79% made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

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341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
79% practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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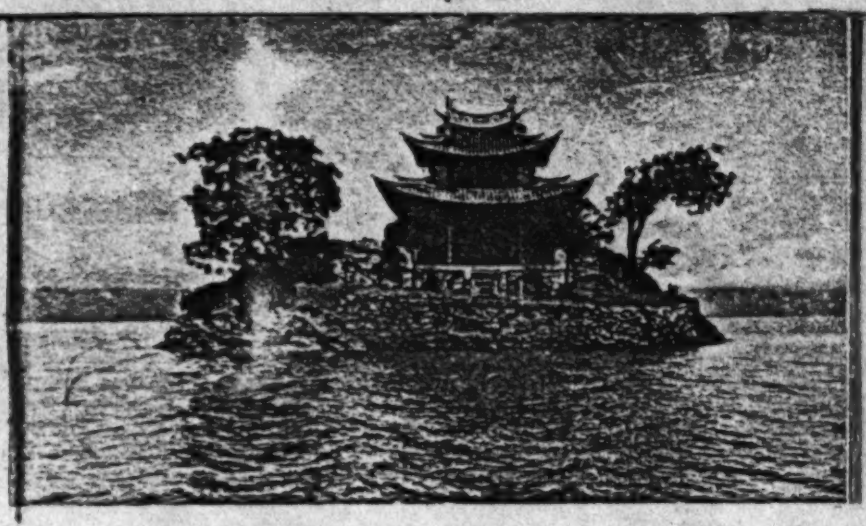

Kuan Yin island in Erh Hai lake.

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Musician at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

[Face p. 94]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

888 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
[533 of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually
461] done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged
583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

562 the woman you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lilan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Lung-hai 隆海 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this an honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their fondness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echoes back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echoes back again. They are innocent, natural, and free from the restrictions of etiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

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II. 1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

III. 1. The arrow is fitted into the bow, the needles are in the case, we can sew silk well with them. 533

2. It is much better if I can meet my Chinese friend on the slope of the mountain, near the huts (this means: it is more convenient for the Tibetan girl to have a rendezvous with a Chinese than to work in her tent camp).

IV. 1. I shall now climb up the mountain; tell me whether there is a Fu-yeh (Living Buddha) there, and whether he will bless me (touch me with his hand).

2. I shall now climb down into the valley: is there peace there now so that I can do my trading?

3. I shall visit my friends in the village, will the villagers then think ill of me? Is my friend at home?

/41/ Religion

In the religious field conditions among the Tibetans are similar 771 to those of the Chinese, that is to say, a more highly developed religious system was superimposed on an ancient primitive folk religion which nevertheless remained alive in the heart of the people. Just as the vulgar form of Taoism developed essentially from Chinese popular religion, so the Bon religion developed from Tibetan folk religion. Superimposed upon this in China is Confucianism and the specifically Chinese form of Buddhism, while in Tibet Lamaism represents the specifically Tibetan form of Buddhism. (1) However, 771 184

1. Compare in this connection Rockhill, page 730: "Primitive Lamaism may be defined as a priestly mixture of Shivaic mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by the thinnest veneer of Mahayana Buddhism." (Compare Wadell 7), page 17) - and Schröder 8), page 258: "The 'faith' of the Tujen combines into a common stratum which as Lamaistic folk religion covers the entire field of the Yellow church... Shamanism - Bon religion - cult of Heaven.... popular Lamaism."

the role of Buddhism in China cannot compare in importance with

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

• • • • •

Praying-for-rain Song

782 539 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which is as follows:

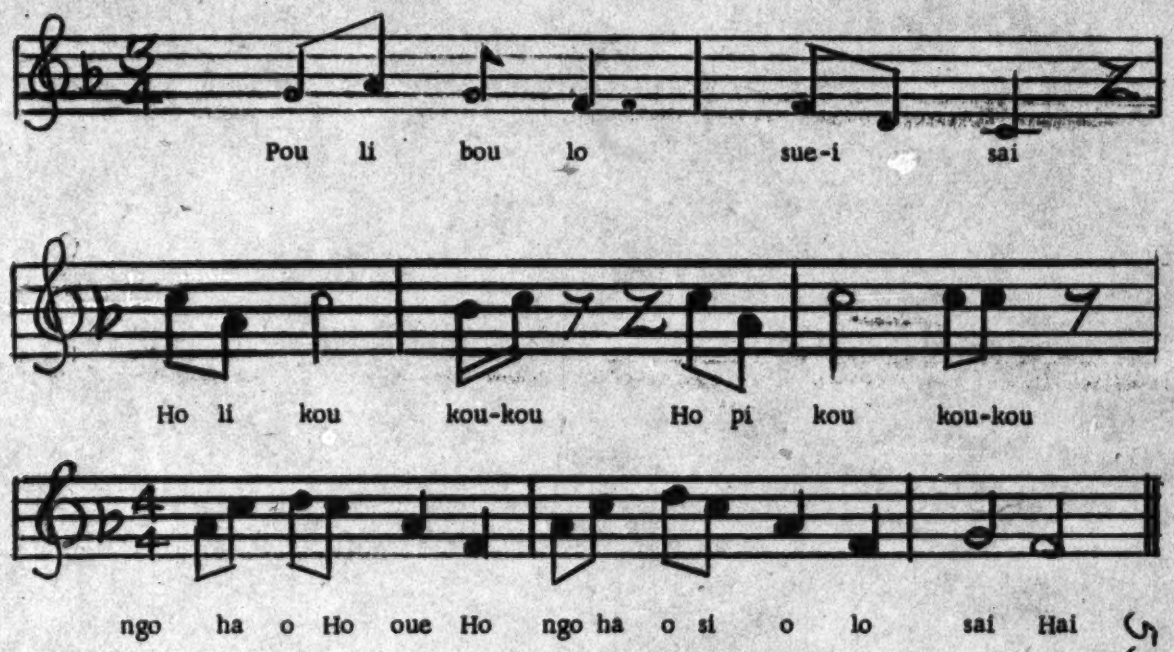
Man's _____ often looks for woman's _____ very hungry, very thirsty!
Playing_____, ku-ku-ku; playing_____ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 533 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

Words and music in the Ch'iang song.



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two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

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In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE
Ch'iang

778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

● 534 978 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 778 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan Kung*.

[177] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The
222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to
313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds
[534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them
[415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Dancers at the Gwer Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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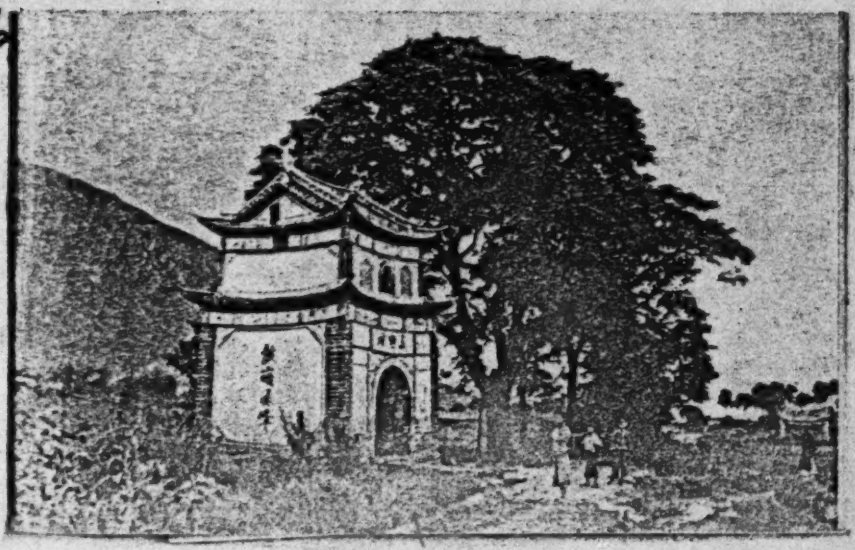

[Face p. 124]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives
[525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they
[562] may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is considerable freedom between the sexes—that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

● 535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by
171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet While singing each line each person turned around com-
[415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

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4. Yi Mu Sei, She gives sons, protects women when they have conceived and during childbirth, and protects children. 776

5. Mya Wei Sei who protects men and boys.

6. Sti P'r Sei who protects women and girls in matters not connected with childbirth.

7. Do Dzu Sei a door god who is on the right side and keeps demons out of the homes.

8. Nu Nga Sei a door god on the left side who helps keep out demons.

9. Sbe Pri Sei, the god of the bin who controls the five grains after they have been harvested and are in the house or in the bin.

10. Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bo Sei, the fire god who controls the fire in the home lest it burn up the house.

11. Abba Sei, the male ancestor.

12. Ata Sei, The female ancestor.

These are regarded as so distinctly Ch'iang gods that they are put into a different category than the Chinese gods whose images are worshipped in shrines, in homes and in temples. The pronunciation of the names of the gods as given above is that which was given us at Ta Ho P'in Chai, near Wen Ch'uan.

The above Ch'iang gods have no images.

There may be other gods that are regarded as Ch'iang, but at present we can not affirm it with certainty. Many Chinese gods, however, are commonly worshipped by the Ch'iang. Among them are the Pearly Emperor, Ch'uan Chu 川主, the Lord of Szechwan, Wang yeh 王爺 who is elsewhere the god of boatmen. The housegod 天地君親師位 meaning Heaven, Earth, Rulers, Relatives, Scholars, the T'ai Shan Shih Kan Tang 泰山石敢當, the T'u Ti 土地, Kuanyin, and many others. They are regarded by the Ch'iang as real, living deities.

4. The Priesthood.

The Ch'iang are a very reverent and devout people, and their religious ceremonies and rituals are considered to be very important. They must be performed with exactness and fitting decorum. Some of them are long. Since they have no written language their chants or songs, which they regard as the equivalents of sacred 793 538

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books, are taught by word of mouth, memorized and passed down from generation to generation, from father to son or from teacher to pupil. In Tung Men Wai and at P'u Wa the line has ceased and there is now no Ch'iang priest. There must be no incorrectness in the performances or in the repetitions. There is therefore a special priesthood who, however, are also farmers and have wives and children. They are important persons, highly respected in their communities, but they have no distinctive dress.

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The priest officiates in all important ceremonies. At least that is the ancient custom. In localities where there are no priests, as at Tung Men Wai, the local people sometimes officiate, or a Taoist priest may be called to perform funeral ceremonies or to exorcise demons, since the Ch'iang priests are more expensive.

In most of the ceremonies performed to Mu Bya Sei on the housetops, the head of the house officiates. On special or most important occasions the Ch'iang priest is called in. Since he is an important person, whenever he officiates in such a ceremony he must be boarded and lodged, given meat or some other commodity, and there must be a special feast. Sometimes he must be paid money also. Since the priest has no special costume, he wears the white homespun garments such as are worn by all Ch'iang worshippers.

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Priests are responsible for conducting sacred ceremonies that bring contact with and assistance from the gods. They have superhuman potency without which their work and ceremonials would not be efficacious. In 1933 a priest told the writer his ceremonial implements and stated that the reason he sold them and no longer acted as priest was that he had lost his efficacy.

When a priest has finished his course of instruction and is ready to begin his work as a priest, an ordination ceremony takes place. His face is ceremoniously washed with sacred water for purposes of purification. Incense, candles, and cedar twigs are burnt and a white cockerel is killed. After the ceremony, which takes place in the sacred grove, he takes his full responsibility as priest.

The priest, who in different localities is called bi bu (bi- bu-), bi bo or bi mu performs the following ceremonies:—

1. He conducts the worship of the great god or gods in the sacred grove on the first day of the sixth moon, or the first day of

One touch with the pointed end would resurrect a dead man whereas one touch with the round end meant death. The pointed end was used on the villagers who all came back to life. Stems of the willow tree were cut into the shapes of knife and fork and planted at the entrance to the village. Thus, the ghosts could no longer enter the village to cast their devilish influence. This is how the wooden knives and forks at the entrance of an Aka village had their origin. 773 539

The younger brother took the two maidens with him and started for home. On the way, a mother monkey was seen washing his older brother's wrapping towel. He was surprised and questioned it. The mother monkey said: "It is your brother's personal belonging. What has it to do with you?" The younger brother broke into a great rage, killed the mother monkey and ate it. Upon his return, he told it to his older brother. The older brother said: "True, it was my woman." Hearing that it was killed by his kid brother, he sank into a profound sorrow. Moreover, he feared revenge by the numerous relatives of the mother monkey. He then asked his kid brother for a woman for compensation among the two maidens. The younger brother consented, but he privately smeared black charcoal on the face of the beautiful one, while he cleaned and dressed up the ugly one. The older brother was deceived and married the woman who was carefully dressed up. Before long, the relatives of the mother monkey came; they bawled and railed. The younger brother came up with a plot. He had the rocks burned red hot and then asked the monkeys to sit down on them. Consequently, the buttocks of the monkeys were all heated to redness. This was the origin of monkeys with red buttocks.

2. Pan-chung.

Once there were two brothers who, while taking a walk, encountered suddenly a strong wind. The two said: "Whence comes this strong wind? We better find out its origin." Consequently, they walked toward the direction where the wind came. As they approached a ledge, they found it was large and had a huge cave from which came the wind. The two brothers, facing the wind, entered, and found it was dark at first. As they went further it brightened all of a sudden. The two lost their footing and fell to the roof of a house, which happened to be their aunt's. The aunt, who had been missing for quite a long while, was kidnapped by some monster. When she saw them she asked: "Why have you come here?" They answered:

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Some Creation Stories

Told by Tribal Peoples of The Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan

By T'ao Yün-k'nei

The following is a record of sixteen stories about the origin of mankind, elves, insects and fishes, rice and grains, tobacco and wines. These were written down as told by the natives in the borderland of Yunnan in the year 1936 when an investigation was made of the tribal peoples there. (See map of the distribution of aborigines in Yunnan, Page 2.) /121

Myths and stories, in a simple society, are not merely after dinner talks or subject matters for pastime, but they are recognized as things which actually took place in the past. They look upon the myths in the same way the Chinese believe in the Golden Era of San-huang-wu-ti (three monarchs and five emperors). Their myths live in their everyday life; and thus, from myths, it is not difficult for us to have a glimpse of their mass beliefs, morals and the principles of conformity in social behaviors. In these myths, there are many intricate scenes, winding perspectives, attractive descriptions, numerous love affairs and adventures. And this is no less the reason that it has become one of the indispensable subject matter of pastime for the monotonous living in simple societies. Even we, upon hearing these tales, would feel their vivid persuasiveness, and be thus enlivened by them. From the viewpoint of comparative anthropology, to study the problems of cultural propagation, evolution, and the near and distant relations among various racial groups, myths are also a paramount object for research. Owing to the lack of comparative data, this essay will be limited to a narration of the original tales to serve as a reference for future study.

/3/ I. Moso (who call themselves Nashi)

1. Li-chiang hsien

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge had become calamities which drowned out all mankind. The only survival was a man by the name Zungtzerliri, who, by hiding himself in a drum, narrowly escaped. As the Deluge gradually rose, the drum ascended with it. When the roars of the water had ceased, he broke out from the drum 773 539

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539 and found himself already in Heaven. He then encountered a maid whose name was Zweherbebermi. The maid said to him: "You are a mortal on the earth. Why do you come to Heaven?" The man answered: "There is a great flood on earth. My kindred have all died. Since I have no dear ones left, I have roamed at will to Heaven." The maid said: "I too have no beloved ones. Why not you and I the two of us, befriend and love each other?" The man was then taken to her house, and hid in a bamboo basket behind a door. In the meantime, her father, whose name was Zwe-la-Ap'u, abruptly returned, and inhaling the odor of a stranger, he called out: "Whence came this wild dog in my house?" He, however, made no further investigation but kept on sharpening a knife on a rock night and day, and talked to himself: "Verily, I know there is a strange creature in the house; I must kill him." Then, her mother said: "Please do not raise your hands; let me find out about it later." The mother then questioned her daughter, and she answered: "It is no outsider, but one who has come from the earth. An extra man in our house does no harm. Besides, when the sun rises, you may order him to dry provisions and grains, or if it is cloudy and raining, to dig furrows and clean out the water; but I beg you for his life." The father, who had overheard the conversation between the mother and the daughter, broke in and reproached: "Don't you be tempted by the sorcerer. Bring him forth, and I will personally examine him." The maid opened the basket and led the man to her father. The father had known people well; it required only one look for him to tell a good man from a bad one. He looked over his hands, and learned that he was an intelligent man. He then told the mother: "Though this man is fairly intelligent, he is neither one of our kind nor good enough to to be a slave. Let us spare his life but drive him down to the world below." But the mother insisted that tests be given to determine his ability before making any decision, for she too grew very fond of the man. After her repeated intercessions, the father pretended to consent.

At nightfall, the father commanded the man to spend the night with him on a cliff, from which he intended to throw the man off in his slumber and to effect his death. Both the mother and the daughter suspected the father's intention, and privately told the man: "Tonight as you go to sleep with father, you must take with you a blanket in which a big rock is to be wrapped; and leave it by father's side. Then go secretly to sleep somewhere else." The man went, following the instruction. Toward midnight the father kicked off the rock, which

fell into a mountain torrent and struck dead a roebuck. As the father woke up the next morning, and saw the man was still about, he figured out another plot and said: "Last night when the rock fell, it must have killed a beast. You may go fetch it and share it as food with me; but tonight, I will choose to sleep by the side of a river, and you are to keep me company. "The mother and the daughter again uncovered his intention, and told the man: "Tonight you will again take with you a blanket with a rock wrapped inside. Place it by father's feet, and also, leave a piece of log between you two; adversity may thus be avoided. " The man obeyed. Toward midnight, the father again kicked the rock, which fell into the river and struck dead some fish. On the morrow, the father found the man was still around, and said to him: "You may go into the river to catch some fish; we two shall eat together. But when we finish eating, you must set out to look for tiger's cubs for me. " The man, following his words, set out to look for cubs, but found none. Instead, he returned with the meat of a roebuck. The father became angry, and said: "This is no tiger but roebuck, why cheat me? Go quickly to search for it; otherwise, death will be the punishment. " The mother and the daughter then told the man: "Tigers are mostly in places where the sun cannot be seen, but cubs like to stay under the sunlight. Go look for it. " Following their words, the man camouflaged himself in a piece of tiger skin and thus succeeded in getting the cubs.

The father, finding that he had failed in his scheme, worked out another, and said to the man: "You will have to cut down, within a day's time, a forest as large as nine mou of land. " The man said: "It is impossible to do one mou in a day, let alone nine mou! " The mother and the daughter, consoling him privately, said: "Do not worry. Tomorrow you may carry with you nine axes to /4/ the forest; mother will send some men to help you. " Without failing, nine mou of forest were chopped down when night approached. Then the father said again: "Tomorrow you must burn up all the woods, within a day's time, till they are reduced to ashes. " The following morning, the man carried out the order by burning up all the woods. But the father said to him again: "You must sow grains upon nine mou of farm within a day's time. " The mother and the daughter again instructed the man: "All you have to do is to sow nine

113 grains upon each mou, for when father returns tomorrow, he would
53 order you to collect, in a day's time, all the grains sowed." The man carried it out accoringly, and returned. As expected, the father said to him: "Within tomorrow's time, you will have to pick up all the grains you have sowed." Since the man had listened to the ladies, he was able to carry back the unsowed grains. The father then ordered a counting of the grains, and asked: "Where are the three halves of grain?" The man examined and answered: "Two halves were eaten by the ants, and the other half was in the stomach of a dove." The father said: "You must get them back!" The man had no alternative but to leave for the hills to look for them. Observing some ants under a rock, he picked one/of them/ up and broke it into two joints for the two halves of rice. The ant was an insect with a single body, but today, it has two joints. That is how it happened. He then saw a dove. As he was about to shoot it with an arrow, the maid, who was weaving in a nearby spinning chamber, saw it, and hurriedly threw a shuttle at his arm. The arrow flew instantly away and hit the dove. The other half of grain was taken out after cutting open the dove. As the three halves of grain were found, he took them to the father.

Upon seeing the grains, the father said no words; but after a while he said: "What have you come to do in Heaven?" The man said: "Since all the human beings on earth have died out, I have come to Heaven to search for a companion." The father asked: "Do you want to marry my daughter?" The man answered: "I dare not, but since the people of the world have all died, and I, being up in Heaven, would like to have some one, whether good or bad." The father asked: "How much silver have you brought with you?" The man answered: "There is now only a great deluge on earth. I have escaped with nothing but my life. But ever since I came up to Heaven, you have ordered me to get roebuck, catch fishes, hunt tigers, cut down woods, burn the hills, sow grains and collect provisions, all of which I have accomplished. These may well be regarded as the price for the companion I am seeking." The father then asked: "Do you have relatives (meaning special abilities)?" The answer was: "My relatives are those who have survived the beatings and the murders. (Pointing out that he had not died even though the father had tried to kill him.)" The father then said: "Well, since my wife and daughter both have agreed that you are the right one, what have I got to object?" He then married his daughter to him. Before long, the maid was pregnant. The parents said (to them):

"You must go to the world below to propagate the species; thus, you can no longer stay in Heaven." Then the couple knelt to bid their parents farewell, and went down, hand in hand, to the world below. 773 539

Somehow, the two had incurred the enmity of their heavenly neighbors, who, by blocking out the way with clouds and mists, made it impossible for the two to get out even after a thorough search. All of a sudden, they encountered a white crane and entreating it for a ride, they made their way down to earth. In the meantime, the Flood had receded. With the exception of some buzzing bees, no other creatures were left;so they built a hut with straws. There they lived a mouth and gave birth to triplet sons, who proved to be mutes. The couple's mother heard of it in Heaven, and knew that it could be of help only if they themselves prayed to their brother and sister-in-law (the oldest son of their heavenly parents and his wife). Therefore, she dispatched a butterfly as a messenger to come down to the world to inform them. The couple then made a sacrifice to their brother and sister-in-law. As soon as the prayer ended, the triplet sons, all at once, were able to speak. But their languages were different, one from the other. The oldest son spoke Kutsung (Tibetan) language, the second son, Nashi (Moso) language, and the third, Paitzu (Minchia) language. These triplets were the ancestors of the three tribes.

At the time when the newlyweds were coming down to the world, their parents bestowed on them all kinds of grains and animals except cats and turnips. However, the wife had secretly hidden some turnip seeds in her finger nails, and kittens in her lap. The grains are the foodstuffs commonly used today, and the animals are those twelve that serve as birth symbols; but the turnip is not among the grains just as the cat is not among the symbolic animals. As the father found out in Heaven about the theft of seeds by his daughter, he was in a rage. He said: "Although the /5/ turnips are very solid, I will now make them soft once they are cooked, so that they will not fill the stomach when eaten. And although the cat is a beast, I will make it purr in the stomach so as to make it different from the other beasts." The mother, who had been worrying over the newlyweds' incapability in housekeeping, commanded a dog to go down to the world with an order that they were to comb their hair once a day and eat one meal every three days. However, the memory of the dog failed him, and he got it so mixed up that he told them that three meals were to be

193 eaten every day, and that hair was to be combed once every three
539 days. This became their present habit. But since an excessive quantity of rice had been eaten, the necessary result was excretion. As a punishment, the dog was ordered to eat the manure.

The daughter had been previously engaged to one heavenly god, Kāsinasa. Having heard of her marrying someone else, Kāsinasa was greatly exasperated. Hence, he exercised his black art by making frost, snow and epidemics fall onto the human world so as to show his vengeance. He also locked up the gate to Heaven; thence, no mortals could enter as they pleased.

II. Lisu.

1. Tzu-kai village, Salween River (under the Administrative Bureau of Kung-shan).

In the ancient time, as the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, people on earth all died out, leaving but two persons who were brother and sister. The older brother named A-heng-Pa, and the younger sister, A-heng-Ma, had been stranded in a mountain cave together with a dog. Since the good earth was drowned out by the floods, and no foodstuffs were to be obtained, they sent the dog to a heavenly god to beg for grain seeds. The heavenly god placed some grain seeds in the ears of the dog to take back to the mountain cave. The dog wagged its head, and the grain seeds fell onto the earth; thus different kinds of foodstuffs were produced. Among them there was a young melon plant, which produced a huge melon. One day, cries were heard inside thermelon. Both the brother and the sister were scared and kowtowed toward heaven to ask for help. Suddenly, a knife fell down from heaven. The brother and sister cut open the melon with the knife, and looked in. From the melon, out jumped five men, of whom three were white, one black, and one with wings. The three whites turned into Lisu, the black one, into Nashi (the Moso of Li-chiang area), and the one who had wings, being scared at the moment when the melon was cut open, flew all the way up to a ledge, and turned into a ghost. That is how ghosts in the human world had their origin.

Later, a god was sent down from Heaven to teach them reading. The three whites wrote down all the words they had learned on a piece of skin which was given by Heaven. The black one had them written down on a rock. While the god returned to Heaven to report, they wandered apart. The three whites walked together while the black one went to another place. On the way, the three whites became

hungry, but could not find anything to eat. In desperation, they ate the skin which had the words on it. As a result, they could only speak but could not write. The black one, who had written down the words he learned on a rock, was able to look them up on the rock whenever he forgot. 993 539

2. Wei-hsi-lo-kuo village, Mekong River (Wei-hsi hsien).

The period of the Vast Wilderness was divided into three stages. The first stage was named Chu-fu-ya, during which the size of man was a little over five inches. The utensils they used were small. Thus, the size of a pot was that of an egg shell, the size of a bowl, the husk of rice. At that time, the men had little energy; so they could not engage in exploitation and creation. The second stage was named Miou-shu-miou-hsieng-ya. The size of man was a little over one foot. They had made some progress. But, unfortunately, calamities from Heaven prevailed, and there appeared in the sky seven suns and seven moons which, drying up everything with an intensive heat, set the entire earth in smoke and caused all the plants to wither. Then a drought followed, which had lasted for three days /sic/ before the people went up to the mountains to pray for rain. Rain descended from heaven, and it did not stop after three consecutive months. Thereupon, floods burst forth from hills and mountains, inundated the world, and thus wiped out mankind. /6/ The third stage was called Wa-e-hsei-mei-ya, which was named after the reign of one demon, Wa-e-hsei-mei. This demon was huge beyond measure, and all the cloth woven by the Lisu people for a period of three years was not enough to cut a pair of trousers for him. Seven pots of rice were not enough to fill his stomach. And the quiver carried by this demon could contain a big bear. Since the people were unable to supply him with food, which the demon had exacted from them, they could no longer stand his molestations and resorted to run, one after another, for the valleys. There, they mated with the monkeys and apes, and soon, they themselves became monkeys and apes, thus marking the extinction of mankind.

Later, a god descended from Heaven onto the earth. The name of the god was E-yi-pa, who brought with him a melon seed and planted it on a farm. It grew and grew, finally bloomed, and bore a melon, bigger than a bamboo basket, ten feet high and 20 feet in circumference. Men were often heard talking in the melon. The heavenly god waited until it grew ripe, and with a long knife, he first cut open the east end of the melon from which, unexpectedly,

713 two ghosts (Ni) jumped out. Then the south end was cut open, and
539 two wolves emerged. Afterwards, the west end was cut, and two snakes wriggled out. The heavenly god was greatly enraged at the birth of these three kinds of venomous creatures. He then unsheathed the knife and cut the melon, from the north to the south, into two halves. In the east half, there was a boy, named A-heng-Pa, and in the west half, a girl, named A-heng-Ma. The two were able to speak and walk at their birth. No suckling was done prior to their eating solid food. The heavenly god adopted them as his son and daughter. As they grew up to wisdom and beauty, the regret was that at the time no other human beings existed to mate with them. The heavenly god had no alternative but to coax the two, brother and sister, into marrying each other in order to propagate the human species. The two refused and, mocking the heavenly god, they said: "We, born of the same bone and flesh, cannot contract a marriage that is incest." The heavenly god said: "This will be all right, for Heaven is going to employ you two for propagating the human species in the world. Do not oppose the will of Heaven. I have a grindstone: You, my son will take the upper portion; and you, my daughter, the lower portion. The two of you will each stand on the top of a mountain and throw down the portions of the grindstone so that they will roll into the torrent. If the upper and lower portions of the grindstone unite, then it denotes that you two may get married. If not, then you may do as you wish and you may not get married." The two agreed to the heavenly god's words, each throwing down the portions of the grindstone from atop two mountains. When the portions of the grindstone rolled into the bottom of the torrent, they tallied, as properly as could be, one upon the other. The heavenly god was greatly elated upon witnessing it, and married the two.

After their marriage, the two became unusually devoted to each other. Ten months later they gave birth to triplet sons. The oldest son was named Tcha-gk-Mu, and being wise and handsome, he was employed to rule the people and became an official. The second son, Tcha-li-bi-mu by name, possessed the wisdom to commune with spirits and being expert in divination, became a wizard. The third son, Hsia-ne-la-mu by name, was industrious in craftsmanship and became a technician. Consequently, the world was well ruled. Thence, the three men married the daughters of the common people, and thus there came into being, mankind in the world. (The sudden appearance of the daughters of the common people was not explained.)

3. Yen-wa village, Mekong River (Wei-hsi hsien).

In the distant ancient time, there once lived a wise carpenter, who was able to make puppets which looked not only the very images of real people but could also move about. At that time, the entire universe was a vast wilderness uninhabited by mankind except the carpenter, his wife and a daughter. The divine artisan reckoned that it was high time for mankind to multiply themselves on the boundless earth; if not, the earth would grow aged and the heaven, wild. One day, the divine artisan, while talking with his wife, said: "I am going to the hills to carve puppets. I will make them capable of moving about, speaking, drinking and eating, and even bearing children. They will be cast in my own image and so similar to me that you two, mother and daughter, would not be able to tell the difference. This will be my way to propagate the human species who shall, /in turn/ bear children and raise them." His wife said: "Do you really possess such divine art?" The artisan said: "I do possess the divine art in making wooden figures the very image of myself, and if you mother and daughter can identify me among them, then I will confess that I have lost." /7/ On the second day, the daughter went delivering food to her father who was somewhere in the hills. Observing there were thirteen men who resembled her father, she failed to differentiate her real father from the puppets. So the food she brought was distributed to the thirteen men. Upon her return she told her mother everything. The mother said: "You are young in years. That is why you could not recognize your father. Your father has a characteristic which I can tell."

On the following day, his wife went delivering rice. All the thirteen men came to get their food; and his wife nearly failed to identify her husband for the twelve wooden images and the divine artisan were completely alike in every sense and every way. His wife, being nimble-minded in moments of desperation, told the thirteen men to stand still and said to them: "The rice I have brought is for my husband to eat, not for you puppets." As she was saying this, she carefully watched the faces of the thirteen men, and observed that one of them had a few beads of perspiration on his nose. Knowing that he was her own husband, she stepped forward and said to him: "You might be able to deceive your daughter but you could not fool your old wife." Thus, the wooden figures retreated into the mountain forests, mated with apes and monkeys, and since have produced all the species of

713 mankind. The present Lisu people are also one of those species,
539 whose fathers were puppets, and mothers, apes and monkeys. Hence the Lisu like woods and sleep on wood, which is also used for marking years. A small pine is to be planted upon the birth of a child. When the person dies, this tree is cut down and its cambium rings are examined to determine his life span. Wooden blocks are erected on graves in memory of the deceased.

III. Ch'iutzu (who call themselves Duru)

1. So-ch'ieh village, Tu-lung River (under the Administrative Bureau of Kung-shan).

(A)

In the distant ancient time, living creatures came into being as a result of the intercourse between the sun and the moon. But all the living creatures were stupid round-shaped masses that were chaotic and indistinguishable. Thereafter, a god of the snow mountains, by the name of Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u, turned snow into clean water to lave the various creatures, and did away with their appendages and tumors so that different species were produced. The first to appear was mankind, /consisting of/ a man and a woman. Then birds, beasts, insects and fishes made their appearance with respective sex distinctions. The man and woman mated between themselves and multiplied to become the mankind of today. The rest of the creatures also multiplied, and out of them evolved the various kinds of animals in the world today. After the marriage of man and woman, their progeny thrived, but there were no grains on earth for food. Therefore the husband, Mupongo, rode on sunbeams and ascended Heaven to steal grain seeds. Originally, he intended to sow the grain seeds only on the land where he lived, but unexpectedly, winds blew at his sowing hand and the seeds were scattered all over the world. That was why there are grains everywhere nowadays. Although they had grains, yet there was no fire. So prayers were offered to the heavenly gods to request the means to make fire. While praying, his hands were playing with some rattan, and unintentionally, he rubbed the rattan against the trunk of a tree. As the friction produced enough heat, sparks emerged. The means to make fire was thus learned. Later, Mupongo's children were sick. Riding a bee, he flew to Heaven to ask the heavenly god, Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u, for medicine. When he arrived at the gate of Heaven, he called out: "Open the door!" An answer came inside the door: "Where comes this earthly being who knocks at the door? Go away quickly!"

Mupongo begged and begged, and was finally let in. The god then gave him some medicine; but, in the meantime, the bee which carried him threw off its burden and flew away, leaving him to fall from Heaven. While falling, he came to a lake, and in his carelessness, the medicine fell from his bosom into the lake. Consequently, the water of the lake had the taste of wine. Mupongo returned with empty hands, and the couple blamed each other for their children's death. But afterwards, they bore more children. However, it was because of this that the Ch'iutzu have wines but no medicine; and for the same reason their population has never thrived. 773 539

/8/ (B)

After the marriage between brother and sister, the wife went up to Heaven to visit the heavenly god, Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u. The god told her: "I have bees and honey. I will give you some bees." He put the bees in a bamboo tube and told her to take it to her husband but not to look into it on her way /home/. As the woman descended to mid-air, she could not refrain from having a look at the bees. But as soon as she opened the lid on the tube, the bees all flew away. These are the wild bees to be found today on the hillside. The next day, the woman went up to Heaven again, and the god gave her another tube. She was told to keep it in a chest in her room when she reached home. But the woman, failing again to restrain herself, opened it to look in before she entered the house. So the bees flew away again, and were all over the eaves and trees near their house. That is why today bees are raised on eaves and trees. Some of the bees turned into mosquitoes which, like the bees, sting people; their sting, however, is itchy but not painful.

(C)

There was a time when no line was drawn between human beings and ghosts, and men were often eaten by ghosts. One day, some ghosts who failed to get food on a high mountain, came to the side of a river. There again, they found no food. As hunger intensified, the ghosts cried out for help. A human voice answered: "I can help you /but/ you must promise first that from now on you would never eat people /again/." The ghosts answered: "Fine, we will never eat people from now on." The voice then said: "Go, look into the river. There will be food in the river." In the meantime, the man

had picked a lot of bamboo leaves which he threw into the river, and which turned into fish. The fish was actually food for the ghosts.

(D)

In the ancient time most people went hunting. One day, a man hunted in the hills and heard some one calling his name and saying: "Wait for me. We shall go together." But the hunter could only hear his voice and failed to locate the man. A moment later, the voice said again: "Wait for me. We shall go together." As before, he failed to see the man. The hunter was horrified, and stretching a bow in one hand while holding a knife in the other, he waited. The voice rose again several times and the hunter got angry. He bawled and railed at it. The voice then said: "You rail at me and bawl at me. I shall not go with you anymore." Since then, men and ghosts each take a different path. Ghosts like to exercise evil influences; hence there are diseases and calamities among people.

2. K'ung-ting village

(A)

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge rose as high as heaven, and mankind was destroyed. But on the mountain of the god Kawakapu, there lived two persons, a man and his sister. The name of the brother was Pang, and that of the sister, Nang. Fearing the possible extinction of human species, they married each other and bore nine sons and nine daughters. The sons and daughters also married each other. The first couple had no names; but after they were married, they became the ancestors of the Tibetans. Of the second couple, the man was named Ging and the woman, Nien; they married each other and became the ancestors of the Ch'iutzu. At that time, these four persons had an archery contest. A piece of iron was the target. It was agreed that whoever hit the target could levy taxes on those who missed. The first couple hit the target and the second couple missed. That is why the Ch'iutzu have to pay taxes to the Tibetans. Of the third couple, the man was named Gong and the woman, Kñen; after their marriage, they went to live by the side of the Titzu river, where rattan was produced. They became skilled in braiding baskets with rattan; thus they supplied the Ch'iutzu with rattan baskets. Of the fourth couple, the man was named Tchien, and the woman, Nñen; after getting

married, they moved to live in Man Nuen (to the west of Katha in Burma), and became the ancestors of the natives there. No records are available concerning the rest of the nine couples of whom, however, one couple was the ancestors of the Chinese. 773 539

(B)

/9/ The heavenly god Mubai had married his daughter to a fellow named Gungeng. One day, the heavenly god took various kinds of grains from his house to that of the Gungengs. On the way, he suddenly became stingy and hid away the grain, leaving only some mixed cereals for his son-in-law. His daughter discovered the grain seeds he had brought; she stole them and placed them beside some ginger. Thus, the grains are found in the human world; but since they have been placed together with ginger, the grains also grow twin ears like the ginger which has double-fork sprouts. All the edible plants in the human world were transmitted by the heavenly god Mubai.

On another day the heavenly god gave his daughter some fish spawns, which were placed in a bamboo basket. The daughter went by a river, and through her negligence, the basket fell into the water. Thus, fishes live in water instead of on land.

(C)

Gungeng's children got sick, and his woman went up to Heaven. The heavenly god gave her some medicine and a bamboo tube, and told her not to look into it before she reached home. The woman had gone half the way, when she came by a lake. Through her negligence, the medicine fell into the lake and the water turned into wine. Furthermore, she failed to restrain herself and opened the bamboo tube which was filled with bees. The bees crowded out, all at once, and flew eastward. That is why today there are bees on the cliffs along the Salween and the Mekong rivers. The woman covered the tube hurriedly with a lid and a few bees were left there. She took the bees home with her and raised them, and they became domestic bees. The Gunggeng couple who were originally kid brother and sister, became the ancestors of mankind after their marriage. (The Gungeng couple are Pang and Nang in story A.)

(D)

In the distant ancient time, human beings and ghosts were able

773 to see each other face to face, and they often hunted together. By
539 and by, the men became busy /in other things /; so the ghosts were sent to watch the traps. As numerous boars, rats and monkeys fell into the traps, the ghosts, without reporting to the men, ate them all by themselves. When questioned by the men, they answered that none was caught. Afterwards, a dog which belonged to one of the families, mistakenly walked into the trap, and was also eaten by the ghosts. The owner, searching for the dog, asked the ghosts if they had seen it. The ghosts said they did not. But it was reasoned that a dog would not wander away like this. The hunters then learned that all the trapped beasts were eaten up by the ghosts. They bawled and railed at the ghosts who, being annoyed, hid up their trails and started to cast evil influences on the men. From then on, men and ghosts lived in their separate worlds, and men had many diseases.

3. Sin-jui village.

In the past when the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, all mankind was obliterated except two persons, a boy and his sister who lived together in a house. As they grew up, they inadvertently mated with each other. Afterwards, they felt it was rather unceremonious; so they placed by a river a bamboo tube and filled it with water. The two had intercourse by the water-filled tube, and prayed to Heaven: "If the bamboo tube does not topple over and the water is not spilled while we two are mating, then it denotes that the Old Heaven permits our getting married and bearing children. If the water-filled tube topples over and the water spills out, then it denotes forbiddance." This lasted for three days and nights, and the water-filled tube was not toppled over. They continued to live together and bear children. There were altogether nine pairs of children, of whom one-half were boys and the other half girls. They lived separately in nine places and became nine clans.

4. Pu-k'ao-wang village

/10/ In the past when the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, and all mankind was obliterated, only two persons survived. They were a kid brother and his sister, who had slept in separate beds. As they woke up, the two found themselves lying in one bed. Feeling that it was unceremonious, a water-filled bamboo tube was

placed between the two; but it was moved away when they woke up again. Then, the two prayed to Heaven: "If it is the will of God that we two should be man and wife, then when the water is splashed on the ground it would turn into nine rivers." When they finished praying, the water was splashed, and it actually turned into nine rivers. Thus, they were married and bore nine sons and nine daughters who, mating among themselves, became nine married couples. Each of the couples occupied a river and lived there, thus multiplying into nine species. The Tu-lung is one of the nine rivers and the Ch'iutzu one of the nine species.

IV. Aka

1. Chiu-fang, Lang-t'sang hsien

Once there lived two brothers who had to support their father, who was too old to do any work. Being extremely poor, the two had arrived at a decision one day to take their father out for sale. Approaching the place, they observed a little bird perching on the top of a bamboo, and the father said: "When the bamboo shoots grow, they do not forsake the old stem; nor do the young birds desert their old. How could you have the heart to desert me?" After hearing the words of their father, the two showed remorse and took their father home. However, the situation at home grew worse, and the two wanted to leave home for some other place in order to make a living. So they took out some rice and meat, and said to their father: "We two are going away; the rice and meat are kept for you to eat." Thus they left. Later, the father was swallowed by some water monster when he went to bathe in a pond.

One day, the two brothers returned home. They found some manure left on the ground by their father, but failed to see his person. They carried the manure out and came to a village house. They told the landlord: "We are leaving this in your place. It is medicine, and do not let your dog eat it. Otherwise, you will have to repay us." Consequently, the landlord strapped his dog to a post. He did not expect that the two brothers would free the dog while he was not watching. So the manure was eaten by the dog. The two then reasoned with the landlord and asked for compensation. The landlord had no alternative but to repay them with gold and silver, which the two refused. When iron was offered, they accepted.

The two went to work on the iron by the pond. In the meanwhile,

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the eyes of the water monster were hurt as the water was polluted with iron. So a crab was sent to negotiate with the two and to ask them not to use the water. The two paid no heed, and furthermore, they snatched the crab with a pair of tongs. The crab was pained and jumped into the water. The water monster then sent a fish. The two said: "If your old man (meaning the water monster) has eye trouble, he better come to speak for himself." Thereupon, the water monster came out. (The water monster was actually a dragon.) At that time, the two snatched the dragon with the pair of tongs and wounded it slightly. The dragon then promised to give the two brothers some fish to eat. The older brother wanted to have them fried, but the younger brother wanted to have them boiled. They disagreed and walked apart, each going a different direction.

The older brother went up a river, and saw on one of the banks a tree, on which there was a mother monkey, holding two baby monkeys in her arms. He said to the mother monkey: "I love your sons very much. Would you give them to me?" The mother monkey, not knowing that it was one of his tricks, let the baby monkeys down to the ground. He instantly stamped them to death with his feet and took the mother monkey as his wife. His younger brother went toward another direction. He came to a village, but found no sign of inhabitants there. /As it happened,/ they had been eaten up by the ghosts. Then he found two maidens prostrating underneath a hog trough, but knew not whether they were human beings or ghosts. He pricked their ears with a needle, and they bled. He thus learned they were human. He asked them why there was no one in the village. They answered: "All were eaten by the ghosts but us two. We had hidden ourselves underneath the hog trough and were spared." He asked: "What kind of ghosts are those that exercise this evil influence?" The maidens said: "We cannot dry white cloths in the sun for then the ghosts would appear. Neither can we pound rice. The sound would also cause the ghosts to appear." He did not believe it and told the maidens to get some white cloths to sun them. /11/ To be sure, ghosts came flying in the shape of eagles. He hurriedly killed them with some instruments. When rice was pounded, long-haired monsters appeared. He chopped them all into two sections, but they were reunited and fled. By this time, the ghosts who were either killed or fled, could no longer play their devilish tricks. So the two sisters promised to marry him. The older sister had previously received from their mother a wooden pestle with one end round and the other pointed.

773 To hunt wild boar." The aunt said: "Please, don't ever say such a
339 thing. This monster is very ferocious. You might as well come and see your second uncle."

Before long, they observed the limping approach of a great cock. Their aunt said: "This is your second uncle." The cock seemed pleased to see the two, but said: "Since my nephews are here, you must do something for me to show your talents." So the two were sent to sow grains on a farm and were told to cover in a day ten mou of land. The two, figuring that it was really impossible to finish sowing on such a large tract of land, became worried and frightened. The aunt told them privately: "It will be all right. I will order some little demons to help you. But you better have a good sleep outside the wooden fence." When the two woke up, they observed that the grains had already been sowed. Then they were ordered to cut down bamboo groves, and with the assistance of their aunt, they were able to chop down an entire hill of bamboos. These were carried back to their aunt's house, and with them a number of pigeon cages were plaited. Their second uncle, who was out looking for some people to eat as he had done daily, returned in the evening and was very much pleased with it. He then asked for their wishes. The answer was that they had been away from home too long and would like to get out of the cave and go home. The cock, thereupon, presented them each with nine dumplings of glutinous rice. As the cave was below in the ledge, it required a lot of climbing to get out. With the rice dumplings they could induce the birds and beasts to help them to get out of the cave. Thus, the two bade farewell to their aunt and set out.

At first it was rather difficult; but as they had climbed up a layer, they encountered a turtle dove to which they offered a rice dumpling for its help. But the turtle dove, holding the rice dumpling in its beak, left them without further ado. Fortunately, a shrew-mouse came and leading the two by their clothings, helped them up. The two were grateful and gave the shrew-mouse as gifts a rice dumpling and a flute which they had carried with them. /12/ In the meanwhile, the turtle dove had seen this from a distance and flew back to ask for the flute. The two said: "If you fly away after getting the flute, what then?" The turtle dove said: "You may hold on to my tail so I cannot run away." Therefore, the two held on to its tail before they gave it the flute. As the turtle dove got the flute, it tried again, despite the promise, to fly away. But the two held fast onto its tail and thus made the gradual ascent. As they were approaching the mouth of the cave,

they could see the sky and the land; but the tail of the turtle dove gave away at their violent pull, thus leaving the turtle dove free to fly away. By this time, they had reached the mouth of the cave and were able to crawl out. Consequently, today the cooing of the turtle dove is like that of a flute; but it has no tail. The shrew-mouse likes to eat rice but cannot cry. All the creatures in the world were produced from this cave, and so were the winds.

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[22]

776 The Ch'iang legends consider this Forest God extremely potent. He must be worshiped with a lamb and a sacrificial service. He could make barren those lands where he was not worshiped, and he could make people sick. Therefore the Ch'iang everywhere worshipped the Forest God. Once he told the Ch'iang in a dream, explaining to them his position among gods. He said, "I am not the only god. Besides me, there is the God of Heaven, mei-da-be." People asked, "Who is the God of Heaven and where to worship him?" He answered, "The white stone you worshiped at the top of your house represents the God of Heaven." People asked, "We have known that the white stone represents the God of Heaven. But where should be the place of the white stone in the Sacred Grove?" He answered, "Behind the highest temple, erect a white stone on a stone seat to represent the God of Heaven. Inside the temple, in a niche in the wall, place a white stone to represent the God of Earth. (Different names are used in different places.) Behind the stove in the temple, erect a white stone to represent the God of Fire, mūn-kuei-tzé. During the service day, branches of cypress must be burned and a piece of fir wood is planted behind the God of Heaven....." This dialogue has now become the code of ceremony of the Ch'iang. At the same time, the passage explains that white stones may represent different kinds of gods. But the white stone at the top of the house represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang's perplexity about this white stone is now clarified.

From the aforesaid, we can see the meaning of the white stone in the Ch'iang beliefs. What the Ch'iang worship, however, are not the white stones themselves but the Gods of Heaven, Earth, Forest, and Fire. The Ch'iang perhaps have had this kind of belief for a considerably long period of time. One of the Ch'iang's ancient folk songs says: (4)

•539 4. Words of the entire song are as follows:
"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
Next to them is the Sacred Forest;
Wild beasts beating stones on the cliff,
Fir trees and birch trees,
Grasses flourishing, lakes deep,
Mountains high, the land big,
Remember, remember! "
This is one of the songs sung by the Ch'iang at Shang-shui-li in Wen-ch'uan after sacrificing a

•539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

776 [778]

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-ru-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bo-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-la	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

death. Having completed the ceremony and returned home, the tuan-kung washes his hands outdoors. Then he enters the house, sits beside the fireplace, and has his meal. After the meal, he begins 783
to make flags and cuts paper flowers. Flags are planted on a bushel. The monkey head and offerings are put in place. Chanting liturgies, the tuan-kung takes the flags and plants them in front of a straw mattress. He wraps the chicken's feather in paper and hangs it on the top of a flag; on the top of another flag, he also hangs the chicken's feather, the bow, arrows, and other things. Having done all these, the tuan-kung, chanting prayers, begins to offer sacrifice for redeeming the vow. All people gather and drink. Then they make offerings to the God of Wealth, the Sheep God, the Door God, and the ancestors. The chicken offered to the Door God can be killed and its blood is spread on the flag. The chicken offered to the God of Wealth and the Sheep God must be crushed to death. Before dawn, the host carrying the chickens, incense, candles, etc., follows the tuan-kung as he dances from the fireplace up to the roof. Up on the roof, first a gun-shot is fired. Then the host strangles the chickens. After finishing his chanting of prayers, the tuan-kung gets ready the offerings to the White Stone God, hangs a flag on a piece of fir wood, and pastes the chicken feathers on the wood. After three days, the wood is moved and planted on a good farm. The chicken feathers used in the sacrifice are thrown on the farm.

The above-mentioned practice has probably had a long history. 539
The Ch'iang have an old folk song as follows:

"The Ch'iang people worship god, and to make the sheep and
chicken vows, they hire a tuan-kung;
The sheep vow to clean the house, the chicken vow to clean
the house and the cattle ranch.
As dirt is cleaned out, all is purified and the water is clean;
The God of Heaven, the God of Earth, come all to enjoy!"

/23/ Divination-- The Ch'iang practice divination with sheep's 787
thigh-bone, egg, or white dog. First, the sheep's thigh-bone divination:

Foretelling with the sheep's thigh-bone is called tchi-pü-sze in the Ch'iang language. Very few tuan-kung know the method of divination. Nowadays only the tuan-kung around P'u-ch'i-kou in Li-fan can still teach it. However, only one out of four or five disciples may have the opportunity to be instructed. All the magic words will not be taught even to the most reliable disciple until he holds his

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

• • • • •

Praying-for-rain Song

782 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which is as follows:

•539 Man's _____ often looks for woman's _____ very hungry, very thirsty!

Playing_____, ku-ku-ku; playing_____ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 533 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating. 574 264

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver. 574 276 273

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at [529] 545

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545 the annual or bi-annual festival of some patron deity. In such cases the play is given on a raised stage at the end of the courtyard, and the guests usually feast first, or during the plays, several being given in succession from about two in
525 the afternoon until nearly midnight. Guests who are not members of the Guild can be invited, and these occasions are often used for gambling, Poker and Ma Chang being the favourite games. Poker has been introduced from Europe, as its Chinese name "*Pa sze*" from the English word "Pass" reveals.

The Min Chia are also fond of gambling, card games being the favorite with adults, and dice with children. Boys throw dice for minute sums of money, the "cash" which is still in use in the countryside, usually gathering in some convenient large gateway with smooth stone steps for this sport. The parents do not seem to consider that this game is unsuitable for children. Adults usually invite guests for cards or Ma Chang early in the afternoon; the play then continues until evening, when the feast is served which ends the entertainment. Stakes are rather high, from one dollar silver to five dollars silver a point, and it is admitted that sometimes men are ruined through gambling losses. Card games or Ma Chang are never played "for love". To the Min Chia the latter game is especially a gambler's game, and indeed in China generally this game has the reputation associated with Baccarat or Chemin de Fer in Europe. Gambling as a form of entertainment is popular not so much for itself, as because there is nothing else to take its place. For the wealthy man who has leisure life in a small town such as Ta Li is dull. The comforts of home life are not sufficient to encourage reading as a pleasure, and there is little to do if he goes out in search of distraction. Card games are always popular in such communities, in all parts of the world, but it is unfortunate, in view of the narrow

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence ● 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

79% fourth day, and my impression was that the participants were in a very quiet, dull and somewhat sleepy mood. The festival is conducted by the lamas of the Mewu lamaseries, more than half of whom attend. The chieftain does not come regularly himself, but always sends members of his family. The participants arrive in their Sunday-best, their costumes often being magnificent. The women wear red silk tassels on their conical felt hats. You see a great many purple and scarlet silk jackets with gay collars; red, purple and figured pulu coats; rich hair ornaments of silver and gold. The middle section of the gala hair ornaments of the young girls is decorated with silvery bands of tin. The women's furs are often trimmed with a bias band of cloth that looks like a skirt and is edged with otter fur or colored cloth. Everyone brings along his best saddles and bridles, often mounted with silver. You see many showy weapons, guns with silver-mounted stocks and swords in choice sheaths. The women also wear beautiful knives in their belts.

/69/ Social Life

• 55/ 563 The Mewu-Fantzu are said to have surnames (hsing), a custom which they have taken over from the Chinese, probably only a short time ago for it was not customary among the Fantzu, and the surname is not used in conversation. (1) According to an ancient

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custom, a child is given a name by a lama when it is one or two months old. This name-giving is not connected with a special festival. An adult is usually given a nickname by his friends, which refers to a special characteristic or event, for example, "imperfection," "deformed." I have no information about a change of name as a result of marriage. People with the same surname may marry, likewise relatives, all except brothers and sisters. Thus cousins may marry or a nephew may marry his aunt on either side of the family, or a son may marry the divorced wife of his father. Couples from the same neighborhood or from outlying areas are free to marry, but not those of special tent encampments or special families.

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618 for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

621 To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

582 551 The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since 582
the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chin- 551
ese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia 551
writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a com- 621
bination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a com- 596
mon *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this 596
sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

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553 As a consequence of Min Chia and Chinese ideas about
787 Ancestor Worship, the name of a deceased forbear or other relative is never employed a second time. A name is something absolutely personal to the individual, and in former times at least, it was believed that the character of the name influenced the character of the child. The moment of birth is still carefully recorded for the purpose of drawing the horoscope, which in turn decides such questions as the suitability of the character of the name, and the eligibility of the boy's bride in future years. For if the horoscopes of two children are not in agreement no marriage between them would be regarded as possible. While the avoidance of the name of an ancestor or relative is probably based on ancient beliefs about the influence of the name on the individual, it is now attributed to the necessity of avoiding confusion in the pedigree and in the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship such as the Shu Pao where the names of the dead are read out. European practice sufficiently proves that this is not a really valid objection.

553 The name is usually chosen by the grandparents, sometimes after consulting an astrologer, and consists either of one word or two in combination. If one word is employed all the children of that generation will be given names which are written with characters having a similar component, so that in future it will be possible to recognise at a glance the generation of these relatives. Names of two characters are more usual, though some families employ the device of alternating one character and two character names in succeeding generations, so that the father has a single character name, the son two, and the grandson one again. When two characters are used the first word is a constant, repeated in the name of every child of that generation, the second is different and serves as the distinguishing sign. Any two words which can be written with Chinese characters

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are used, sometimes irrespective of their sense, being two 553
words from a classical book chosen at haphazard, or sometimes having an allusion to some family circumstance. Thus a boy born when his grandfather was seventy years old was named "Chi Te", meaning "seven (score) obtained" (a grandson). In this case any other children of the same generation would have to be called "Ch'i" as the first part of their names, even though the two characters might make no sense.

Little distinction is observed between the names of men and women, since the constant search for new names has usually eliminated all the more obvious and appropriate characters. If possible girls are given names relating to flowers, while boys' names signify, virtue, learning, loyalty, or objects traditionally typifying these characteristics, such as pine trees for endurance. When boys first go to school, at seven years or so, they are given in addition a "book name", usually two words from a Chinese classic, if possible with a learned significance. In the family children are often called by nicknames such as "*hsiao san*". "little third" meaning that it is the third child, or, a common nickname, "*chiao hua*" "able to talk". It is curious that these names, though Chinese, are in common use among the Min Chia, who rarely if ever employ Min Chia words which cannot be written as names. This is invariably the case with the educated class, the peasants sometimes merely giving their children a simple numerical name which records their place in the family. The Min Chia have a number of surnames which are pronounced in a way quite unlike the Chinese sound of the character used when writing them, and it is probable that this is due to the desire to find some means of writing names which must be recorded. The same necessity has led to the use of first names which are of Chinese origin, though pronounced by the Min Chia in their own way.

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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101
meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563
names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [29] Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563
disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554
plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829
are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

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563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, their homes are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed; about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain [illegible], where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is due of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribal people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING

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First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a women's because both men and women have the same style; and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and coral, because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her bank.

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In the grasslands among the Fan people, out of their nomadic mood of living grows the hospitable custom of playing host. In the wilderness of the grasslands there are neither inns nor hotels. Travellers in these regions have to depend upon the mercy of the local population for shelter and food. If a traveller once stayed in one tent, next time when he visits the place again he must stay with the same host. If not the host will be greatly offended, and the traveller will get himself into a bad way. The host family looks at the stranger as a member of the family, and they are very generous with chang-pa and milk. They seem to have a feeling of responsibility toward strangers who get into their midst. They feel it is up to them to feed the strangers. What they have is very little, but they are ready to share with others what they have. 574

E. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

The general impression of the tribal communities is the importance of women, and some people even say that the borderland is a woman's world, because women seem to dominate in everything there. But when one comes to examine the situation more closely, he finds the situation is quite different. In these mountainous and grassland areas, the natural environment is hard on people, living conditions are difficult, and the population is scanty. The result is that there is very little difference between the rich and the poor, and people are more democratic in spirit. Women, too, have to do their share in getting themselves and their families food. They have to work hard for their living. Therefore, women are as important as men in supporting the family. And where the Lama faith predominates, most men spend days and years in prayer and meditation, and dreaming about the future, and it becomes the lot of the women to see about the dirty work and the problems of the present. Women have to cultivate the land, or to attend to the cattle, or to rule the people, while their sons, grandsons, and even husbands are turning their prayer wheels and reading their scriptures. I do not think that they have ever thought that they are giving the women the more important place in society, nor do the women have any idea that they are working with freedom or equality. It is simply a question of necessity, because no people can live on prayers and scriptures alone. Thus without fighting for emancipation or equality, women are the pillars of society. 562

Among the tribal people there are as many women rulers as men. For instance, in the Black River the wife of the tribal leader at Lu-hwa 蘆花 is the ruler at Che-o 徹窩. The wife of the tribal leader at Ma-o 麻窩 is ruler at Lung-pa 龍壩. In some cases the women leaders are doing a much better job than the men. The people do not seem to mind whether the ruler is a woman or a man, as long as he or she does the job well.

Not only among the ruling families, but even among the rank and file, the women seem to be the brains in all affairs. When you go into a home it is to

4: Lin K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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562 the woman you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lilan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Lung-hai 隴海 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this fa honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their loudness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural, and free from the restrictions of etiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives [525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is con- [562] siderable freedom between the sexes—that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by 171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet. While singing each line each person turned around com- [415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs" or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married. In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained.

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

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11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised. 778 755

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons. 778

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies. 796 [562]

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widesprsad practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrifical animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

342 Cloth strips about 1 1/2 meters wide are sewed onto the sides of the horizontal tent roof. These are fastened to shorter poles (in front about 1.80 meters, on the sides and in the rear about 1 meter) outside the tent walls in such a way that they slant outward like eaves. In this way the entire space enclosed by the tent wall is covered. Around the tent a number of longer and shorter poles and stakes are hewn into the ground in order to stretch the large horizontal middle section of the tent roof and the slanting sides. These posts are fastened to the cloth of the roof with strong ropes made of yak hair. The horizontal roof consists of two symmetrical halves that converge in a line at the center of the two longitudinal sides. These two halves of the tent roof can be pulled apart slightly to permit the smoke from the fireplace below to escape.

354 The fireplace is always in the exact center of the tent and divides
342 it into two equal halves. It consists of a very primitive rectangular hearth made of loam, on the left side wall of which, as seen from the entrance, there are three fire holes. There are three corresponding round holes on top into which the cooking pots are set. The hearth does not extend from the front to the rear of one side; toward the rear it joins the place /20/ where the fuel is stored. The fuel consists of dried yak dung. In front of the hearth is the entrance to the tent. This is separated from the hearth by a wall about 2 meters wide, made of a piece of cloth stretched between special rods. Thus when one enters the tent one does not come directly into the main room but into a sort of anteroom formed by the cloth wall stretched out in front of the hearth. The person who enters is thus forced to turn right or left and therewith enters the left or right half of the tent, the two halves being sharply separated by the hearth and the adjacent area where the fuel is kept.

342 The side of the tent to the right of the entrance may be used only
562 by the men, the left side by the women. It is strictly forbidden to step across the hearth or the place where the fuel is stored. It is also considered very impolite to step over a person lying on the floor of the tent. Strangers, whether women or men, may under no circumstances enter the side not permissible to them. The residents of the tent may themselves set foot on the forbidden half only if they are alone in the tent and are obliged to fetch something from the other side. The woman, however, may not be seated in the right half. The man goes over to the left side to sleep.

352 In the section to the right is the hearth with a type of very primitive "k'ang" (1), that is to say, two short tubular passages are

1. The living room of the North Chinese house has

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 862
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 893
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can-
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed- 586
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 428
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-MU = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

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therefore falls naturally into two divisions, the public worship of the gods, whether Buddhist or not, which is carried on at temples and shrines, and the private rites of Ancestor Worship, which are performed in the home or at the family tombs. A broad division between the part played by the two sexes follows the same line of cleavage. The majority of the worshippers at temple festivals are women and girls; men though present, either do not perform acts of worship, or are in a small minority in doing so. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship are carried on by the male members of the family. Women are not excluded from these ceremonies, and play a part in them, but the important rôle is assigned to the men, and without their participation the rites could not be carried on.

It is not easy to determine whether, or to what extent this division represents a difference in belief rather than a mere traditional division of functions. Confucian teaching, the old style Chinese education, was undoubtedly hostile to, or rather, contemptuous of, the other cults, which it regarded as superstitious. This attitude is maintained by the modern education, and in consequence the educated and partly educated men tend to ignore the gods, or leave their worship to women. On the other hand all families make use of Buddhist monks and more or less Buddhist ceremonies for funerals, and on some other occasions. Old men of wealth are the best patrons of the temples and the most generous donors for restoration funds. Among the poorer classes the worship of the gods on occasions of specific need is in no way confined to women. It might be supposed that the overwhelming majority of women worshippers at the festival of Kuan Yin is due to the fact that this Boddhisatva is regarded as a feminine deity, patron of mothers, Kuan Yin the giver of sons. It is natural that here the women should outnumber the men. But the same majority of women worship-

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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

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customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own.

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife.

In western Yunnan modern medical science is still almost entirely unknown, and the ravages of epidemic diseases proceed virtually unchecked. The doctors who practise old-fashioned Chinese medicine are indeed capable

[1] [i.e. the marriage system. -- Analyst]

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INVITATION TO THE FEAST

It is, perhaps, natural that in a country where the only means of communication are walking or riding at a foot's pace, and where in consequence everyone in the ordinary course of their business has to walk long distances, walking for exercise is not considered to be rational behaviour. For this reason excursions which have no definite aim in view are never made. Travel is looked upon, quite naturally in view of the conditions, as a hardship which should be avoided if possible, and only undertaken for urgent reasons of business. The Min Chia peasant who has his farm to work probably never goes more than a few miles from his native village in a lifetime. He would never go up the mountain unless it was to cut wood or fodder, and his visits to the city or places further off are only to attend the fortnightly fair or the country markets. Women travel even less. A few annual pilgrimages to the big festivals at temples, or short journeys to town for market days are all they are ever likely to do, and even the women of the wealthy class rarely if ever go to distant places. Their recreations are thus even more limited than those of the men, for they do not enjoy the same opportunities of feasting in a neighbour's house, except on great occasions such as a wedding. Yet wealthy though they may be they are not idle, for if a woman has few recreations she has many occupations. The care of numerous children, housework and cooking, take up most of the day, and in her spare time she has needlework and embroidery to pass the time. Few women read, for though they are taught sufficient characters in school to write letters or keep accounts, they have no time for reading as a pleasure. The peasant women, of course, for the most part still remain illiterate.

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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101
meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563
names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [29] Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563
disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554
plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829
are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

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563 554 829 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 197 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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193 197 Both languages use the device which has been called "numerical adjuncts" or "classifiers" unknown to European tongues, but familiar from the pidgin English expression "one piecee" preceding the noun. In Chinese the most part of the nouns use the classifier *i ke* which pidgin English has translated as "one piecee" but certain others exist also. In Min Chia the variety is extreme. More than sixty separate classifiers are in use (there may be many more) and of these only twelve are used for more than one or two nouns, and the greater number are only applied to a single noun. There are about six in which the application can be strictly covered by a rule, for example all animals have the classifier *a der* which follows the noun, not as in Chinese preceding it. *Mer a der*= a horse, *mer sa der* = three horses. *A ni*, the classifier for human beings is applied not only to the word for man, woman, etc, but also to nouns describing vocations, which is not the colloquial Chinese practice, e.g. *biu a ni* = a soldier. Two exceptions to this rule for animals and humans exist. Bandits are given the classifier *a der* thus ranking them with the animals and insects, and spirits and gods have the human *a ni* classifier. Malignant ghosts *ger* are on the other hand given *a der*, like animals, perhaps a distinction having the same origin as the *hun* and *po*, the spiritual and animal souls of men which the ancient Chinese distinguished.

563 That the Min Chia are therefore a distinct people is established, and as will be shown in subsequent chapters, their social and kinship systems show radical differences from the Chinese, while their religion retains many features unknown to China proper. Nor is there much evidence to connect them at all closely with the neighbouring non-Chinese peoples of Yunnan. The Na Khi or Mo So who border on the Min Chia to the north speak a very different language and their religion and social customs are equally distinct. All

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that the two peoples have in common comes either from the similar conditions of their economy or from the common contact with Chinese culture since the conquest.[1] 563

The Li Su tribe, one of the largest, but most scattered in Yunnan, are found to the west and north west of the Min Chia country, whose markets they occasionally frequent. This people, definitely on a lower cultural level than the Min Chia, speak a distinct language, much broken up into dialects, which is in no way closely related to the Min Chia speech.[2] In religion they also differ widely, and being hillmen who rarely cultivate rice, their social and economic systems are quite unlike those of the rice farming Min Chia.

To the south east of the Ta Li plateaux, in the lofty Ting Hsi Ling range a people variously described as Lolos or Tu Li occupy the tract of country dividing the Chinese settled plain of Mi Tu from the Min Chia of the Erh Hai basin. It has been suggested by missionaries who have visited some of their villages, that these people also may be an offshoot of the Li Su, and not Lolos, a name which if used at all, should be applied to the No Su[3] found in north eastern Yunnan. This tribe also has no affinities with the Min Chia.

The possibility cannot be ignored that the Min Chia are related to the Shans, or Tai race, which covers so much of the south west of Asia, from Siam through southern Yunnan and eastern Burma even into Kuei Chou province. The

[1] Rock, Dr. Ancient Nakhi Kingdom of Yunnan.

[2] This was the opinion of the late Mr. Fraser, of the China Inland Mission, who devised the Fraser Script for writing the Li Su language, of which he had the most thorough knowledge. His view was communicated to the author in Ta Li, 1938.

[3] The opinion of Mr. H. Owen, of the China Inland Mission, Ta Li. The term Lo Lo is Ssu-chuanese slang meaning a basket, and is at best a popular west Chinese term for any non-Chinese people, used quite loosely and without precise application. It is only Europeans who have attached this name to the No Su rather than to any other tribe.

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563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su [272] or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

103 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

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441 The remainder of the inhabitants of Ta Li may be classi-
438 fied as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and
563 Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

441 A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which
563 on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

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of business. Thus some of the tailors may be Chinese, or of such mixed origin as to be very doubtfully Min Chia, and the distribution of trades among the Chinese is even less fixed. Though not rigidly defined like an Indian caste system there is still a marked separation between the kinds of business done by Chinese and Min Chia on the one hand, and different groups of Chinese on the other.

Shops in Ta Li City

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Barbers	11	Ssu Ch'uanese
Bedding	8	Yunnan Chinese
Books and stationery	5	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Brassmiths	7	Min Chia
Butchers	5	Min Chia
Cakes and confectionery	5	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Carpenters	5	Min Chia
Charcoal braziers	1	Min Chia
Coffins	13	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Crackers, incense and candles	7	Ssu Ch'uanese
Crockery	2	Yunnanese
Dentist	1	Cantonese
Drapers (cloth)	4	Min Chia
Embroidery	1	Min Chia
Furriers	4	Min Chia
Hatters	39	All groups
Ironmongers	6	Min Chia
Marbles	17	Ssu Ch'uanese and Min Chia
Medicine shops	55	Cantonese and Yunnanese

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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

Shop	Number	Ethnic Group
Mixed imported goods	31	Cantonese and Yunnanese
Musical instruments	1	Ssu Ch'uanese
Paper images (for funerals)	4	Min Chia
Photographer	1	Cantonese
Picture sellers	5	Yunnanese
Printers	6	Yunnanese
Ready made clothes	11	Min Chia
Restaurants and Tea houses	64	Min Chia and Yunnanese Moslems
Saddlers	9	Min Chia
Second hand clothing	6	Min Chia
Shoe shops	73	All groups mostly Ssu Ch'uanese
Silk stores (mercers)	42	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Silversmiths	18	Min Chia
Tailors	42	Min Chia
Tinsmiths	7	Min Chia
Tobacco, straw sandals, etc.	101	Min Chia
Transport firms	3	Moslem Yunnanese
Trunk makers	6	Min Chia
Watchmakers	3	Yunnanese
Wine and salt shops	64	Min Chia
Writing brush makers	4	Yunnanese
	697	

The above list is as clearly defined as possible, but in fact many shops do two kinds of business, for example a marble

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CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

In A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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175 several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no
167 eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li
563 had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

634 There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min
563 Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

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ethnographic boundary of the Min Chia people, for al- 634
though the *Hsien* of Ta Li, Erh Yuan, and Chien Ch'uan, are 563
wholly Min Chia, they overlap also into districts north, east and west of these three, which include communities of Chinese, Na Khi, Li Su and Tu Li. Nevertheless although 642
the governmental system is identical with that in force in other parts of Yunnan and in China as a whole, it merits description for the very reason that, as the cadre in which Chinese civilisation operates, it is itself the principal cause of contact between the two cultures. It is well known that the Chinese Empire has for many centuries been ruled by a civil service of officials recruited by public examinations, and this civil service ranked higher and had greater authority than the military officers commanding the rather scanty garrisons stationed in the walled cities. After the Chinese revolution the old system fell into confusion, from which it has recently emerged, modernised, but in many respects unchanged. The civil officials of to-day are no longer recruited by annual examinations held in Peking or at some other great city, but they are required to be University graduates, and in recent years they are also required to pass a civil service examination, held in the provincial capital. Their military colleagues, who acquired inordinate power during the years of confusion following the revolution, are now slowly being brought under the control of the provincial government, from which they had largely escaped, and though endowed with more power than they possessed under the Manchu Empire, they can no longer override the civil power whenever they choose.

The *Hsien*, an area rather smaller than an English county, yet 634
of considerable extent, is under the civil rule of the *Hsien Chang*, or Magistrate, who is responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice within certain limitations. He is also in charge of the public works, administers

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. 241 132 133 433

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization. 134 241 433

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development. 563 101 162

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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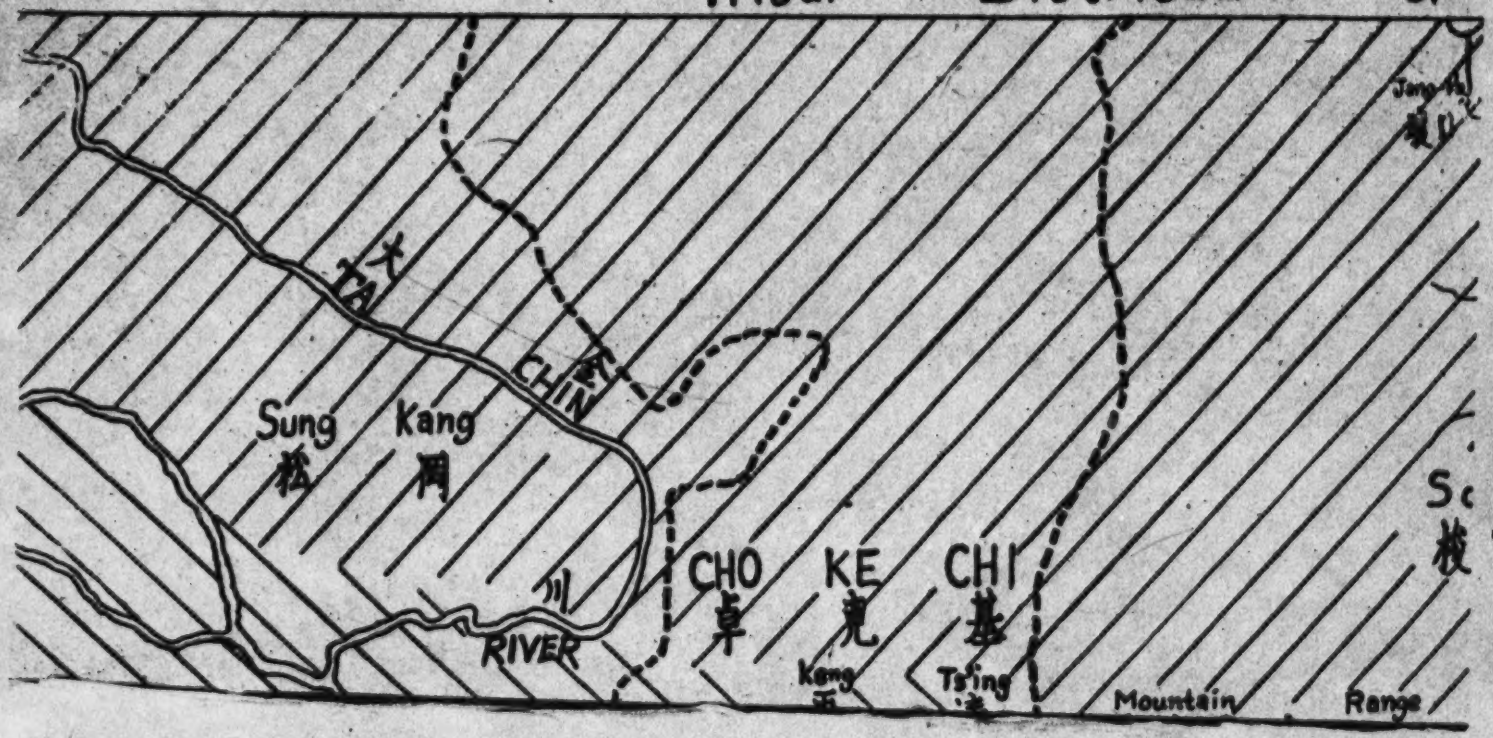
Tribal Distribution of



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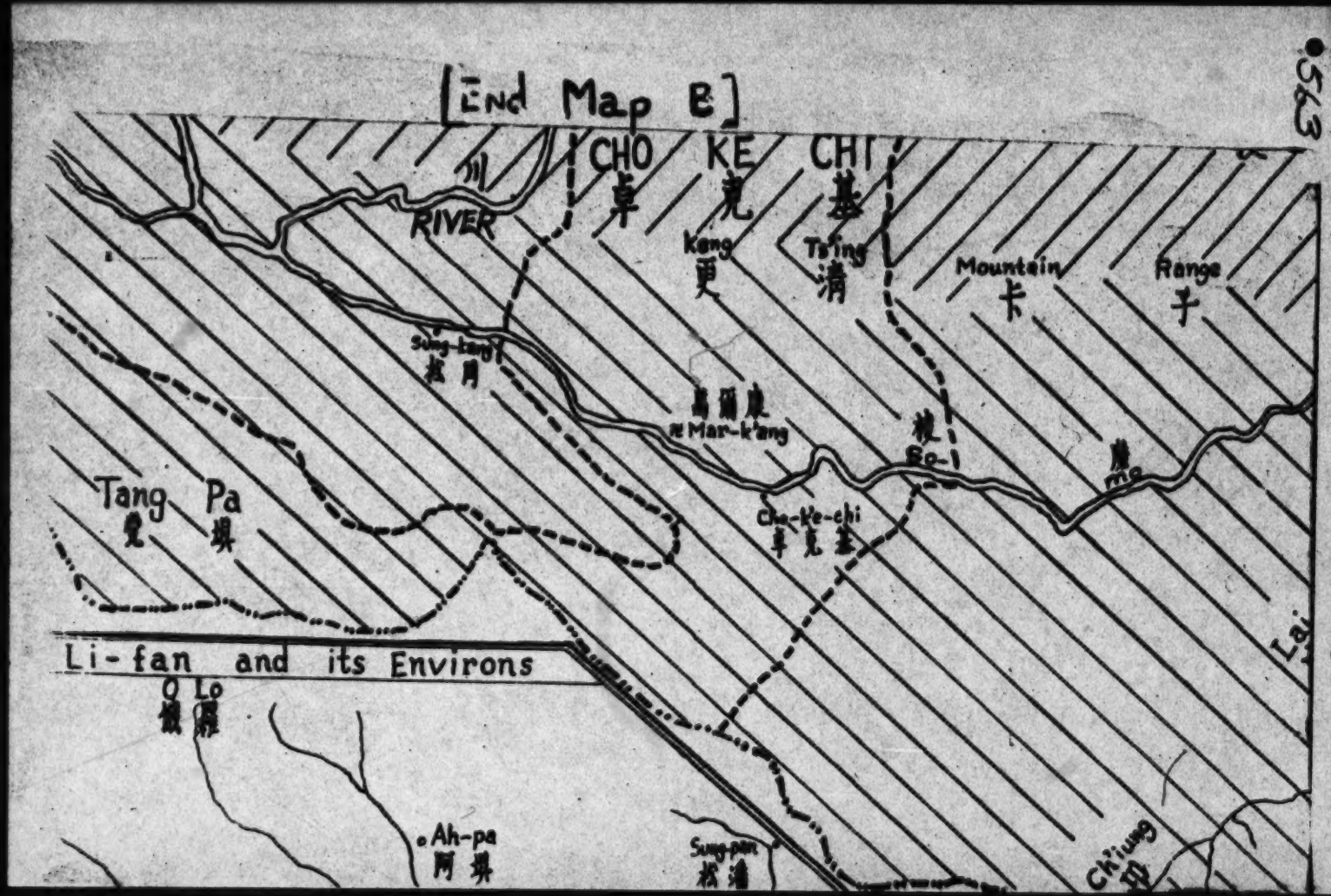

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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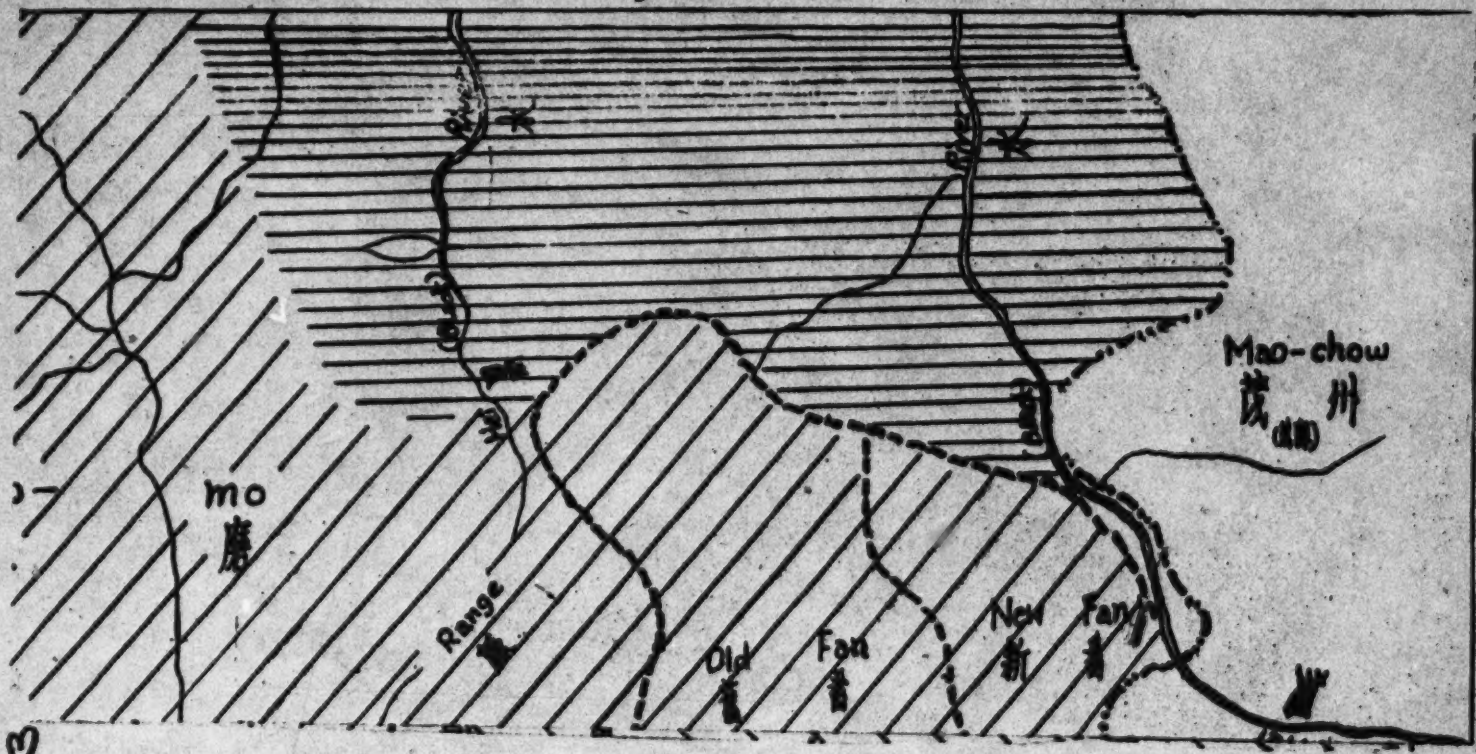
[End Map C]

[End Map D]

Li-Fan County



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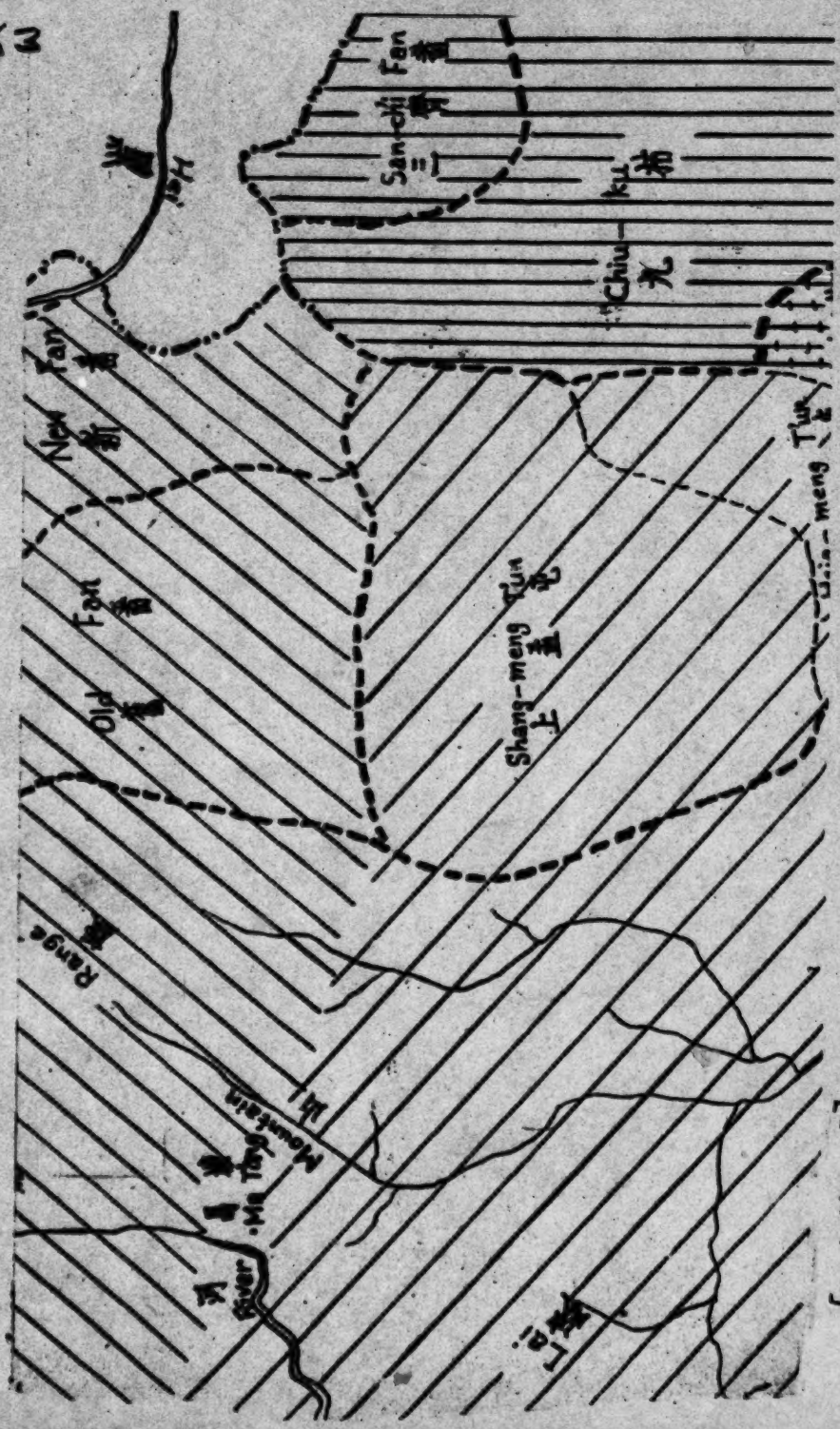

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Border Peoples AE3

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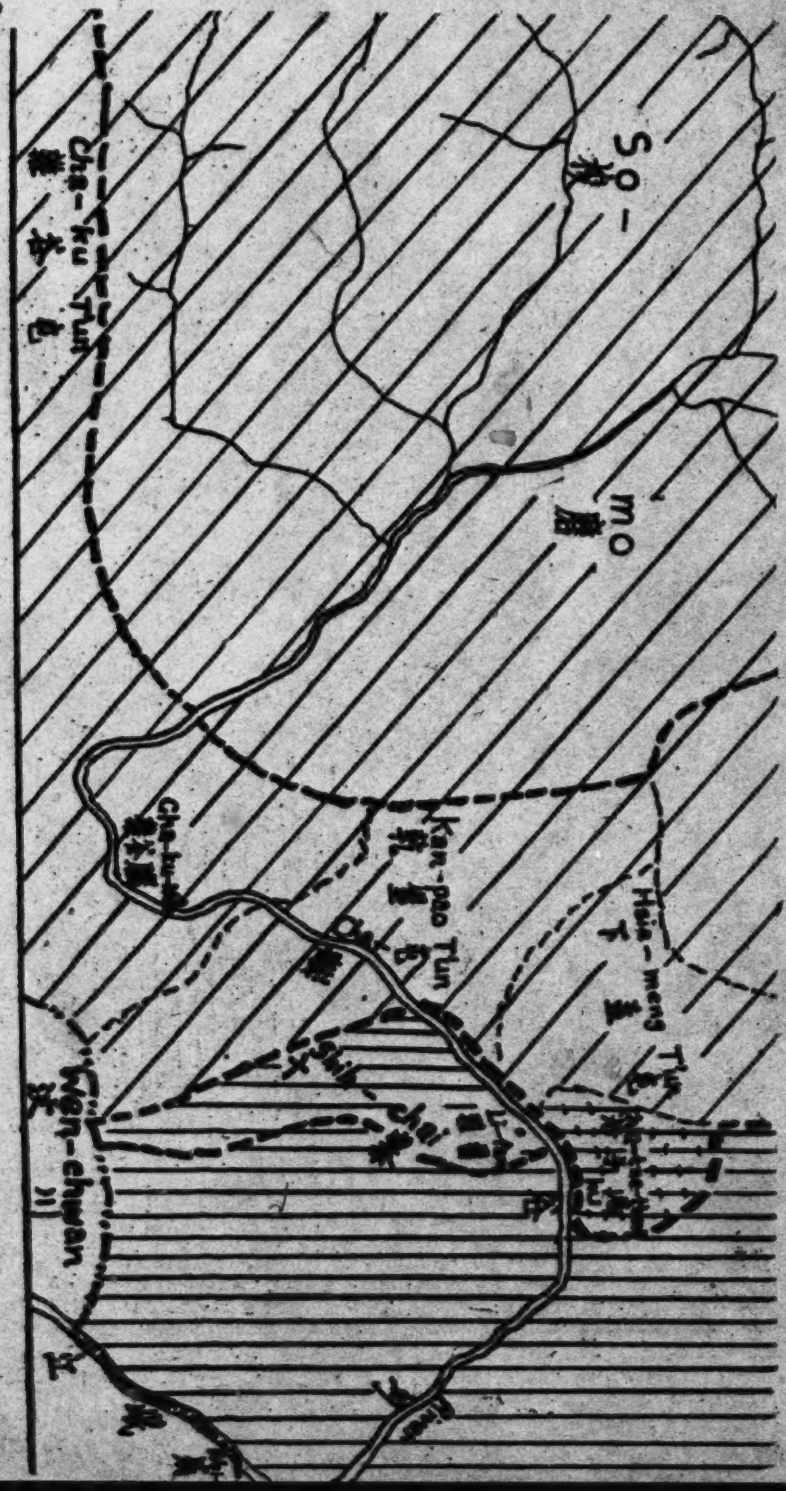

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas. 442 463

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu. 285

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials. 331 476

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given. 651

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese, chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials. [441] [463] [583] 436

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 439 237

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the 648
highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend
assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu
in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a
certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-
ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the
Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather
marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ing, south
of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude
of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang
Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the
Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government,
especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-
Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-
ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they col-
lect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - 792
in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the adminis- 624
tration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu
lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The
territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a
higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads
are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between 643
He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different 624
from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in
each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with
them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest
son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the
right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the
t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor.
A definite number of families are under the administration of a
chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to
five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions with-
in the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must
see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances
pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has [663]
more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in
addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries.
They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task,
among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no
particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-
lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished
by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every
yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner
must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 224
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting
of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunt-
ing rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught
violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are
usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 663
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu.
Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted
directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official
by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge.
It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the
Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for
their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge.
They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago
(1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the
t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese.
However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer
acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man
slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral,
respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place with 692
in the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another
territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority
as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial
cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The
ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for per-
mission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work
together in such cases.

563 The Mewu-Fantzu are already to a certain extent dependent on the Chinese, since they live relatively near them. This dependence is, however, still a rather indirect one, and is expressed through the secular Fantzu ruler of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling."

221 Wars between Fantzu and Chinese no longer occur, since the
563 Fantzu respect the superior military might of the Chinese. But it
648 often happens that Chinese are robbed by Fantzu. Such cases are, as a rule, brought before the court of the Huang-szu-ling who, according to my interpreter, wherever possible sides with the Fantzu. He arranges the payment of damages. The Fantzu are, however, not too friendly with the Chinese, first of all because they feel oppressed by the taxes which the Chinese government imposes on them, and, secondly, because the Chinese are pushing into their territory as colonists. However, the latter reason affects only the sedentary Fantzu to any practical extent.

563 The Fantzu have a different and closer relationship with the Chinese Mohammedans who play a special part in the political and social life of the country. (1) In language and material culture

1. Ekvall describes in detail the relationship between the Fantzu - nomadic and sedentary - and the Chinese and Mohammedans.

these Mohammedans do not differ from actual Chinese, but the latter regard them /88/ more or less as aliens. They are largely descendants of Turkish tribes, who in the course of time settled in Kansu and intermarried with the Chinese. In external appearance (they are a Turanian race rather than Sinic) (2) as well as in

2. Terms according to von Eickstedt 15).

character, they are often very different from the Chinese. The Mohammedans live in Kansu as farmers, merchants and innkeepers. As traders they have penetrated far into Fantzu territory and constitute the chief element of the population in the market towns which have arisen in the vicinity of the large lamaseries. If Mohammedans are robbed by Fantzu they are much more apt to follow their natural war-like bent and fight than are the Chinese. Thus Fantzu raids are sometimes followed by minor avenging expeditions on the part of the Mohammedans. Eleven years ago (about 1925) there was the last major warlike entanglement between Mohammedans
000 and Fantzu. The relationship of the Mohammedans to the Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from • 563 those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan 101 family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or S "upper[1]."

ST A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows 195 that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

113, 563

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Tibetans

/For a short discussion of Tibetan-Chinese relationships in Sikang and the effect of Communist rule upon them, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 85-86/

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families who are landowners in the country, while many of the richer merchants have invested their profits in land and become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These families with rural and urban connections can be classified broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

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565 369 423 443 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the sons have been given education up to the middle school grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 369 423 647 The second class of family with city and village homes is composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for comfort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed, are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

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country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is
527 the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now
233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep-
241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable.
361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build-
●565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence
551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam-
592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is
582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan.
621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be-
776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

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domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited. Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is always a "*ya t'ou*," that is to say a slave girl. This system, which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed individuals, who, coming from the poor families where goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride, and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some small remuneration, and if possible, to find them a husband when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min Chia women are more independent in character than the other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the whole much better treated than, for example, they are in K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

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732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

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CHAPTER 8

THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

596 IN the Min Chia language the word "*hao*" means both a "family" and a "house"; every house is the home of some family, and a family dispersed without a home is something unheard of and unknown. This well expresses the central importance of the home in the social organisation. The Min Chia have few institutions which transcend the family or gather individuals into an organisation not founded on a kin group. The village it is true has its headmen, and as has been pointed out the worship of the Ber Dser, the Founder, is not confined to his descendents in the male line or to those of the same surname. But the village is after all only a group of families most of which, if not indeed all, are interrelated on the female side. There are no age classes, no societies in which boys or young men can find a centre of social organisation distinct from that of the family. For most Min Chia therefore the family is the social unit in which he passes his whole life. If he is a peasant farmer, he cultivates fields held jointly with his brothers, if he turns to business he becomes a partner or assistant in a family shop or small business in which none but kinsmen are employed, except for the most menial duties.

● 573 One exception exists, for the better off classes at least, in the schools. The peasant boy who only attends the village school for a few years meets there none but his fellow villagers, many of whom are related to him in some degree, and all already well known. But the son of a more wealthy family who is sent to the Middle School in the city makes contacts beyond the narrow circle of relatives and villagers. He meets boys from other villagers, or from other families

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living in the city who are in no way related to his own kin. 573 Among the Min Chia, as with the Chinese, the friendships thus made are long lasting and profound. This solidarity between old schoolmates is the only social force which can compare with the bonds of kinship, and the influence of the educational system is thus much more far reaching than might be supposed if only scholastic standards were taken into account.

England is supposed to be the country where the influence of the "old school tie" is most pervasive and persistent beneath the forms of political democracy, but though the emblem is unknown in China the solidarity is even more conspicuous, for it is founded on a longer tradition. Far back in Chinese history, in the Feudal Age of Confucius, centuries before the Christian Era, this cohesion of the pupils and disciples of a renowned teacher began to play a part opposed to, or at least independent of, the feudal hierarchy. In later periods the educated class which was also the governing class, was always divided between cliques composed of the followers of some philosopher or man of letters, and very often the basis of these divisions was the fact that these followers had once been pupils also. At the present time the alumni of one University, or the returned students from one foreign country, are found as organised groups competing for political power and scholastic preferment with similar rival affiliations.

The influence exercised by such associations of old schoolmates adds to the respect with which education is universally regarded, and in turn is increased by the fact of this respect. In China to-day two organisations distinct from the family wield great power: the army and the university, and the greater of these is the university. A general receives the respect due to one who can employ force, the professor, the modern successor of the scholar of

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573 old China, is treated with a greater deference, based not on fear, but on that admiration for learning which is so deeply rooted in Chinese cultural tradition.

There can be no doubt that this attitude has been taken over by the Min Chia from their Chinese neighbours and rulers. It is perhaps reinforced among them by the fact that learning, which means Chinese learning, involves the study of a foreign language and thus sharpens the distinction between the literate and the unlettered. Min Chia who have passed through the Middle School have in the process become a distinct group, to whom Chinese is as familiar as their own language, sharing interests and experiences which their less educated relatives do not understand and cannot appreciate. The school has become for them a new kind of greater family, for just as Chinese tradition accords to the teacher the respect due to a father, not merely in school, but in society generally, so schoolmates feel towards each other the intimacy, if not always the affection, otherwise reserved for kinsmen. Friendship between young men largely compensates for the absence of free social intercourse between the sexes, and such friendships are almost always based either on kinship or on fellowship at school.

596 It is still customary in Min Chia families for the married sons to remain in the paternal home, at least during the lifetime of the parents, and consequently a Min Chia home is usually fully occupied with numerous children, unmarried daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and [581] other relatives. In a culture where Ancestor Worship plays a major rôle it is natural that the bearing of children, especially sons, should be considered the first duty of women, 584 and the principal object of marriage. No Min Chia mar- 590 riage is arranged by the free choice of the bride and groom, except in the irregular elopements discussed earlier, and consequently affection and companionship, though these

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more than one table is served. The number of guests may 574
therefore be from four to six, depending on the number of members of the family who will be present. All the guests are, of course, men, and it is not usual for young boys to be invited to these parties. When the guests arrive they are shown into the guest room, or if that is too small to be convenient, the room adjoining, normally some one's bedroom, will be re-arranged for the occasion. Tea 521
is then served with cigarettes, and conversation is carried 574
on until everyone has arrived, perhaps for nearly an hour. The guests arrive early or late in accordance with their willingness, or otherwise, to converse during this wait. After the meal it is customary to leave at once, so that the preliminary period of conversation and tea drinking corresponds to the conversation after dinner in the West.

When everyone has arrived, and the dinner is ready, the 574
host invites them to enter the dining room and be seated. 576
But this is not a simple or rapid operation. The table is round, and the place of honour is that which faces the entrance on the far side of the table, and which usually has the host's best bed and quilts as seat. Every one at once endeavours to sit down as far as possible from this place. The host, protesting, grabs the more honoured or elderly guest by the arm and endeavours to push him towards the seat of honour, but he, levered out of the chair he first sat in, promptly sits down in the next furthest from the place which he knows quite well he must ultimately occupy. All the other guests perform a similar pantomime, the hosts pulling them up and pushing them, protesting politely, to their destined seats. At last this contest of politeness is over and all are seated. The table has as yet nothing on it but chopsticks, small saucers of soy sauce, and four plates of cold food, ham, pickled vegetables, sliced sausage and some other cold vegetable dish.

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Wine cups are then placed on the table and the host fills them up to the brim, or even till they slightly overflow, this being a necessary act of politeness, showing that no wine will be stinted. The guests meanwhile proceed to wipe their chopsticks with pieces of brown coarse paper provided for the purpose, for it is not impolite thus to imply that your host's table ware is not quite clean. Everyone then takes salt and red pepper and mixes them into their [263] saucer of soy sauce. The Min Chia do not like their food as hot as the Ssu Ch'uanese, but they use more pepper than suits most European taste. Fortunately this custom of adding it individually makes it possible to take as little as you wish. Nearly five minutes passes in this way before anything is eaten at all, for the guests must not help themselves, and the host must not press them too soon, for that would seem to imply that they were hungry and had only come for the food.

At last the host says "Please let us drink," and everyone takes one small sip of the rather strong rice wine. Another short pause for conversation, and the host takes up his chopsticks, indicates the dishes of cold food, and says simply, "Please." Thereupon everyone takes one piece of cold food from the dishes, dips it in the soy sauce and eats it, at once putting down their chopsticks. This formal manner of eating with gradually shortening pauses, punctuated by rounds of wine sipping, continues for some time, perhaps a quarter of an hour, when, long before the cold food is finished, the young sons of the house bring in two hot dishes. No one, however, takes any notice of these steaming tasty dishes of chopped chicken and green peas, or meat balls stewed with chestnuts, until another round of wine has been drunk. Then, once more the host invites them to proceed.

These dishes have also to be consumed one by one in

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slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, 574
and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his 264
guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause, and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a friendly wave of the chopsticks, "Please help yourselves". The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff manners of the first part of the meal give way to an increasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly 574
fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two 524
neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which 273
enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, introduced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes "stone" and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another; paper

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574 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The
524 loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this
273 being called " *Kan Pei* " " dry cup."

By the time this game has been played three or four times
574 most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are
264 eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the " Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

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scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain 574
of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put 264
more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating.

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the 574
adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke 276
opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take 273
their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment [529]
available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is 545
an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

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For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

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Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窠, Long Cliff Nest 其屋窠, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything, I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

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In the grasslands among the Fan people, out of their nomadic mood of living grows the hospitable custom of playing host. In the wilderness of the grasslands there are neither inns nor hotels. Travellers in these regions have to depend upon the mercy of the local population for shelter and food. If a traveller once stayed in one tent, next time when he visits the place again he must stay with the same host. If not the host will be greatly offended, and the traveller will get himself into a bad way. The host family looks at the stranger as a member of the family, and they are very generous with chang-pa and milk. They seem to have a feeling of responsibility toward strangers who get into their midst. They feel it is up to them to feed the strangers. What they have is very little, but they are ready to share with others what they have. 574

E. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

The general impression of the tribal communities is the importance of women, and some people even say that the borderland is a woman's world, because women seem to dominate in everything there. But when one comes to examine the situation more closely, he finds the situation is quite different. In these mountainous and grassland areas, the natural environment is hard on people, living conditions are difficult, and the population is scanty. The result is that there is very little difference between the rich and the poor, and people are more democratic in spirit. Women, too, have to do their share in getting themselves and their families food. They have to work hard for their living. Therefore, women are as important as men in supporting the family. And where the Lama faith predominates, most men spend days and years in prayer and meditation, and dreaming about the future, and it becomes the lot of the women to see about the dirty work and the problems of the present. Women have to cultivate the land, or to attend to the cattle, or to rule the people, while their sons, grandsons, and even husbands are turning their prayer wheels and reading theis scriptures. I do not think that they have ever thought that they are giving the women the more important place in society, nor do the women have any idea that they are working with freedom or equality. It is simply a question of necessity, because no people can live on prayers and scriptures alone. Thus without fighting for emancipation or equality, women are the pillars of society. 562

Among the tribal people there are as many women rulers as men. For instance, in the Black River the wife of the tribal leader at Lu-hwa 蘆花 is the ruler at Cha-o 雜窩. The wife of the tribal leader at Ma-o 麻窩 is ruler at Lung-pa 隴窩. In some cases the women leaders are doing a much better job than the men. The people do not seem to mind whether the ruler is a woman or a man, as long as he or she does the job well.

Not only among the ruling families, but even among the rank and file, the women seem to be the brains in all affairs. When you go into a home it is to

4: Liu K44 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 746

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 746

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

576 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

and calls them "thsuba." I give the pronunciation of my Chinese interpreter. 575

seems to be to provide legal protection. The ts'aowa of the Mewu nomads consists of four groups. There are 40 to 100 families or tents in one ts'aowa group. Each group chooses its own council. There are no rules about the length of time the council of a ts'aowa group is in office The t'ou-mu cannot influence the choice of such a ts'aowa council. The individual ts'aowa groups are named /78/ after their councils. The power of each group within the tribe varies, and thus a certain family often strives to shift from a less influential group to a more influential one; they can do this by presenting the group council and several respected members of the group with a sheep and several chin of wine and inviting them to a meal. The group council, together with the entire group, is responsible for every crime committed by one of its members. It carries on negotiations with the council of another ts'aowa group if one of its members is obliged to pay a penalty to the members of another group for some crime, and the council must exact the penalty from the criminal and give it to the council of the other ts'aowa group. If a member of one ts'aowa group cannot pay the penalty demanded of him, the entire group guarantees to raise the fine. The condemned person must then gradually pay off the debt to the members of his group. The ts'aowa group can oust a criminal who they find is a burden to them, and the only thing left for him in that case is to join another group. I could not find out to what extent this is possible. Apparently there are never disagreements between the t'ou-mu and a ts'aowa group or its council about verdicts and penalties.

Legal matters. During my brief sojourn among the Mewu-Fantzu it was, of course, impossible for me, because of my ignorance of the language, to form a definite opinion about their character. This was all the more impossible because the Mewu-Fantzu, to begin with, have a grudging attitude toward a stranger. I had to spend considerable time talking to them on general topics before I could ask more detailed questions about their way of life, even though they knew my interpreter and did not dislike him. I should therefore like to insert here only a few statements of my interpreter who judged the Fantzu from the point of view of a simple, but intelligent Chinese /79/ trader, and who, of course, unwittingly made comparisons with the Chinese conditions of life under which he grew up. I did feel, however, that he made an effort to be neutral in his 624

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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more than one table is served. The number of guests may 574
therefore be from four to six, depending on the number of members of the family who will be present. All the guests are, of course, men, and it is not usual for young boys to be invited to these parties. When the guests arrive they are shown into the guest room, or if that is too small to be convenient, the room adjoining, normally some one's bedroom, will be re-arranged for the occasion. Tea 521
is then served with cigarettes, and conversation is carried 574
on until everyone has arrived, perhaps for nearly an hour. The guests arrive early or late in accordance with their willingness, or otherwise, to converse during this wait. After the meal it is customary to leave at once, so that the preliminary period of conversation and tea drinking corresponds to the conversation after dinner in the West.

When everyone has arrived, and the dinner is ready, the 574
host invites them to enter the dining room and be seated. 576
But this is not a simple or rapid operation. The table is round, and the place of honour is that which faces the entrance on the far side of the table, and which usually has the host's best bed and quilts as seat. Every one at once endeavours to sit down as far as possible from this place. The host, protesting, grabs the more honoured or elderly guest by the arm and endeavours to push him towards the seat of honour, but he, levered out of the chair he first sat in, promptly sits down in the next furthest from the place which he knows quite well he must ultimately occupy. All the other guests perform a similar pantomime, the hosts pulling them up and pushing them, protesting politely, to their destined seats. At last this contest of politeness is over and all are seated. The table has as yet nothing on it but chopsticks, small saucers of soy sauce, and four plates of cold food, ham, pickled vegetables, sliced sausage and some other cold vegetable dish.

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

good by the ts'aowa group, as we have already mentioned, and the 681
accused must gradually pay off his debt to the group. The most severe punishment is probably expulsion from the ts'aowa group, which makes a man homeless.

Witnesses are not tortured. They are not /86/ examined in pub- 685
lic but in a separate room, so that they cannot be seen by the accused and thus be exposed to his revenge.

The t'ou-mu also has jurisdiction over members of another tribe 682
whom he can punish. The punishment is not, however, always recognized by the tribe to whom the convicted person belongs. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, for example, the t'ou-mu held a lama prisoner for stealing a gun. The lama belonged to the He-tso Lamasery outside Mewu territory. He had ordered the lama whipped. For this reason no male Mewu-Fantzu ventured into the region of He-tso, since he would have been in danger of being captured.

Disputes between inhabitants of various tents in the same tent 578
community are settled by the t'ou-mu or one of his kuan-shih; like 721
wise disputes between various tent communities. In such cases violence is seldom resorted to. Disputes between the tent Fantzu and the sedentary Fantzu of the Mewu tribe are very rare. They, too, are settled by the t'ou-mu. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between Fantzu of different tribes, sometimes leading to war.

In former times wars were frequent. But the Mewu-Fantzu fought 701
their last war about 30 years ago, that is, during imperial times. 721
On the other hand, a war was fought just a few years ago, about 100 li to the southwest. It lasted three years and ended only when the ruling feudal lord of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling" seized control. If a state of war arises the Huang-szu-ling calls his subordinate t'ou-mu to war. This happened, for example, during my stay when the region between T'ao-chou and Ho-chou, to which the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu and the lamaseries of Labrang and He-tso belong, was endangered by the "long march" of Mao Tse-tung's Communist Army to Shensi. The t'ou-mu recruit soldiers. Every tent must furnish at least one soldier, /87/ sometimes as many as two or three. Each man must bring his own weapons, ammunition and horses, just as in ancient times in the wars of the nomadic peoples, such as the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols. Families who cannot furnish a soldier must give weapons and guns, ammunition and a horse for those who are too poor to furnish their own equipment. The t'ou-mu decides how dangerous the situation is and how many recruits are to be called out.

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696 stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the
722 north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads.
627 The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

701 The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus
[702] often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with
[712] one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city,
701 or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a
579 Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with w[illegible] stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

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701 579 laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

701 177 The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

177 The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

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502 their only labour is to steer, or in calms, to punt. They often prefer to travel at night because in summer there is more wind after sundown, and if the wind fails it is tiring to have to do the hard work of punting or rowing in the hot sun. As they work, or sit idly steering the slow-moving boat, they beguile the time by singing improvised words to the one tune which Min Chia peasants always sing to. Time is no object. A trip from Shier Yu, the port of Ta Li, to Wa Shih or Shang Kuan may take four hours or less with a favourable wind, or seventeen hours if there is no wind at all. As they carry a cooking stove and provision of rice they are not dependent on the villages for food, while fish can often be bought from the fishermen on the lake itself.

579 489 The length and slowness of all travel in Yunnan is in fact the explanation of that indifference to time and punctuality which disturbs the foreign visitor. When a journey must in any case take several days, one more or less cannot matter, and as long as the stage point is reached in time for supper, it does not matter when the traveller starts. No Yunnanese would think of starting on a journey unless he allowed for a possible week's delay, through bad weather or—formerly a paramount consideration—delay due to unsafe roads and banditry. When the roads were still infested with robbers it was not uncommon for all travellers to wait in the last town below some dangerous pass until the authorities agreed to provide an escort, or until there were sufficient wealthy travellers assembled to pay for one. My arrival in one such town, some ten years ago, was hailed with delight, since I already had the escort which the local authorities were unwilling to provide for nearly fifty or sixty other travellers and four caravans of forty mules. All these, the next day, got safe and free escort over the pass which was known to be the haunt of a large gang of deserters from the provincial army.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

I. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S ST [184] 271 The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

S ST [1764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

S ST 177 [579] Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

S 631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

theft among members of one's own group. Even very primitive peo- 685
ples like the pygmies of the Congo jungle are extremely honest among one another, whereas as soon as they come into contact with farming Negroes, they quickly develop into positively virtuoso thieves. (2) There are probably easy transitions from this stage to

2. Gusinde 13).

the abuse of travelers by the extortionist tourist industry in civilized countries, which is not regarded as criminal any more than the robbing of strangers among primitives.

If a thief is caught and confesses his crime at once, his only punishment consists in his being forced to return or replace the stolen goods, provided the victim of the theft does not belong to the same ts'aowa group. If the thief will not confess his crime, he can be brought before the court of the t'ou-mu and he can be tortured into confession. In this case, too, the punishment is no more severe. If the victim who was robbed belongs to the same ts'aowa group, the thief must pay him back two or three times the value of the goods stolen, just as though he were /81/ a lama, whereas, as mentioned before, a t'ou-mu or an incarnation must be repaid ninefold. (1)

1. Cf. the same conditions among the Bedouins; Musil 14); or wergild in medieval Europe.

Outside their tribal territory all Fantzu tend to rob, especially 685
travelers. However, robberies no longer occur as much among the 579
Mewu-Fantzu as among tribes living farther in the interior of Tibet, where robberies are the order of the day. According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not generally shoot or become violent in a sudden attack if one does not offer resistance. In that respect they would not act differently from Chinese robbers, although this is contrary to the experiences of many travelers. (2)

2. For example, a farmer from the province of Szechuan described such conduct of robbers to me as "polite" (k'e-ch'i), whereas it would be "impolite" in his opinion and contrary to good form if people who did not offer resistance were shot at (this does not mean warning shots), or if they were attacked in any other way.

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573 old China, is treated with a greater deference, based not on fear, but on that admiration for learning which is so deeply rooted in Chinese cultural tradition.

There can be no doubt that this attitude has been taken over by the Min Chia from their Chinese neighbours and rulers. It is perhaps reinforced among them by the fact that learning, which means Chinese learning, involves the study of a foreign language and thus sharpens the distinction between the literate and the unlettered. Min Chia who have passed through the Middle School have in the process become a distinct group, to whom Chinese is as familiar as their own language, sharing interests and experiences which their less educated relatives do not understand and cannot appreciate. The school has become for them a new kind of greater family, for just as Chinese tradition accords to the teacher the respect due to a father, not merely in school, but in society generally, so schoolmates feel towards each other the intimacy, if not always the affection, otherwise reserved for kinsmen. Friendship between young men largely compensates for the absence of free social intercourse between the sexes, and such friendships are almost always based either on kinship or on fellowship at school.

596 It is still customary in Min Chia families for the married sons to remain in the paternal home, at least during the lifetime of the parents, and consequently a Min Chia home is usually fully occupied with numerous children, unmarried daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and [581] other relatives. In a culture where Ancestor Worship plays a major rôle it is natural that the bearing of children, especially sons, should be considered the first duty of women, 584 and the principal object of marriage. No Min Chia mar- 596 riage is arranged by the free choice of the bride and groom, except in the irregular elopements discussed earlier, and consequently affection and companionship, though these

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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

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It would seem inevitable that not all such marriages can 581
be a success. Husband and wife are complete strangers up to the moment of marriage, and the early, indeed immediate, consummation of the sexual union precludes any possibility of the growth of mutual attraction and of the courtship which western psychology considers an indispensable preliminary to sexual intercourse. It may be, indeed it often happens, that Chinese or Min Chia marriages become a real union of affection as time passes, but this can only be after the marriage has been consummated and depends on chance rather than choice. It is not surprising therefore to find that both young men and girls really dread their marriage as a plunge into the unknown, and that among the younger, more educated generation, there is an increasing opposition to the old custom, inspired by the spreading knowledge that the modern generation of university educated young people in the great cities have largely broken away from these restraints.

In the case, not by any means rare, where a mutual anti- 586
pathy rather than attraction follows marriage, there is little remedy for either party in the traditional system. A wife can in theory leave a cruel or depraved husband and return to her father's home. Such action would cause the greatest possible scandal, and lead to bitter hostility between the two families, and it only natural to find that few fathers have sufficient appreciation of their daughter's unhappiness as to encourage them to abandon their husbands, especially as there is then little prospect of them being married a second time. A husband may divorce his wife for adultery, by simply sending her home, but this also rarely happens, as it is not often easy to prove the fact to the satisfaction of the wife's father, and it is held to reflect scandal on the family of a husband where such things happen, and are admitted to happen. If the husband finds his wife incompatible, but

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

refusal is not expected, and approval is not asked. A primary consideration is the value of the girl or woman as a worker to the family of the groom. For this reason wives are often older than their husbands. The writer heard of one boy who at twelve was married to a woman of twenty-six. She was a fine worker. To carry through an engagement and a marriage generally costs over a thousand dollars, and often the groom's family has to borrow. Naturally every man wants a wife and every woman wants a husband, so every person gets married sooner or later. 584 [581]

In 1933 the writer was told that the custom near Tung Men Wai and Mu Shang Chai was that the groom s family should give the family of the bride a pig s head, a couple of small jugs of wine, some pork, shoes, stockings, etc. At Ts'a To in 1941 he was told that the gift to the bride s parents should be a piece of pork, three jugs of about thirty-five catties of wine, two large pieces of white bread, incense, candles, etc At Ta Ho P'in Chai near Wen Ch'uan he was told that the groom's family should give eight rolls of cloth, black or blue but not white, twenty-four catties of pork two large wheat biscuits, three jars of wine, one large wheat cake called in Chinese a Ko kw'ei, one pair of earrings, ten feet of brass wire, and one pair of puttees. There is variation in the different localities and the objects, the amount, and the value varies with every family according to the ability of the groom's family to give

The horoscope is sometimes but not always used If it indicates that the marriage would be unlucky, the engagement is not consummated, [787]

3. Marriage.

A lucky day is chosen for the wedding. Near Mu Shang Chai and Lung Ch'i Chai in 1933 the writer was told that sometimes the "flowery chair" or bridal sedan chair was used to take the bride to the groom's home, but if not she rode a horse, that on arrival two persons helped the bride out of the chair into the house, and that the bride and the groom kowtowed to the housegod, to the go-betweens, and to the friends. 585

At Ta Ho P'in Chai in 1941 it was stated that the bride rides in a sedan chair (not in a "flowery" or decorated sedan chair as formerly), escorted by her brothers and sisters but not by her

Mewu

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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gifts are exchanged, and the quarrel is appeased. But when 583
the abduction takes place the girl's father is bound in honour to call out his male relations and retainers and start a pursuit. This has all the appearance of a serious chase, the pursuers are armed with swords or firearms, and travel fast, enquiring after the runaways as they go, while the latter try to avoid main tracks and frequented ways. One is constantly told that if the pursuers overtook them a fight would follow and the seducer would be in danger of his life, and the girl in danger of being dragged home to face the wrath, and possible violence of her father. All the same one may doubt this romantic assertion.

It does not appear, in fact, that the Min Chia Lochinvars are ever brought to bay. In spite of the difficulty of escaping in a country where roads are few and mountain barriers make detours almost impossible, the erring couples always seem to get away. This is the more odd as a Min Chia girl, though she has not got bound feet, can hardly be expected to travel much faster than her male relatives, lightly loaded and hurrying in pursuit. But how embarrassing it would be for all parties if the pursuit was successful! The relatives would be forced, from "face", to fight, perhaps even to kill, the seducer of one of their womenfolk. That would mean not only an unpleasant feud with his family, but also the death of the only person who could now be expected, indeed, required, to marry the girl. No Min Chia father wants a girl returned to him, her honour lost, her marriage cancelled, and the only man who could take her off his hands, dead. On the other hand, provided the seducer escapes, and a decent show of pursuit is made, all can be settled, if not for the best, at least on tolerable conditions.

The parents of the boy to whom the girl was betrothed 582
have to be soothed and perhaps compensated for the loss of face their son has undergone in being so manifestly scorned

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582 by his intended. But they can usually be consoled by some diplomatic relative who can point out that really they are well out of it, for such a girl would clearly not have made a good daughter-in-law. The youth himself has of course to settle matters with his own family. They will probably be more concerned to placate the family of the girl to whom he is betrothed, justifiably indignant at the neglect of their own daughter and anxious about her future. Sometimes the boy will have to marry both to settle matters amicably, his betrothed as first wife, his love as concubine. This may seem ideal to the parents, but is hardly a promising arrangement
582 for future domestic peace. On the other hand the family of
626 the abducted girl can insist that marriage does in fact take place. Cases where the girl is seduced and abandoned are so rare that I was not able to hear of one. Here, at length, the law could be invoked if necessary, and the seducer, in danger of going to gaol for two or three years, would certainly prefer marriage even if his passion was cold.

In practice it is never necessary to bring things to this point. The law is never invoked, and not being called upon to act, the officials take no steps, even when the facts are well known, the subject of gossip on all sides, and the offender and his would-be bride living at hand within easy
626 reach. No one wants the law and its officers poking their
824 noses into private business. Even the well known fact that armed men were afoot, and a breach of the peace likely, does not rouse the police to action. If manslaughter were done, a reluctant government would be forced to take action, but it is fairly plain that no one expects this to happen. Thus in civil disputes, and even in criminal cases where the motive is not robbery or banditry, the government remains passive and the law is allowed to slumber. The Chinese government, whatever the theory of the reformers, is in practice still actuated by the Taoist principle of "non-

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618 for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

621 To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

~~582~~ 551 The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since 582
the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chin- 551
ese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia 551
writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a com- 621
bination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a com- 596
mon *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this 596
sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

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596 tendency to divide the great family that in the Min Chia language no distinction is made between the word for family and that for house, both being *hao*. To the Min Chia therefore, one house, one family, is the natural thing, and it is not easy, when asking about the population of a village, to make the distinction, how many houses? and how many families?

582 It might be expected that the fact that the Min Chia do not recognise the Chinese rule of exogamy would prove a barrier preventing intermarriage between the two peoples, but it does not in practice do so. Among the wealthier class of Min Chia (those with city connections), few families could be found who are not related to their Chinese neighbours on the distaff side, but even these families who are always well educated by Ta Li standards, and in many ways have assimilated Chinese culture, still not only condone marriage with persons of the same surname of the same *tsu*, but actually contract such marriages. When asked whether this custom is not in fact contrary to Chinese ideas, they will reply that that may be so in other parts of the country, but that "here in Ta Li we have always done so in the past". This being considered an adequate reason for continuing a custom which Chinese from other provinces regard with shocked amazement. The educated Min Chia remain quite unaffected by this attitude on the part of strangers and it is not uncommon to see inscriptions on a tombstone bearing the names of husband and wife of the same surname, inscriptions which scandalise Chinese visitors. The resident Chinese families, who have themselves intermarried with the Min Chia, now accept this custom with an easy toleration, but do not practise it themselves. Thus a Chinese family will accept the daughter of a Min Chia family, although they know that the girl's parents were of the same *tsu*, but they themselves would never give a daughter in marriage to a family of their own surname. This state of affairs is perhaps

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the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582
of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621
sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631
group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang An-shih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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883 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
[533 of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually
461] done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged
583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

The wife of the chief of the Ch'iang at Lifan.

A Ch'iang woman carrying water.

[FACING p.32]

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is
527 the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now
233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep-
241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable.
361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build-
565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence
551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam-
592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is
582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan.
621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be-
776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

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/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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626 father's discretion. In former times a father might slay an
834 unchaste daughter, just as a husband could put an adulterous wife to death; this is now expressly forbidden by law, and does not in fact seem to have been the usual fate of erring women, even when it was permitted.

The law is thus, even now, severe, but in practice such cases hardly ever come before the courts. The idea of invoking the law in a public court in matters of this intimate nature is extremely distasteful to the Min Chia, as to the Chinese. These things are family matters to be settled by and in the family itself, or with the assistance of relatives as arbitrators. For this reason it is usually impossible to hear of cases of the graver sexual offences such as incest, for such
583 things are never made public. On the other hand the abduction of girls—with their own consent—is a common event, and admitted to be so. This, of course, comes strictly within the criminal category of seducing an unmarried girl, but it is rare that the case is brought to court.

To understand why this is so needs a word of explanation. Marriage among the Min Chia is arranged by the parents, the parties themselves not being permitted as much as to see one another before the wedding ceremony, and the betrothal often takes place when both children are still almost infants. There is thus no legitimate free sexual selection, no means of legalising the love which a chance meeting may have kindled in an unbetrothed pair. The Min Chia, however, are no more rigidly bound by their own conventions than other peoples, and thus when a young man and a girl meeting and loving by chance, refuse to renounce their passion, there is only one way out. The man abducts the girl and endeavours to get her to his own home. If he succeeds, after a more or less prolonged wrangle between the parents of both parties, and the parents of those to whom the erring couple were betrothed, the marriage is at last recognised, the customary

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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gifts are exchanged, and the quarrel is appeased. But when 583 the abduction takes place the girl's father is bound in honour to call out his male relations and retainers and start a pursuit. This has all the appearance of a serious chase, the pursuers are armed with swords or firearms, and travel fast, enquiring after the runaways as they go, while the latter try to avoid main tracks and frequented ways. One is constantly told that if the pursuers overtook them a fight would follow and the seducer would be in danger of his life, and the girl in danger of being dragged home to face the wrath, and possible violence of her father. All the same one may doubt this romantic assertion.

It does not appear, in fact, that the Min Chia Lochinvars are ever brought to bay. In spite of the difficulty of escaping in a country where roads are few and mountain barriers make detours almost impossible, the erring couples always seem to get away. This is the more odd as a Min Chia girl, though she has not got bound feet, can hardly be expected to travel much faster than her male relatives, lightly loaded and hurrying in pursuit. But how embarrassing it would be for all parties if the pursuit was successful! The relatives would be forced, from "face", to fight, perhaps even to kill, the seducer of one of their womenfolk. That would mean not only an unpleasant feud with his family, but also the death of the only person who could now be expected, indeed, required, to marry the girl. No Min Chia father wants a girl returned to him, her honour lost, her marriage cancelled, and the only man who could take her off his hands, dead. On the other hand, provided the seducer escapes, and a decent show of pursuit is made, all can be settled, if not for the best, at least on tolerable conditions.

The parents of the boy to whom the girl was betrothed 582 have to be soothed and perhaps compensated for the loss of face their son has undergone in being so manifestly scorned

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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883 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
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461] done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

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finds sufficient reward in being allowed, or invited, to arrange the lives of others. 583

One of his most important duties is to get the two families to agree on the value of the presents which the father of the bridegroom must make to the father of the bride. The bridegroom must not only buy silver jewellery for the bride, but also make a cash payment which is never less than fifty silver dollars, and may exceed one hundred. This payment is in many ways similar to the "bride price" payment in vogue in other countries, for it is regarded as a compensation to the bride's father for the loss of his daughter, and for the money he has spent in educating her. This factor indeed largely determines the value of the sum paid. A girl who has had no schooling cannot expect to receive a large sum, while one who has passed through the elementary school, and still more the Middle School, commands, as it were, a high figure. Although a girl once married is looked upon as a member of her husband's family, it would not be correct to say that the Min Chia sell their daughters like slaves. A woman has rights as well as duties, and it would be no truer to say that the Min Chia sold their daughters than to say that a European father gives a dowry to induce some man to take his daughter off his hands.

The custom of receiving a cash payment when a girl is married acts as a salutary check to the over-importance attached to male children, due to the influence of Ancestor Worship. Even if a father were devoid of natural affection, and only valued his sons as continuers of the Ancestral Worship, he would still have to value his daughters as worth so much to him on marriage. But in practice, the Min Chia, who are very fond of children, are loth to part with their daughters, and they look upon the marriage payment as a compensation for this necessary separation rather than as a

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583 commercial transaction. For the same reason they are never very willing to arrange a marriage with a family living in some distant place, and since they do not follow the Chinese rule of exogamy, they are not often forced to look for a daughter-in-law or son-in-law outside the circle of their acquaintances or relations. It must also be remembered that in a country where large families are common, the father has to pay out as much for the marriage of his sons as he is likely to receive for the marriage of his daughters.

585 When the arrangements have been made to the satisfaction of both parties, and the payments made, a lucky day is chosen from the calendar, in which the days appropriate to weddings are marked. This means that quite often there will be several weddings in the same village or neighbourhood on the same day, and this occasionally leads to ludicrous, but rather tragic, complications. If poor, the bride has to go to her husband's home on foot, and alone, followed at a short distance by some relatives, usually not the parents. But in practice only the poorest of the poor are unable to afford a sedan chair for this rare occasion. The almost universal custom is for the bride to be sent to her future home alone in a sedan chair gaily decorated with red paper rosettes and streamers. The chair is closed, for it would not do for the chair bearers to see the face of another man's bride, and it is not accompanied by any of her relatives. This, at least, used to be the case, but since mistakes sometimes happened, it is now quite common for one or two of her male relatives to ride along with the bridal chair till it reaches the husband's home.

This precaution is taken, not to guard the girl against some intrusion or rudeness, but to prevent the occurrence of the ludicrous mistakes referred to above. It used to happen that when several weddings took place on the same day, and the brides were carried unaccompanied to their future

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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573 old China, is treated with a greater deference, based not on fear, but on that admiration for learning which is so deeply rooted in Chinese cultural tradition.

There can be no doubt that this attitude has been taken over by the Min Chia from their Chinese neighbours and rulers. It is perhaps reinforced among them by the fact that learning, which means Chinese learning, involves the study of a foreign language and thus sharpens the distinction between the literate and the unlettered. Min Chia who have passed through the Middle School have in the process become a distinct group, to whom Chinese is as familiar as their own language, sharing interests and experiences which their less educated relatives do not understand and cannot appreciate. The school has become for them a new kind of greater family, for just as Chinese tradition accords to the teacher the respect due to a father, not merely in school, but in society generally, so schoolmates feel towards each other the intimacy, if not always the affection, otherwise reserved for kinsmen. Friendship between young men largely compensates for the absence of free social intercourse between the sexes, and such friendships are almost always based either on kinship or on fellowship at school.

596 It is still customary in Min Chia families for the married sons to remain in the paternal home, at least during the lifetime of the parents, and consequently a Min Chia home is usually fully occupied with numerous children, unmarried daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and [581] other relatives. In a culture where Ancestor Worship plays a major rôle it is natural that the bearing of children, especially sons, should be considered the first duty of women, ● 584 and the principal object of marriage. No Min Chia mar- 596 riage is arranged by the free choice of the bride and groom, except in the irregular elopements discussed earlier, and consequently affection and companionship, though these

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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562 the woman you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lifan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Lung-hai 龍海灣 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this an honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their loudness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural, and free from the restrictions of ettiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives
[525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they
[562] may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is considerable freedom between the sexes—that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu T'un in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by
171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet While singing each line each person turned around com-
[415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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refusal is not expected, and approval is not asked. A primary consideration is the value of the girl or woman as a worker to the family of the groom. For this reason wives are often older than their husbands. The writer heard of one boy who at twelve was married to a woman of twenty-six. She was a fine worker. To carry through an engagement and a marriage generally costs over a thousand dollars, and often the groom's family has to borrow. Naturally every man wants a wife and every woman wants a husband, so every person gets married sooner or later. 584 [581]

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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583 commercial transaction. For the same reason they are never very willing to arrange a marriage with a family living in some distant place, and since they do not follow the Chinese rule of exogamy, they are not often forced to look for a daughter-in-law or son-in-law outside the circle of their acquaintances or relations. It must also be remembered that in a country where large families are common, the father has to pay out as much for the marriage of his sons as he is likely to receive for the marriage of his daughters.

585 When the arrangements have been made to the satisfaction of both parties, and the payments made, a lucky day is chosen from the calendar, in which the days appropriate to weddings are marked. This means that quite often there will be several weddings in the same village or neighbourhood on the same day, and this occasionally leads to ludicrous, but rather tragic, complications. If poor, the bride has to go to her husband's home on foot, and alone, followed at a short distance by some relatives, usually not the parents. But in practice only the poorest of the poor are unable to afford a sedan chair for this rare occasion. The almost universal custom is for the bride to be sent to her future home alone in a sedan chair gaily decorated with red paper rosettes and streamers. The chair is closed, for it would not do for the chair bearers to see the face of another man's bride, and it is not accompanied by any of her relatives. This, at least, used to be the case, but since mistakes sometimes happened, it is now quite common for one or two of her male relatives to ride along with the bridal chair till it reaches the husband's home.

This precaution is taken, not to guard the girl against some intrusion or rudeness, but to prevent the occurrence of the ludicrous mistakes referred to above. It used to happen that when several weddings took place on the same day, and the brides were carried unaccompanied to their future

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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homes, the chair bearers would halt for refreshment at some wayside teahouse between the two villages. Another bridal chair, similarly decorated and closed would arrive, and the bearers would also stop for tea. So, it sometimes happened that when they got up to go, the bearers, unable to distinguish between one chair and the other, took up the wrong ones, and the unconscious brides were carried to the wrong husbands. Even on arrival the mistake would not at once be known, for neither bride, nor groom, nor parents-in-law had ever seen each other, and the descriptions given by the marriage brokers are notoriously inaccurate. So the marriage would be consummated and the mistake pass undiscovered until the customary visit to the bride's parents three days after the marriage. Then indeed, the amazed parents would find not their daughter, but some other girl, and difficult and disturbing complications would ensue.

585

It might well be found that whereas one family had paid a large marriage payment, the other had only made a small one, or that two of the families thus inadvertently allied were at odds with each other. Sometimes these reasons were so strong that the two marriages had to be cancelled and the brides exchanged, but as it is customary to consummate the marriage on the first night, this solution presented infinite difficulties.

The risk of these fantastic and embarrassing complications has induced many families to send relatives with the bridal chair till it reaches the right destination.

On arrival the bride is helped out of her chair and led at once to the guest room on the ground floor, where her hsuband and his parents await her. The pair then immediately *k'e t'ou* to "Heaven and Earth"—those vague celestial powers which are the only "gods" of Ancestor Worship. This reverence is performed facing outwards towards the courtyard, and that done they turn about and repeat the

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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585 prostration before the altar of the ancestors, on which the tablets are displayed. By this act the bride becomes a member of the family, and she is then introduced in turn to all her new relations. Bride and groom then sit down, at a table apart, to a light ceremonial meal of a bowl of *mien* (a kind of sphaghetti) and the act of eating this from the same bowl is the clinching rite of the marriage ceremony, corresponding to the Chinese rite of drinking wine from the same cup. The Min Chia do not use wine at all in the marriage ceremony[1]. When the *mien* is eaten all the family join the now married couple at the table and a feast is served. Thereafter the bride and groom are at once escorted to their bedroom, for it would be considered both unlucky and ill-mannered if the marriage were not consummated at once.

While the marriage ceremonies are taking place inside the house, the friends and relatives of the bridegroom's family are being entertained to a feast in the outer courtyard, or if that is too small, often in a mat shed erected in the street adjoining the house door. This festivity is maintained by richer families for three days, beginning one day before the marriage and continuing to the close of the day following the reception of the bride. It is over this feast that the marriage-broker presides as a reward for his often long and wearisome negotiations. Three days later the bride's family give a return feast, which is attended by the newly married pair, and it was then that in case of a mistake, the dismayed parents found that the wife of the young husband was not their daughter at all.

[1] The use of *mien* for such a solemn occasion as marriage suggests that this food must have been known to the Min Chia for many centuries, for it is hardly probable that some new food would be used in such a traditional ceremony as marriage. *Mien* is made from wheat flour, not rice, and closely resembles Italian Spaghetti, although it is not possible that the Min Chia, who have had so little contact with Europeans (and least with Italians) should have acquired the use of it from this source.

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

000 the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

796 Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dsu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

764 This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths.
585 It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb.
292 On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again
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5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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585 /71/ The wedding celebration varies according to whether the woman marries into the man's family or whether a son-in-law is adopted. In the former instance she rides to the tent of the man on the wedding day, wearing a new dark or light-blue cotton coat (seldom a red one) over her fur coat. She is accompanied by the go-between, her sisters, and young men and women from the neighborhood. When they arrive at the tent of the man, there are no particular ceremonies as in Chinese weddings, where fireworks are set off and musicians blow their horns. The bride is received in front of the tent by a neighbor of the bridegroom who does not himself come out of the tent. These people have not adopted any Chinese marriage ceremonies, such as kowtowing to the parents-in-law, to the ancestors, and to heaven and earth. The woman with her attendants enters the left (female) side of the tent, the male attendants enter the right side. After the bride has arrived, a sumptuous wedding feast begins, which lasts from morning to evening and is shared by the relatives of the bridegroom and those of the bride who have accompanied her. For the wedding feast the relatives of the bride bring wine and money. At this feast, the men, of course, again sit on the right side of the tent, the women on the left. During the feast they occasionally sing, but they do not play any instruments nor do they dance. The food consists chiefly of mo-mo baked in butter, meat and tsamba, with wine to drink. I did not learn of any other wedding customs. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to be present at a wedding.

When the bridegroom is adopted into the family of the bride, his future father-in-law fetches him from the tent of his family. The bridegroom's relatives accompany him to the tent of his adopted parents or parents-in-law. His father-in-law presents him with a gun, a horse and a pulu coat. /72/ The feast is the same as the one we described above, except that the relatives of the bride give no money or presents at the wedding feast.

846 Directly after the birth of a child, the woman goes to the nearest brook to fetch a tub of water which, as usual, she carries home on her back, in the belief that carrying a heavy burden is [844] beneficial to her health. She often does not have any kind of help during childbirth. The baby is not washed after birth. The mother may not eat sour milk or anything cold; she must drink sweet, warm milk and if possible eat only good cooked mutton. If the father has time, he helps his wife prepare meals during the first few days; otherwise he need not observe any particular customs.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 585 S 487 alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

ST 1S 505

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

S *487 *133 *137

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ꡖꡐꡂꡐ (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

ST [342]

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 昌蒲桶. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1965. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] ꡖꡐꡂꡐꡖꡐꡂꡐ

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ꡖꡐꡂꡐ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

1 [a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

It would seem inevitable that not all such marriages can 581
be a success. Husband and wife are complete strangers up to the moment of marriage, and the early, indeed immediate, consummation of the sexual union precludes any possibility of the growth of mutual attraction and of the courtship which western psychology considers an indispensable preliminary to sexual intercourse. It may be, indeed it often happens, that Chinese or Min Chia marriages become a real union of affection as time passes, but this can only be after the marriage has been consummated and depends on chance rather than choice. It is not surprising therefore to find that both young men and girls really dread their marriage as a plunge into the unknown, and that among the younger, more educated generation, there is an increasing opposition to the old custom, inspired by the spreading knowledge that the modern generation of university educated young people in the great cities have largely broken away from these restraints.

In the case, not by any means rare, where a mutual anti- 586
pathy rather than attraction follows marriage, there is little remedy for either party in the traditional system. A wife can in theory leave a cruel or depraved husband and return to her father's home. Such action would cause the greatest possible scandal, and lead to bitter hostility between the two families, and it only natural to find that few fathers have sufficient appreciation of their daughter's unhappiness as to encourage them to abandon their husbands, especially as there is then little prospect of them being married a second time. A husband may divorce his wife for adultery, by simply sending her home, but this also rarely happens, as it is not often easy to prove the fact to the satisfaction of the wife's father, and it is held to reflect scandal on the family of a husband where such things happen, and are admitted to happen. If the husband finds his wife incompatible, but

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

586 virtuous, he may divorce her, but in that case he must pay 200 to 300 silver dollars to her father, and very few families can afford such an expensive method of divorce. In such a case the husband would find it less expensive and easier to take a concubine in addition to his wife, who would remain the recognised, but neglected mistress of her husband's home.

595 Concubinage is still perfectly legal, though no longer approved by the younger generation of Chinese of the educated class. Among the Min Chia it has always been the luxury of the rich rather than a general custom. Only a few wealthy men can afford more than one wife, and it is almost unknown for any man to have two concubines. The most common reason for taking a concubine is the failure of the first wife to bear children, or the death of such children as she had borne when there is no longer any hope of her having any others. In such a case it is considered a natural thing for the husband to take a concubine, and indeed the older Min Chia would consider it his duty to do so. Concubines are usually the daughters of poorer families, who having more daughters than they can easily marry to families of their own status, are ready to send one daughter to a richer home in this capacity. There are cases where the concubine is of the same social standing as the first wife, but this is not so common, and is often due to a compromise solution when the husband has eloped with one girl and had to consent to marry the other, to whom he was already betrothed.

Although the concubine is thus usually of lower social status than the first wife, and her position in the home is inferior, her children count as equally legitimate with those of the first wife, and no discrimination is made between them. In peasant households concubinage is unknown, for economic reasons, and if the wife proves barren, it is

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Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
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the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
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If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
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[1] [t'ou-MU = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own.

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife.

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[1 i.e. the marriage system. -- Analyst]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

585 paternal uncles. The groom's family sends two boys ten-odd years old to escort her, and also two young girls. The bride and the groom bow to the house-god, to the parents and grandparents of the groom, to the groom's uncles, to the female relatives, then to all other friends, relatives, and guests. Then in the main room they drink tea.

On the day after the wedding the bride returns to her home. If it is near, she returns the same day. If it is far, she stays over night and returns the following day.

584 Sometimes two families who have both sons and daughters trade daughters and give with the daughters two boxes, bedding, and a few other articles. This saves a great deal of money.

597 If a family has daughters and no sons to continue the family name, it often adopts a son who is married to a daughter. He takes the name of the bride's family, and his children after him. The writer heard of a family in which this occurred for three generations.

587 Sometimes when an older brother dies leaving a widow, a younger brother marries the widow and the children born are reckoned as the children of the older brother. An older brother can not marry the widow of a younger brother.

A widow may take a husband who comes and lives in the family home. The children are considered the children of the first husband, and take his family name.

585 The priest is sometimes invited to perform a religious ceremony as a part of the wedding ceremonies. Burning cedar twigs as incense and chanting his liturgies, he informs the great gods, before the sacred white stone on the housetops, of the marriage and invokes the blessing of the gods, especially of Mu Bya Sei, upon the young couple.

4. Birth.

844 At Trin To we were told that when a child is born the mother's parents give her a peck of rice, one hundred eggs, ten catties of pork, a bowl of *chiu mi* or wine rice, and clothing, a hat, and shoes for the baby. This custom also varies greatly with different families. A mid-wife helps the mother at childbirth. After the child is born the mother must not leave the house for thirty some-

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[1] [t'ou-MU = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

562 the woman you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lifan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Lung-hsi 隴溪 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this an honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their loudness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural and free from the restrictions of etiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 346 776

represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

ST 601

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

ST 591
ST [164]
ST [762]

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

S 487* 193

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is
527 the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now
233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep-
241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable.
361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build-
565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence
551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam-
• 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is
582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan.
621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be-
776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can- 586
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed-
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 458
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-mu = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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586 virtuous, he may divorce her, but in that case he must pay 200 to 300 silver dollars to her father, and very few families can afford such an expensive method of divorce. In such a case the husband would find it less expensive and easier to take a concubine in addition to his wife, who would remain the recognised, but neglected mistress of her husband's home.

595 Concubinage is still perfectly legal, though no longer approved by the younger generation of Chinese of the educated class. Among the Min Chia it has always been the luxury of the rich rather than a general custom. Only a few wealthy men can afford more than one wife, and it is almost unknown for any man to have two concubines. The most common reason for taking a concubine is the failure of the first wife to bear children, or the death of such children as she had borne when there is no longer any hope of her having any others. In such a case it is considered a natural thing for the husband to take a concubine, and indeed the older Min Chia would consider it his duty to do so. Concubines are usually the daughters of poorer families, who having more daughters than they can easily marry to families of their own status, are ready to send one daughter to a richer home in this capacity. There are cases where the concubine is of the same social standing as the first wife, but this is not so common, and is often due to a compromise solution when the husband has eloped with one girl and had to consent to marry the other, to whom he was already betrothed.

Although the concubine is thus usually of lower social status than the first wife, and her position in the home is inferior, her children count as equally legitimate with those of the first wife, and no discrimination is made between them. In peasant households concubinage is unknown, for economic reasons, and if the wife proves barren, it is

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own. 595 587

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife. 562 593

In western Yunnan modern medical science is still almost entirely unknown, and the ravages of epidemic diseases proceed virtually unchecked. The doctors who practise old-fashioned Chinese medicine are indeed capable 755

[1] i.e. the marriage system. -- Analyst]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since 582
the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chin- 551
ese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia 551
writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a com- 621
bination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a com- 596
mon *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this 596
sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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596 tendency to divide the great family that in the Min Chia language no distinction is made between the word for family and that for house, both being *hao*. To the Min Chia therefore, one house, one family, is the natural thing, and it is not easy, when asking about the population of a village, to make the distinction, how many houses? and how many families?

582 It might be expected that the fact that the Min Chia do not recognise the Chinese rule of exogamy would prove a barrier preventing intermarriage between the two peoples, but it does not in practice do so. Among the wealthier class of Min Chia (those with city connections), few families could be found who are not related to their Chinese neighbours on the distaff side, but even these families who are always well educated by Ta Li standards, and in many ways have assimilated Chinese culture, still not only condone marriage with persons of the same surname of the same *tsu*, but actually contract such marriages. When asked whether this custom is not in fact contrary to Chinese ideas, they will reply that that may be so in other parts of the country, but that "here in Ta Li we have always done so in the past". This being considered an adequate reason for continuing a custom which Chinese from other provinces regard with shocked amazement. The educated Min Chia remain quite unaffected by this attitude on the part of strangers and it is not uncommon to see inscriptions on a tombstone bearing the names of husband and wife of the same surname, inscriptions which scandalise Chinese visitors. The resident Chinese families, who have themselves intermarried with the Min Chia, now accept this custom with an easy toleration, but do not practise it themselves. Thus a Chinese family will accept the daughter of a Min Chia family, although they know that the girl's parents were of the same *tsu*, but they themselves would never give a daughter in marriage to a family of their own surname. This state of affairs is perhaps

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CHAPTER 8

THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

596 IN the Min Chia language the word "*hao*" means both a "family" and a "house"; every house is the home of some family, and a family dispersed without a home is something unheard of and unknown. This well expresses the central importance of the home in the social organisation. The Min Chia have few institutions which transcend the family or gather individuals into an organisation not founded on a kin group. The village it is true has its headmen, and as has been pointed out the worship of the Ber Dser, the Founder, is not confined to his descendents in the male line or to those of the same surname. But the village is after all only a group of families most of which, if not indeed all, are interrelated on the female side. There are no age classes, no societies in which boys or young men can find a centre of social organisation distinct from that of the family. For most Min Chia therefore the family is the social unit in which he passes his whole life. If he is a peasant farmer, he cultivates fields held jointly with his brothers, if he turns to business he becomes a partner or assistant in a family shop or small business in which none but kinsmen are employed, except for the most menial duties.

573 One exception exists, for the better off classes at least, in the schools. The peasant boy who only attends the village school for a few years meets there none but his fellow villagers, many of whom are related to him in some degree, and all already well known. But the son of a more wealthy family who is sent to the Middle School in the city makes contacts beyond the narrow circle of relatives and villagers. He meets boys from other villagers, or from other families

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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573 old China, is treated with a greater deference, based not on fear, but on that admiration for learning which is so deeply rooted in Chinese cultural tradition.

There can be no doubt that this attitude has been taken over by the Min Chia from their Chinese neighbours and rulers. It is perhaps reinforced among them by the fact that learning, which means Chinese learning, involves the study of a foreign language and thus sharpens the distinction between the literate and the unlettered. Min Chia who have passed through the Middle School have in the process become a distinct group, to whom Chinese is as familiar as their own language, sharing interests and experiences which their less educated relatives do not understand and cannot appreciate. The school has become for them a new kind of greater family, for just as Chinese tradition accords to the teacher the respect due to a father, not merely in school, but in society generally, so schoolmates feel towards each other the intimacy, if not always the affection, otherwise reserved for kinsmen. Friendship between young men largely compensates for the absence of free social intercourse between the sexes, and such friendships are almost always based either on kinship or on fellowship at school.

• 596 It is still customary in Min Chia families for the married sons to remain in the paternal home, at least during the lifetime of the parents, and consequently a Min Chia home is usually fully occupied with numerous children, unmarried daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and [581] other relatives. In a culture where Ancestor Worship plays a major rôle it is natural that the bearing of children, especially sons, should be considered the first duty of women, 584 and the principal object of marriage. No Min Chia mar- 596 riage is arranged by the free choice of the bride and groom, except in the irregular elopements discussed earlier, and consequently affection and companionship, though these

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite grand-daughter, as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps help to run the shop. She may have her women friends, usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home without his wife being present, although among the more advanced families he may present her to the guests before the meal.

A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law, or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself, or some other female relative of her husband's family. Her happiness will depend on the character of these women, for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mor- [165]
tality in a country where medical knowledge is slight and the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year. Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really got a new member, and the important question of the name is decided.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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585 paternal uncles. The groom's family sends two boys ten-odd years old to escort her, and also two young girls. The bride and the groom bow to the house-god, to the parents and grandparents of the groom, to the groom's uncles, to the female relatives, then to all other friends, relatives, and guests. Then in the main room they drink tea.

On the day after the wedding the bride returns to her home. If it is near, she returns the same day. If it is far, she stays over night and returns the following day.

584 Sometimes two families who have both sons and daughters trade daughters and give with the daughters two boxes, bedding, and a few other articles. This saves a great deal of money.

●597 If a family has daughters and no sons to continue the family name, it often adopts a son who is married to a daughter. He takes the name of the bride's family, and his children after him. The writer heard of a family in which this occurred for three generations.

587 Sometimes when an older brother dies leaving a widow, a younger brother marries the widow and the children born are reckoned as the children of the older brother. An older brother can not marry the widow of a younger brother.

A widow may take a husband who comes and lives in the family home. The children are considered the children of the first husband, and take his family name.

585 The priest is sometimes invited to perform a religious ceremony as a part of the wedding ceremonies. Burning cedar twigs as incense and chanting his liturgies, he informs the great gods, before the sacred white stone on the housetops, of the marriage and invokes the blessing of the gods, especially of Mu Bya Sei, upon the young couple.

4. Birth.

844 At Tsin To we were told that when a child is born the mother's parents give her a peck of rice, one hundred eggs, ten catties of pork, a bowl of *chiu mi* or wine rice, and clothing, a hat, and shoes for the baby. This custom also varies greatly with different families. A mid-wife helps the mother at childbirth. After the child is born the mother must not leave the house for thirty some-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

17. Review of Tibeto-Burman

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The present section has been written with a two-fold view in mind, viz. a provisional reconstruction of the archaic Tibeto-Burman kinship nomenclature and a synthesis of material bearing on the general problem of the factors that have produced changes in this archaic system. It is of course impossible to realize either of these goals in any complete sense. The reconstruction of a set of kinship terms differs very little from the reconstruction of any other group of terms, e.g. those for animals. In each case certain phonetic generalizations must be followed, and in each case original meanings must be assigned to roots on the basis of a series of fluctuating connotations. The difficult problem of "partial equations", in which a given root has a limited distribution, arises here precisely as in any other linguistic field (for a good recent discussion, vide Scherer, 1941). A distinction between the two types of reconstruction can be drawn, however, in the fact that kinship terms constitute a definite system whereas those for animals, parts of the body, or the like, do not constitute such a system. It is fairly evident that, within kinship nomenclature, a semantic shift at one point is likely to be reflected at another, or, in sociological terms, a single factor, e.g. cross-cousin marriage, is likely to produce a series of interrelated changes, whereas this in general does not hold true within other linguistic spheres. In this respect a kinship nomenclature might be compared with

SA 121 601 ST 121 601 a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the task of investigating each element of that system, both independently and correlatively.

In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendants, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements are based largely on "partial equations" and must thus be held in reserve until a basic framework has been set up. Nine roots, eight of which are applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete Tibeto-Burman series as culled from the foregoing review. These roots constitute the following system

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Tibeto-Burmese Terms

*p'i	gN	*p'u	gF
*m	N	*p'a	F
*ni	FBi	*k'u	HB
*mm	yOb		
*ma	Ch		
		*mak	Sl

The forms given above can be accepted with some confidence as fair approximations of the archaic Tibeto-Burmese roots. All except the affinal term *mak have vocalic finals, and it was on the basis of finals or "rhymes" (medial vowel + final consonant), especially of vocalic finals, that Shafer and the writer were able to work out the main features of Tibeto-Burmese phonology. Earlier writers had in general attacked the problem from the most difficult angle, that of initials and tones. Thus, no less a scholar than Laufer is responsible for the following absurd dictum:

> Prefixes as well as final consonants....are of minor importance in the comparative study of Indo-Chinese languages.... the staff of comparison remains the initial consonant and the tone conditioned by it. (TP 17, p. 115).

Prefixes have shown to be of basic importance, while both the initials and the tones have been so influenced by the prefixes that our analysis of them still lags far behind our analysis of the finals. In the above set of terms, however, the only problems <u>in re</u> initials concern the aspiration or lack of aspiration, voicing or unvoicing, of the stop initials of *p'i, *p'u, *p'a, and *k'u. Kukish has *pi gV and *pu gF,

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but initial aspiration is not well preserved in this group. Mikir has p'i gH, p'u gF, ku < *k'u HB, but po < *pa F. Meithei, which ordinarily preserves aspiration, has pu gF, pa F, and ku F1 (< HB). Kachin has ku HF (< HB) rather than the anticipated *k'u, and Burmese has (sta-)kui oB rather than *k'ui. Tibetan has p'yi gL, p'a F, and k'u FB (< HB), while both Tibetan and Kachin have p'u oB (< gF). It may be that one or more of these roots had a sonant rather than a surd initial. Initial g-, a rare element in our comparative material, is perhaps indicated for the HB root (*gu ~ *g'u), but at present nothing definite can be said on this point.

Only one of the above terms is uncertain as regards final, viz. *ni FS1. Classical Tibetan has no rather than *ni, and Meithei has nom ~ no rather than *ni, both of which point to an archaic form *noi rather than *ni. The weight of evidence, however, speaks in favor of the reconstruction *ni, from which *noi may have been developed as a doublet root; cf. Rukish *nau yOh, *nou "young, tender", which tend to be confused (vide pt. 15).

The basic gF terms *p'i and *p'u are found together in Garish, Mikir, Meithei, Bru, Rukish, and Durmish-Loloish (but p'e^3 ggF < *p'i in Burmese itself, which has a new term [p'wa^3] for gH). The root *p'i is further retained in its basic meaning in Tibetan, Manauri (perhaps Tibetan loan-word), Bahing, and Vayu, while Chang has retained it in the meaning "gF". In northern TB groups the root *p'u has been applied

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to oB, viz. in Tibetan, Limbu, Newari (only in combination), Digaro, and Kachin. This semantic interchange also appears in Burmish-Loloish, viz. Moso p'u gF, bu oB, Nyi bu gF, bu oB. The interplay of surd and sonant initials in these Moso and Nyi forms indicates that doublets are involved. In Barish the root *p'i gM (in the form bi) has been applied to oSi, both in the Bodo-Dimasa and Garo divisions of this group, and also retained in its basic meaning. It is clear that these usages are connected with the especial position held by oSb, and that the gP terms function here simply as honorifics. Other TB roots, less widely distributed than the above, show the same type of semantic shift (vide infra). In societies with a patrilineal bias it is only natural that the role of oB should be of more significance than that of oSi, thus perhaps accounting for the relative stability of *p'i as compared with *p'u. It can hardly be without significance that in the single matrilineal group encountered (Barish) the term *p'i gM should have been applied to oSi, in contrast to all other TB groups.

Of the two basic P terms *p'a F and *pa M, the former is the most widely distributed and shows fewer variations. The following groups have this root (*p'a): Tibetan, Kanauri, Byangsi, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Miri, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish. This root commonly appears as a masculine affix, but no instance of a transference to "oB" has been uncovered. The

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root *ma M appears in Tibetan, Kanauri, Bahing, Vayu, Bewari, Lepcha, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Barish, and Meithei. In Burmese itself it is retained only in the terms ma˺ Si and a-ma˺ "feminine suffix", and in the closely-related Maru only in the meaning "MSi". Kru has preserved this root only in the feminine suffix -ma. A transference to the meaning "oSi" is found in the contiguous North Assam groups Dafla and Aka. In Kachin and the extensive Kukish group this root appears to have vanished without leaving a trace.

The two PSb terms *ni and *k'u are also unequally represented in Tibeto-Burman. The root *ni FSi is of almost universal occurrence. In its basic meaning it appears in Tibetan, Gyarung, Kanauri, Thebor, Vayu, Bewari, Abor-Miri, Mung, Burmish-Loloish (but not in Burmese itself), Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, and Kukish. Kachin has retained it only in the affinal meaning "WM". Aka, if we can trust our inadequate sources, has applied this root to M, while Limbu has applied it to oSi. Replacement by the term for "oSi" is seen in Dafla, Sho, Changki (Ao), and probably Kadu, while Mongsen (Ao) shows replacement by the term for "oSb". The Dafla material indicates that this is an analytical development ("oSi of F"). Lepcha equates FSi with MSi in the term nyu ~ nyo, applied to female relatives in the uterine line. This unusual equation also appears in Bahing, which has mo-mo MSi,FSi (from mo < *ma M), and po-po FB (from po < *pa F), yet has ku-ku MB. Distinct terms have been

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developed in Kachin (mui), which preserves *mi as an affinal term (WM), and in Burmese (mi³), but *mi is retained in the closely related Maru. The Dimasa term de-de FBi (be-de MB) is likewise distinct.

The much more restricted root *k'u MB is found in its primary meaning in Bahing, Vayu, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Digaro, Mung, Mikir, and Ao. Tibetan has k'u FB, but akud < *k'u Fl,Bl. Himalayish and Lepcha also have k'u FB, probably because of Tibetan influence. Kachin, Meithei, Ntenyi Rengma, and Anyo Rengma have retained the term in the affinal meaning "HF" (Meithei Fl), and Sema in the affinal meaning "FSiH". Chang (Konyak) has the form ko MB, which cannot with certainty be connected with this root. In the Burmish-Loloish group we can cite only Burmese kui "prefix used with names of persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (ate-kui eB), Akha a-kö B, Ahi kö-pu-li yBiH, and Moso a-gu Bl. The Moso usage is paralleled in the Barish group, where we find Bodo ga-moi, Garo gu-me Bl. This root cannot be traced in the Naki languages proper, yet can be reconstructed for Kukish on the basis of the Naga terms (supra), and for Kukie in general on the basis of the Mikir and Meithei terms.

The root *nau yBb, occasionally applied either to yB or yBi alone, also to Ch, is well represented in Tibeto-Burman. It appears in the following groups: Tibetan (nu ∼ no), Byangsi (yB), Limbu, Lepcha, Aka, Kachin, Konyak, Barish (yBi), Meithei, Mru (yB), and Kukish (yBb ∼ Ch). The most conspicuous gaps are those in Abor-Miri-Dafla, Mung, and Burmish-Loloish.

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The eighth and last of the basic consanguineal terms is *sa Ch, which is found in Tsangla, Bagari, Miju, Aka, Kachin, Kadu, Mung (sa-ni D), Pyu, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Nikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish (rarely used for yGb, as in Poeron and Kyes). Lepcha has s-so < *sa ggF, s-son gCh (with suffixed -n). This root is conspicuously absent in Tibetan and its dialects (but present in Tsangla, a Bodish language), Himalayish, and Kiranti, i.e. the northern or northwestern band of Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in the Abor-Miri-Dafla group.

The affinal term *sak Sl appears in Tibetan, Lepcha (< *sasak), Dhimal (< *sasak), Miri, Kachin (da-sa < *da-sak), Burmese (sa-sak), Meithei, Mru, and Kukish, with an additional uncertain occurrence in Byangsi. In view of our generally inadequate data on affinal nomenclatures (e.g. we do not have the term for "Sl" in Mung, where we should expect to find this root), the widespread distribution of this root is of increased significance. It would appear that the root is lacking in Himalayish, Nikir, Konyak, and Barish.

The above set of basic terms is supplemented by a series of roots of restricted distribution. Some of these serve mainly as replacements for the basic roots, while others are functionally more independent. Since our set of basic terms is not complete, we must assume that some of these roots represent archaic Tibeto-Burman elements, but this point is best discussed after the various secondary roots have been analyzed.

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The gP roots *p'i gM and *p'u gP have no serious rivals in Tibeto-Burman. A curious link between Tibetan and Southern Kuki is suggested by the following set of terms: Tib. po ~ spo gP (literary or dialectical), rmo gM (literary), and Sho a-pŏ ~ a-pŏk gP, Chinbon kh-mo gM, Yindu ka-mo gP. A possible root *si is indicated by Balti as-si (= a-si) ggM, Rung a-si gM, Khami a-um-si gP, and Kadu a-si MSi (i-si "woman"), Yindu ka-si FSi, Sho a-si FSi,oSi (cf. the roots *ta and *tei, infra). In general, gP terms show more variation than do P terms; thus, Kachin has developed distinct terms for both gM (woi) and gP (ji), and note forms such as Byangsi ti-ti gP, Bahing and Vayu ki-ki gP.

The most conspicuous of the secondary P roots is *nu M, which appears in Kachin, Miju, Sak, Konyak, Kukish, and perhaps Nikir and Meithei (in combination). The root *pui "mother, female" is restricted to Nikir and Kukish. The Kukish feminine affix *la, used especially of young females, seems to have given rise to Mongsen-Changki (Ao) a-la M, Ntenyi Rengma a-la ggM, Anyo Rengma a-la gM, and cf. Byangsi la-la gM, Sunwari a-la Si. The same root (*la) appears in Kachin, Burmish-Loloish, and elsewhere as a masculine affix. The Tibeto-Burman root *wa "male" serves to explain both Bunan and Kachin wa, Kadu a-wa, Garo (dialects of A type) a-wa F (Moshang and Ramsang wa F probably through Kachin influence), Aka au < *a-wa F, Burmese wa-kri[3] "term of address to old men" (Arakanese dialect), and Lepcha a-vo < *wa, Meithei (ma-)wa, Kukish wa H; cf. also Digaro ma-wa "male",

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Shimal -ma "masculine suffix", Bodo hma "male". Some of these forms, however, may have resulted from a phonetic development from *p'a F (probably via *ba).

A root *mei or *me appears sporadically in Tibeto-Burman, sometimes with a dental suffix. This root is parallel to, but distinct from, TB *ma M. The following forms belong here: Tibetan -med "woman" (in bud-med < *bu-med, paralleling bu-mmd), Gyarung te-mi ~ te-me "woman", Kanauri -med (suffix in "D" and "Ml"), Chamba Lahuli me "bitch", Limbu met W, Lepcha a-mit "woman", Ende a-me M, Nung a-me M (cf. Nung a-p'e F), Burmese a-mi^{3} ~ a-me M, and Garo me-cik "woman, wife". Note also the series found by Burmese sa-mi^{3}, Akha ma-mi, Nung za-mi D (from *ma Ch). Garo gu-me Bl, Mikir me SiH correspond phonetically but can scarcely be fitted in otherwise.

In addition to the above, there are traces of a set of roots *ya and *yu, both applied to female relatives. The former is better attested than the latter; cf. Himalayish (Manchati, Kanashi, Chamba Lahuli) ya M, Abor-Miri and Dafla ya < *ya gN (but in Pagri Miri used for "M" in address), Tebleng (Konyak group) ya M, Naga *ya M, also Kanauri yas, Rai (Kiranti) me-ya, Burmese ma-ya^{3} W, Digaro mi-ya "woman", ha-mi-ya W. The root *yu is represented only by Kanauri ya-med, Khambu (Kiranti) yuh, Lepcha a-yu W, Lepcha tá-yu "woman", and perhaps Tibetan yu-mo "female of a stag".

Nothing has yet been said of oSb terms, which show a wide variety of forms contrasting with the standard ySb root (*mam

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Much of the material in this connection is of a scattered nature from which it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Thus, Byangsi hya, Bahing ya oB, Meithei ya-an oB, Chawte (Old Kuki) a-ya B, ai-ya oSi, and Khami ya-et ~ ya-ĕ oS suggest an archaic root *ya oB, yet this same element appears in another setting (supra). Burmese sta-kui < *ik-kui oB, Mikir ik oB lack cognates elsewhere, as do Maru pai oSi, Chonbok pai oSi(ws), unless the latter pair be connected with Burmese a-pai "maden" and perhaps Mikir pei ~ pe M. The characteristic Kukish root u oSb (Central, Northern, and Old Kuki groups only) does not appear elsewhere in this setting, yet appears to be identical to Sho ŭ M, Taungtha u W, Mru u M, and Burmese u^3 MB (prefixed to names of men considerably older than the speaker), perhaps also Tangkhul a-wŏ gF,MB.

Three or four roots, however, stand out more prominently than the above lot and deserve especial consideration. Tibetan c'e oSi(ws) has been compared with Himalayish *c'e "female" as represented by Kanauri c'ets "female, woman", Kanashi c'ets W (with diminutive suffix -ts) and with the Byangsi-Chaudangsi term c'e xC, as well as with Johar a-ce F. The above terms all point to a TB root *c'ei. A similar root, but apparently with unaspirated initial (*cei), is represented by Konyak jei ~ cei oSb ~ oB, Meithei ce oSi, Tangkhul cei oSb, Western Kuki *cei oSb, Anyo Rongma a-ce oSb. The Tibetan term appears to be etymologically connected with the word c'e-ba "great", from which the respectful term gben-po oB has been developed.

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A root *ma oSi appears in Maruri, Vayu, Kachin, Andro, and Konyak, while the Aimara and Abor-Miri-Dafla groups have *ma M, and Lakher has the vocative term i-ma M. Tibetan mna Dl perhaps also belongs here, though it may be of periphrastic origin (< mna "oath").

The Tibeto-Burman root *ta (often in the form da) is consistently applied to relatives older than Ego, if one regards the Bahing-Vayu root *ta CR as of distinct origin. The following terms can be grouped with this root: Tibetan 'a-ta F (dialectical), oB (Eastern Tibet), Tsangla a-ta oB, Gyarung a-ta-ta F, Jobar a-ta oSi, Byangsi ta-ta oSi, Newari ta-ta oSi, Miri and Dafla a-te < *ta gF, Digaro ta gF, da oB, Burmese t'a^{3}-t'a^{3} F (dialectical), Akha a-ta F, Independent Lolo a-da F, Sho a-ta oB, Chinhon (ha-)t'a oB, Lhota a-ta oSb, Changki (Ao) a-ta FSi,oSi, Naong Rengma a-da FoB. Doublet forms are found only in Digaro (ta gF, da oB). Unlike *p'u gF,oB this root has also been applied to F in some languages (Tibetan, Gyarung, Burmese, Akha). Dengodins describes the Tibetan term 'a-ta as a "children's word" (vox puerorum), and in Independent Lolo a distinction is made between a-ta F (used by children) and a-bu ~ a-bo F (used by adults).

Kanauri te-te gF, a-te oB are clearly of a type paralleling that described above. The suggested TB root is *tei, with which can be grouped Byangsi te-te xC(ws), Dafla tĕ-tĕ FyB,oB (in different sources), Kadu a-te oSi, Banpara a-tai oB, Mikir te oSi(ws), Maithei i-tei-ma oSil, and Kru a-tai BW.

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An objection might be raised to the above discussion on the ground that forms such as *na, *ta, and *tei (te) are of "nursery word" type and should not be regarded as representing actual TB roots. The writer himself originally ascribed to this general point of view, but the collection of material on which this study is based has led him to discard it. Thus, ta F appears both in the West Tibetan dialects (Balti, Purik) and in the nomad dialects of Eastern Tibet, as well as in the aberrant Gyarung language, whence we can safely infer a Bodish root *ta F. The term na oSi appears in five distinct languages representing two different foci (Murmi-Vayu and Kachin-Andro-Konyak), and na M in two isolated groups (Almora and Abor-Miri-Dafla). Distributions of this type are scattered, to be sure, yet not entirely random. The cluster of connotations (gP,P,oSb) around these roots is also not without significance.

The majority of the terms for Sb(ds) are of limited distribution. Tibetan sring-mo Si(ms), dialectically used for ySi, appears also in Himalayish (Si) and Byangsi (ySi), with an additional possible occurrence in Dhimal-Toto (Si). Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), often used for ySi, is directly related to Kukish *dzar Si(ms), which in Western Kuki is used for ySi, and to Meithei i-cal ~ i-can ySi, Kadu sen, Sengmai cal ySi. Kachin yung B(ws) has been compared with the Garo-Dimasa root *yung yB. The tendency to equate Sb(ds) with ySb is reflected in all three roots.

The roots *nau ySb and *za Ch are of almost universal occurrence and have no serious rivals. The former is

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conspicuously absent in Burmish-Loloish, which has a root *nyi (ní), comparable with Lepcha nyi-t'i gCh. A root *nga is suggested by Murmi and Gurung a-nga ySi, Miri ǎng-ǎ ySb, Dafla ang-a Ch, Naga *nga Ch. Isolated roots *a Ch and *ka Ch are represented by Digaro a, Abor-Miri o < a Ch, and Newari ka, Abor-Miri ko < *ka Ch, respectively.

It will be noted that the set of basic terms presented above lacks all collateral terms as well as a gCh term. Our data on collateral terms are incomplete for many groups, so that negative evidence here is of relatively little value, but it would seem that no root or roots for xC have been developed. The only root of any extension here is *ning, which appears in Kachin (xCe,ws), Chang (xC), Mikir BW(ws), and perhaps Garo (Sbl). The Mikir and Garo affinal meanings can be explained in terms of cross-cousin marriage.

Three or perhaps four TB roots show a tendency to equate M with gCh. Tibetan ts'a Ne (probably SiS,ms),gCh furnishes an example of this tendency. Bahing and Newari have this root (*ts'a) in the meaning "gS", but in the Kiranti languages in general it is used for "S" (see the discussion in pt. 4). Kanauri c'ad Sl (with suffixed -d) has been brought into comparison via SiS(ms), equated with Sl under cross-cousin marriage. Kachin ta'a MB,MBS(ws) can be explained only on the basis of a reciprocal development from SiS(ms). Mikir o-sa SiS(ms),Sl shows an ideal agreement on the semantic side, but the comparison is phonetically dubious. The root *ts'a appears to be lacking in other groups.

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The roots *su and *tu have distributions which are almost, if not quite, mutually exclusive. *Su gCh appears in Kachin, Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei, while *tu appears in Nung (N), Burmish-Loloish (xN), and Kukish (FSiCh,SiCh,ms,gCh). Anu, a Southern Kuki language, has su xC,ySi(ws),SiCh(ws),gCh, and a-su-lai SiCh(ms), covering much the same ground as Kukish *tu. The roots *su and *tu must be regarded as distinct on general phonetic grounds, and this view is strengthened by the evidence from Meithei, which has i-su gCh as well as (ma-)tu w (cf. the Kuki use of *tu in the meaning "Sl", through cross-cousin marriage). The root *su is perhaps also represented in the Naga languages, in much the same setting as Anu su, viz. Angami cu ~ tsu FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS, Nzong Rengma a-cu-gü, Ntenyi Rengma a-zu-wa, Anyo Rengma a-zü FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh, but our knowledge of Naga phonology is not sufficiently advanced to establish this comparison.

A fourth root of the same general type is *ma-li, which is found in Nung (gCh), Burmish-Loloish (gCh), Pyu (gCh), Chang (xN), Garo (SiS,ms), Mikir (xN, probably BCh,ws), and has an additional cognate in Kachin (ma-li "young man"). This root is in general lacking in Kukish, but may be represented by Taungtha lwi Ne,Ni and Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws). It cannot be traced in Tibetan or any of the northern languages.

The affinal root corresponding to *mak Sl is perhaps *nam Dl, but the evidence for the latter root is not altogether satisfactory. Lepcha has nyom < *snam Dl paralleling myok < *smak Sl, and s- prefixed forms are also represented by

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Kanauri stem < *snem (probably for snăm) D1, and Barish *snam D1 (based on Dimasa ba-ham, Garo nam). Cf. also Gyarung snom < *snam S1, Burmese hnam < *snam ySi(ms) (inferred from mong-hnam "H and W", where mong means "yS,ws"), Lashi tu-nam D1, nam-mo ySi(ms), Nyi nŏ-mo < *nam-mo ySi(ms), and Lushei hnăm < *snăm "clan". The unprefixed form appears in Byangsi nam-sia D1, Kachin nam D1,ySi1, and Nung nam Sb, while Lepcha has both nyom < *snam D1 and nom < *nam oSi. Magari ar-năm "girl" also belongs in this series.

Of more restricted distribution are the roots *mou D1, represented by Kukish mou (Lushei mo), Meithei i-mau, and perhaps Tibetan mo "woman", and *k'rwi S1, represented by Kachin k'ri S1,SiCh(ms), Burmese k'rwe^{3}-ma$^{\neg}$ < *k'rwi^{3}-ma$^{\neg}$, Lisu c'i-ma D1 (with feminine suffix -ms), and perhaps Lepcha tă-gri "male". The original meanings of these roots may have been simply "female" and "male", respectively.

There remain for consideration a few poorly represented roots connected primarily with the PSb nomenclature. Nung a-tsim MSi is comparable with Tsangla a-zim, id., and Nung a-wang FB with Garo a-wang FyB, also Lashi vang-mo HF,FoSiH, Maru vung ~ vun HF,FSiH (but the Lashi and Maru terms suggest a meaning "MB" rather than "FB"). The *wang series is perhaps connected with Tibetan ʾa-bang FSiH,MSiH (literary), Limbu (am-)pang-a "uncle", Vayu pong-pong < *pang-pang FB.

Tibetan sru MSi has been compared with Kanauri and Chamba Lahuli ru F1, Pyu sru "relatives", and the reconstructed

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Lolo root *ru MB. If these terms actually constitute a true series, we must reconstruct a root *mru ~ *ru "mother's relatives" (neuter), whence Kanauri ru F1 < MB through cross-cousin marriage, paralleling Kanauri c'ad S1 < S1S(ms). The presence of this root in Pyu, at approximately the year A.D. 1000, lends some weight to this view.

The fourth Tibetan PSb term, viz. ʾa-žang MB, is found in this form in Thebor and Lepcha, where it must be regarded as a loan-word, but not elsewhere. This form can be derived from an original *zrang and thus compared with Mru ta-rang FS1H,HF, Kukish ta-rang ~ ma-rang, id., and probably Lhota o-nrã, Changki (Ao) (kõ-)hram B1(ws). Burmese a-hrang < *arang (archaic spelling is a-hsyang) "lord, master" also perhaps belongs here rather than with sring-mo S1 (supra). The writer has long suspected that Tibetan initial ž- and š- have in many instances been derived from zr- and sr-, respectively, partly because of the general instability of these clusters in Tibetan (cf. srab-srib ~ hrab-hrib ~ rab-rib "dim, obscure"), and partly on the basis of comparative material, viz. Tib. šig "louse", Buman šrig, Lushei hrik < *srik; Tib. žag "day (24 hours)", Burmese rak, id.; Tib. šags "joke, jest" (in sense of "ridicule"), Buman šrag "shame", Burmese hrak < *srak "to be ashamed". The root *-rang (prefixed) must have had a generalized honorific force (still retained in Burmese), and thus was admirably suited as a periphrastic term either for MB or for FS1H,HF (= MB under cross-cousin marriage).

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Having completed our review of Tibeto-Burman kinship roots, we are now faced with the problem of fixing the basic pattern of nomenclature for this linguistic family. The terms designating relatives in the central line of descent naturally form the most stable segment of the nomenclature, while the collateral terms show an intermediate, and the affinal terms a maximum, amount of variation.

Within this stable core of nomenclature we are able to distinguish two primary gP terms (gM and gF), two primary P terms (M and F), a neuter yGb term, and a neuter Ch term. The two neuter terms are often employed in a masculine sense (yB and B), with sex affixes used in forming the corresponding feminine terms (yGi and D), e.g. Tibetan bu S, bu-mo D, Burmese sa^3 S, $sa-mi^3$ D. No neuter P terms have been uncovered, but Chang has a neuter gP term (a-pi < ap'i gM) used only in address, and a neuter gP term is also found in Sema (a-pu-sa), and in the Southern Kuki languages Sho (a-pŏ) and Ayaing Khami (a-[illegible]-si). Three Southern Kuki languages (Chinbok, Yindu, Anu) make a distinction between FM and MM, but have a single term for gF (Anu FM < M, MM < gM). Four gP terms appear only in rare instances, and are never all primary. Both Tibetan and Kanauri show traces of three or four gP terms, but Kanauri has probably borrowed one or more of its gP terms from Tibetan, and the Tibetan material itself can be interpreted in more than one way. Kachin seems to employ four gP terms, perhaps because of Shan influence, but has only two primary terms (ji gF and woi gM). Garo distinguishes

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between "gF" (= FF) and "gM" (= FM), and "my gF" (= MF) and "my gM" (= MM), if we can trust our sources for this language. In view of the fact that the Garo are a matrilineal group, this point is of some interest. Chang, which uses the neuter term a-pi gP in address, employs four terms in reference, the FF and FM terms being formed through affixed sex elements, and the MF and MM terms through analysis. Finally, Laiyo, which has an almost exclusively analytical nomenclature, employs four analytical gP terms.

A number of different arrangements of Sb terms have been encountered. Age distinctions appear everywhere and are, in general, more prominent than sex distinctions. Despite this, however, it would appear that the basic pattern has two primary terms for oB and oSi, contrasting with the single neuter ySb term (*amu). As has been shown above, the widespread tendency to equate oB and oSi with terms for relatives of ascending generations has obscured the general picture here and has made analysis almost impossible. The simplest possible arrangement (oSb and ySb) has been found only in Khami (Ayaing and Awa) and Amyo Rengma. A single primary term for oSb appears also in Naki proper (u) and in Burmese (ate-), but Burmish-Lolotish in general has two primary oSb terms. Nzong Rengma shows a complete reversal of the ordinary pattern, with terms for oSb, yB, and ySi. Tibetan, Lepcha, Dafla, Kachin, Aka, Lisu, Chang, Chinbon, Ao and probably other less accurately recorded languages have what appears to be the basic arrangement, viz. oB, oSi, and ySb (three primary

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terms). The Naga languages in general employ the root *nau ySb in the meaning "ySi" and have developed a new term for yB (perhaps connected with the Kachin term for B,ws), while Meithei reverses this process in employing *nau for "yB" and the Kukish root *dzar Si(ms) for ySi. Simple terms for either B or Si are almost entirely lacking in Tibeto-Burman. Abor-Miri has terms for B and Si based on a root *buir (cf. a-buir "friend"), while in Dafla the cognate form *bŏr is used as the root for ySb, but note that Abor-Miri also possesses especial terms for oSb and ySb. Mikir kor Sb, like Abor-Miri buir, also has the more general meaning "friend".

Though the principle of age distinctions can be established as a basic feature of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, the status of sex-of-speaker distinctions is not so readily settled. We are handicapped here by the fact that most of our sources can not be depended upon in showing non-European distinctions of this type, and that negative evidence is therefore of little value. Distinct terms for Si(ms) and B(ws) are found in Tibetan, Kachin, Lushei and Lakher (and probably other Kuki languages), and Angami. Lushei and Lakher also have a distinct term (of periphrastic origin) for Si(ws). In Burmese and Nyi the distinction is applied only to ySb, viz. Burmese yB(ms), yB(ws),ySi(ws),ySi(ms), Nyi ySb(ss),yB(ws),ySi(ms), and Maru, in the same linguistic group, has a distinct term for yB(ws). Mikir distinguishes between oSi(ms) and oSi(ws), and has a distinct term for B(ws). Chinbok and Yindu, in the Southern

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Bahi group, have a full set of eight Kb terms, showing complete distinctions both for age and for sex-of-speaker. The Chinbok system can be reduced to five primary terms, viz. pai oSi(ws), pwo oB(ms), nau yGb(ss), be Bi(ss), and bang B(ws), i.e. the Tibetan-Kachin arrangement. Sex of speaker appears not to be distinguished in Kanauri, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Barish, Meithei, and some other languages, but our sources, as mentioned above, are not of the most dependable sort. In view of the weight of evidence above, from such key languages as Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Mikir, and Lushei, the writer is inclined to regard the sex-of-speaker distinction as an archaic Tibeto-Burman feature.

Despite the fact that no single gCh root can with certainty be reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman, one can surely regard the presence of a primary gCh term as a basic feature for this linguistic family. Aside from the tendency to equate gCh with N or C (vide infra), it can be stated that most Tibeto-Burman languages have a distinct, usually primary, term for gCh, e.g. Kachin ǰu, Burmese mrə̰, Byangsi k'wo, Kanauri o'ay, Lepcha a-ncu, Chang ǰi, Garo and Mikir su, Meithei i-su. If a single gCh root must be predicated, TB *nu must be regarded as the most likely selection. Equations of gCh other than with N are exceptional, but note Sema a-nu gCh= Ch(< TB *nau yGb).

The above discussion is resumed in the following diagram:

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Tibeto-Burman Basic Pattern

gM (*p'i)		gF (*p'u)
M (*ma)		F (*p'a)
oS1(ws)		oS(ms)
S1(ms)	yZb (*nsu)	B(ws)
	Ch (*za)	
	gCh	

It would be a rather hazardous undertaking to attempt any general explanation of the pattern outlined above in terms of sociological factors. A broad theory of this type must be based on a comprehensive comparative survey of Tibeto-Burman with a number of other groups, and as such lies outside the scope of the present study. Many of the variations from this pattern are undoubtedly significant, but they involve those elusive culture-linguistic intangibles which do not lend themselves to arm-chair analysis. It is only in the collateral and affinal nomenclatures that obvious cultural correlations are available, and it is these that the writer proposes to consider in some detail.

The distinction between cross (FSi and MZ) and parallel (FB and MSi) FSb terms is almost universal in Tibeto-Burman. No instances of an equation of FB with MZ have been encountered, but FSi and MSi are equated in Bahing, Lepcha, and Chinbon, if we can trust our sources. Note that Lepcha also equates xC with pC, and that cross-cousin marriage is forbidden in this tribe.

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The parallel FB and MSi terms are usually either equated with the F and M terms (as in Chang, Lushei, Angami, Sema) or are based on these terms, with the addition of elements meaning "big" and "little" or the like. In other words, age distinctions are made in the parallel PSb terms precisely as in the Sb terms, though with categorical rather than primary elements. By way of contrast, the cross PSb terms seldom show these age distinctions, but note Burmese u^{3}-ri^{3} MoB (cf. a-ri^{3} FSi), u^{3}-mang^{3} MyB, Chinbok pu-srŏ MoB (= gF), pu-ko MyB (these distinctions are typical of Southern Kuki in general). Some of the more characteristic examples of age distinctions in FB terms are listed below:

Language	FoB	FyB
Balti	a-ta ts'ar-ma	a-ta tsun-tso
Lepcha	a-bo-tim	a-bo-cum
Kachin	wa-di	wa-doi
Burmese	p'ă-kri^{3}	p'ă-t'we^{3}
Nyi	a-ba-gi̇	a-ba-ʎə
Rokha	pa-u	pa-nau
Siyin	pa-lien	pa-no
Chinbon	pa k-dŏm	pa k-cwi
Tangkhul	a-va k'ă-răr	a-va ka-tui
Lhota	o-po-ra-mo	o-po-ro

One occasionally encounters what seem to be primary terms for FB or MSi, but most of these can be explained on the basis of ellipsis, e.g. Maru t'ong MySi but nye-t'ang MySi,

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p'a-t'ang FyB in the closely related Lashi language; Bodo a-yong FoB and a-doi FyB, but ma-gong MoSi and ma-doi MySi; Hzong Rengma a-nyo FyB (nyo Ch), and perhaps Changki (Ao) a-sa FyB < *za Ch. Kanauri has a curious diminutive formation, viz. a-mats MSi < a-ma, and a-pats FB < a-pa. Tibetan and Nung, however, appear to have four true PSb terms. The Nung terms a-tsim MSi and a-wang FB have been compared with Tsangla a-zim MSi and Garo a-wang FyB, respectively. The Tibetan term sru MSi seems to have been derived from a root with the generalized meaning "mother's relatives", or "member of mother's clan, first ascending generation". Tibetan k'u FB, it can now be stated, has been developed from the TB root *k'u MB, and the Himalayish and Lepcha employment of this term in its Tibetan setting must be credited to Tibetan influence, which is conspicuous in both of these areas. Tibetan skud < *k'u Fl,Bl is to be explained in terms of xC marriage and the equation of WB with WF, as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Tibetan 'a-ne FSi,MBW further fits into this picture. In Himalayish, Kanauri ru Fl < *sru MSb, and c'ad Sl < *ts'a SiS(ms) suggest a like reconstruction. We have some material on xC marriage in the Tibetan area, but the term skud itself is, for the writer, the most significant single piece of evidence. Those who minimize the value of linguistic "fossils" in general might well take note of this term.

The semantic shift FB < MB in the Tibetan term k'u still requires explanation. Elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman the term has

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been demoted to affinal rank or dropped altogether, but nowhere else has it been applied to FB. Now there is but one marital feature in which the Tibetan area (including the Kanauri group of Himalayish) significantly differs from the remaining Tibeto-Burman area, viz. polyandry. Fraternal polyandry of Tibetan type is practised by the Kanauri, almost certainly through Tibetan influence, since this custom is explicitly stated to be absent among the Almora peoples (Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Johar). Among the Lepcha polyandry is an abnormal trait and can unhesitatingly be assigned a Tibetan origin. Among other Tibeto-Burman group for which we have any record, polyandry either is said to be lacking or is simply not mentioned. Since Tibetan polyandry is of fraternal type, the importance of FB can readily be understood. It would seem that the MB term, which is unstable in most TB groups, was first replaced by the honorific term ʾa-ʿjang and later applied to FB. The collective term shud-po F1,B1, having already been semantically specialized in an affinal sense, was naturally retained.

Primary cross PSb terms are basic TB features, and are represented by the roots *ni FSi and *k'u MB. The first of these two terms, however, is much more stable than the second, and significantly so (if statistically treated). Thus, Tibetan has transferred the MB term to FB and used an honorific for MB; Burmish-Loloish has retained the MB term only as an honorific applied to oB (in Burmese) or as an affinal term

SA (Ahi, Mose) and has developed new terms for MB (Burmese u^3,
601 Lolo *ru); the Kuki languages proper have dropped the MB term
193 altogether and equated MB with gF; in the Naga group the MB
197 term has been preserved in its original setting only in Ao,
ST while in Rengma and Sema it has been retained only in the
● 601 affinal nomenclature. All of these groups, however, have the
193 root *ni FSi in its original setting. Burmese (but not
197 Burmish-Loloish) has replaced both the FSi and MB terms and dropped the former altogether, while Kachin has retained both terms only in its affinal nomenclature. The relatively greater stability of the FSi term is also evident in the borrowings made by various TB groups (infra).

This "differential variability" in the FSi and MB terms must be viewed in connection with the affinal application of these terms and the whole problem of cross-cousin marriage. Under bilateral xC marriage MB becomes Fl, and FSi becomes Ml, and it is not unlikely that honorific terms should become associated with these socially "pivotal" relationships. The fact that the MB=Fl term is more susceptible to this process than is the FSi=Ml term merely reflects the general patrilineal bias of Tibeto-Burman societies. The equation of MB with gF, which plays so prominent a role in Kukish, represents one aspect of this whole development, but teknonymy may also be a factor here ("Fl" designated as "gF of my son"). Teknonymy is hardly typical of Tibeto-Burman yet does occasionally occur. Lepcha, for example, employs a-bo F for Fl

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where the couple are childless, but t'i-kung gF after the birth of a child, and the descriptive term a-fyat Fl has been derived from an original *sput, which in turn represents a morphological development from the TB root *p'u gF. Vayu ca-k'i Fl appears to be a combination of co < *ca Ch and ki-ki gF. Lahu, in the Southern Lolo group, has a-p'u gF= Fl, a-p'i gM=Ml, and Ahi, in the Northern Lolo group, has su-p'o WF, also "paternal ancestor". The Chang Sbl terms are of teknonymous origin, e.g. hau-ko Bl(ms)="his WB", but the Chang Pl terms are simply Fl=MB and Ml= FSi. Chinbon equates WF with gF, and WM with gM (rather than with MB and MBW, as in most Kuki languages), but retains the Kuki pattern in the HM and HF terms (HF= FSi, and especial term for HF), i.e. the teknonymous (or honorific) terms are employed only by the husband. The Mirish languages (Abor, Miri, Dafla) afford the best illustration of teknonymy. In Miri the terms a-bu and a-nǎ are used for F and M, respectively, but in the closely related Abor language these terms are applied to gF and gM, though ta-ta (Miri ta-to gF) is retained as the vocative term for gF. In this instance the child has taken over his parents' terms ("reverse teknonymy") rather than the parent his childrens' terms. Abor also uses the vocative gF term (ta-ta) for Fl, while Miri equates Fl either with gF or with MB, and Ml either with gM or with FSi (the equations with MB and FSi are probably only descriptive, though this is not stated in our sources). Dafla equates Ml with gM, probably also Fl with gF.

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Under a system of bilateral xC marriage we should expect to find both WF and HF equated with MB, and both WM and HM equated with FSi. This condition is fulfilled in Byangsi and Abor-Miri, where this type of marriage is in vogue. The terminological equation also appears, however, in Nung, Chang, Sema, Nzong Rengma, and Lhota, for all of which preferential MBD marriage is indicated, and in Tangkhul and Angami, for which xC marriage cannot be established.

A system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD should lead to the equation of WF with MB, HM with FSi, and separate terms for HF and WM, as well as distinctions between FSiH and MB, MBW and FSi. Kachin fulfills all these conditions admirably, with unilateral xC marriage coupled with the terminological equations indicated above. The same can be said for the Kuki pattern, as illustrated in Lakher, Thado, Chawte, Tarau, as well as in Mru and Khami, viz. WF=MB, WM=MBW, HM=FSi, HF=FSiH. Unilateral MBD marriage is found among the Thado, Chiru, Anal, Aimol, Purum, and probably the Anal, Sho, and Khami. In Thado this nomenclature is employed only where MBD marriage has actually occurred, P terms being employed under other conditions.

Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma have an intermediate type, with M1=FSi but WF=MB and a distinct term for HF, but in both languages the MB term is sometimes applied to HF as well as to WF. The closely related Nzong Rengma has a single term for F1 (WF,HF=MB), but retains a distinct term for FSiH. Sema has the same scheme as Nzong Rengma. The Sema term for FSiH,

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furthermore, is cognate with the Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma term for HF, and in Ao the same term appears in its original setting (MB). This Naga material thus shows various stages of the transformation of the affinal terminology through the development of unilateral xC marriage. The discrepancies found in Nung, Chang, and Lhota are perhaps more apparent than real, and in the case of Nung and Lhota, at any rate, our sources may be faulty. Even in these affinal features, however, we must expect to find a certain amount of dissassociation, for we must allow for linguistic "lag", i.e. the simple scheme of equating F1 with MB and M1 with FSi tends to be perpetuated even where the development of a unilateral "skew" has rendered it theoretically illogical. This general point has been raised many times before, but will bear repetition in view of the fact that a number of modern theoreticians seem to object to this sort of reasoning.

It is fairly evident that the abandonment of xC marriage as an instutionalized norm has in several different groups resulted in the disappearance of categorical equations. In Tibetan and Kanauri we have only the "fossilized" terms skud-po and ru, respectively, which require comparative studies for a full appraisal of their significance. In Lahul, however, where we have a hint of xC marriage, the equations F1= MB and M1= FSi are in evidence. In Burmese itself categorical equations are lacking, and here also we have no evidence of xC marriage, but the situation is reversed in Arakanese (Chaungtha).

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Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, equate M1 with FSi, WF with MB, and have a distinct term for FSiH, HF (as in Maeng and Anyo Rengma). Kachin influence perhaps plays a role here, yet the Kachin distinguish between WM and HM, as is consistent with their unilateral xC marriage practice. Nyi, in the Northern Lolo group, has derived its terms for WF and WM from the terms for MB and FSi, respectively, plus the element mo "old", acting here as an honorific, while the Burmish-Loloish affinal root *yok is employed in the terms for HM and HF. Ahi seems to reverse this scheme, to judge from our faulty data on this language. For Lisu we have only what appear to be the vocative terms for F1 and M1 (ma-ma < a-ma M, ba-ba < a-ba F), and hence are not in a position to interpret this Lolo material. The use of respectful designations may be a complicating factor here; cf. Lushei pu-zon WF, pi-zon WM, conforming to the Kuki pattern (from pu MB and pi MBW plus an added element -zon), but pa HF (= F) and nu HM (= M), i.e. a woman equates her husband's relatives with her own blood kin.

Categorical equations in the P1 terms are present elsewhere, but our sources are often incomplete. Garo equates M1 with FSi, MBW, but has a distinct term for F1 (a-bu-di, perhaps "little gF"). Mikir equates WF with MB, WM with FSi (with or without the addition of an honorific suffix), and has a distinct term for HF. If we assume that HM (not given in our sources) is also equated with FSi, this system can be compared with that found in Rengma and Maru. Both Garo and Mikir have

SA 601 193 197 preferential MBD marriage. Meithei equates Ml with FSi, and has i-ku Fl < TB *k'u MB (the MB term is not known for sure, but may be the Indic loan-word māmā); the Meithei are not known to practice xC marriage.

ST 601 193 197 The rest of the collateral terminology (C and N terms) is even more poorly known than the PSb terminology, and presents even more serious problems. In view of the presence of basic TB roots for MB (*k'u) and FSi (*ni) one might expect to find one or more roots for xC, but such is hardly the case. The extension of Sb terms to include pC is practically universal and need not be examined in detail. The lack of especial xC terms is probably associated with the lack of xC marriage, but there are too many lacunae in our data to permit of any final judgment here. Tibetan apparently fails to distinguish between pC and xC, but Burmese perhaps has a distinct xC term (sa-mi^3-mrok-sa^3, lit. "D's spouse"!). By way of contrast, Chaungtha, one of the Arakanese dialects, has yauk-pa Bl,xC corresponding to Burmese yok-p'a˺ Bl(ms), in conformity with its equation of Fl with MB and Ml with FSi, i.e. an affinal term has "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature.

Terms for xCe and xCi in conjunction with xC marriage are found in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, Lisu, and Chang, while Dafla has this terminological pattern but without data on xC marriage. Chang appears to have preferential MBD marriage, but the bilateral type is found among the others.

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Byangsi-Chaudangsi makes a sex-of-speaker distinction, viz. xC1(ms), xCe(ws), xC(ss), and Abor-Miri makes an age distinction. None of the terms involved is associated with a PSb term or a N term. The Abor-Miri terms show "invasion" from the affinal terminology, as in Chaungtha, e.g. mag-bo xCe(os) = oB1,S1, from TB *mak S1. Note that in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, and Chang this xC pattern is associated with the simple P1 = PSb categorical equations (for Lisu we lack full information on the P1 terms).

Cross-cousin terminologies of Omaha type are found in two primary foci, viz. Kachin and Kukish. The correlation between the Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal descent, one of the few widely accepted anthropological generalizations, obtains both among the Kachin and the various Kuki and Naga tribes. Of the Tibeto-Burman peoples only the Garo and Mabha, in the Barish group, are known to have matrilineal descent, and unfortunately we know nothing of the cousin terminology in use among these tribes. There is a hint of the Crow type of terminology in Bodo, also in the Barish group, but we cannot be sure that the Bodo reckon descent in the matrilineal line. Bodo (nang-)a-doi "(thy) oBCh", (a-)doi FyB show reciprocity, as has already been pointed out, but Bodo nam-ba-noi "(thy) S1S", (nang-)a-noi "(thy) S1D", and a-noi FS1 cannot be explained on this basis and suggest rather the Crow pattern. It is greatly to be regretted that our Garo sources fail us at this critical point.

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The Kachin system, which is quite distinct from that found in Kukish, merits especial examination. The key terms are as follows:

Kachin Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

601 193 197 moi	FSi	ts'a	MB,MBS(ws)
ning	xCi(ws)	k'au	xCe(ms)
k'ri	FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms)		
rat	MBD(oms)		
nam	MBD(yms),BCh(ws)		

(Affinal)

ni	WL,MBW,WBW	ku	HF,FSiH,HoB,oSiH(ws)
moi	HM	ts'a	WF,BWB(ws)
ning	HSi,BW(ws)	k'au	WB,SiH(ms)
nam	Dl,WySi,yBW(ms),WBCh	k'ri	Sl,HSiCh,FSiHSi
rat	WoSi,ySiH(ws),oBW(ms),HyB		

The main features of this system have already been discussed in pt. 7. It will be observed that the lineal equations characteristic of the Omaha pattern appear only in the terms for non-marriageable cross-cousins under the Kachin unilateral xC marriage arrangement, i.e. a man equates his (non-marriageable) FSiD with his SiCh, while a woman equates her (non-marriageable) MBS with her MB. The terms applied by a woman to her (marriageable) FSiS are not known, but a man equates his (marriageable) MBD with his WSi. Distinct terms are used by speakers of each sex for xC(ss).

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On the basis of comparative material, the terms nam and k'ri must be regarded as originally affinal (D1 and S1, respectively). Both terms have "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature via the categorical equations D1=BD(ws) and S1=SiS(ms), as are consistent with the practice of MBD marriage. Note that both terms have become neuter in the course of this transformation. We must next enquire of the fate of the original xN terms thus displaced. The terms moi FSi and ts'a MB can be called upon at this point. We lack comparative material on moi, but Tibetan has ts'a SiS(ms) corresponding to the Kachin term, and we can therefore interpret Kachin ts'a MB as a product of reciprocal usage. We have conclusive support for this view in the term k'ri HSiCh,FSiHSi, which at first puzzled the writer. Under the Kachin tripartite organization, as described by Gilhodes, FSiHSi becomes MBW, and MBW ~ HSiCh are reciprocal terms. Since moi FSi closely parallels ts'a MB, we are justified in interpreting this term analogically as a reciprocal development from BD(ws).

To continue our analysis, moi and ts'a have displaced the original cross PSb terms ni and ku, which are retained in the affinal nomenclature. An original system of bilateral xC marriage must be postulated to account for ni WM,MBW < FSi, and ku HF,FSiH < MB. The categorical equations shown by ning xCi(ws)=Sil(ws) and k'au xCe(ms)=Bl(ms) also call for this type of marriage.

To complete our reconstruction, the terms ning, k'au, and rat must be regarded as originally consanguineal rather

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than affinal. We have comparative material only for ning, which is represented by Chang (Konyak) nyŭng < *ning xC, Nikir neng < *ning BW(ws). We must further reconstruct rat as the term for xC(ds), i.e. the marriageable xC under the original bilateral xC marriage arrangement. This yields the theoretical categorical equations xCi(ms)=Sil(ms) and xCe(ms)=Bl(ms). Under the conventional type of levirate, which is found among the Kachin, a distinction must be made between the (marriageable) oBW and the (non-marriageable) yBW. In Kachin this distinction is made, in the case of a man, by equating yBW with Dl (nam) and in retaining the term rat for oBW, and, in the case of a woman, by equating HoB with HF (ka) and in retaining the term rat for HyB. Since a man marries his MBD, the distinction between rat MBD(oms) and nam MBD(yms) is the natural result of that described above. It is a fair inference that the missing terms for FSiS(ws) are ka FSiS(ows) and rat FSiS(yws). Note that the equation of MBD(yms) with BCh(ws) is a by-product, so to speak, and is not to be taken as a 'Crow' feature.

We are now in a position to evaluate the Omaha features of the Kachin system. It has been demonstrated that the Kachin have developed a unilateral xC marriage system from an original bilateral arrangement, and that this shift has produced a profound transformation in the kinship terminology. The equating of MBS(ws) with MB, and of FSiD(ms) with SiCh(ms) serves to distinguish the non-marriageable from the marriageable

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cross-cousins. These equations closely parallel those already noted in the Sbl terminology, and appear to form part of the same pattern. If this inference be correct, we must regard the institution of the levirate as a contributing factor here.

The Kachin terminology under the original bilateral xC marriage system can be reconstructed as follows:

Reconstructed Kachin System

(Consanguineal)

ni FSi	ka MB
ning xCi(ws)	k'au xCe(ms)
rat xC(ds)	
moi HD(ws)	ts'a SiS(ms)

(Affinal)

ni MBW,Ml	ka FSiH,Fl
ning Sil(ss)	k'au Bl(ss)
rat Sbl(ds)	
nam Dl	k'ri Sl

Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, show Omaha features of Kachin type, e.g. Lashi so-ok FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms) and zo-auk Sl (a variant of so-ok), directly comparable with the Kachin term k'ri. Our material here is too uncertain to justify any further investigation of this point, and we have no data on the Maru and Lashi marriage practices. Both tribes are closely identified with the Kachin, and have even incorporated Kachin loan-words into their kinship nomenclatures, so that direct Kachin influence must be reckoned with in this

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matter. To judge from what little we know of the collateral terms of other Burmish-Loloish languages, Omaha features are not present. There is some evidence suggesting that the root *tu is applied both to N and C in Lisu and in Ulu (Northern Lolo), but the Lisu material is inconsistent and the Ulu material is not precise

The Omaha nomenclatures found among the Kukish tribes are quite distinct in type from the Kachin nomenclature. The Kuki tribes proper, including Southern Kuki and Tangkhul, employ the following basic scheme (in many varieties):

Kuki Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

pi gM,MBD pu gF,MB,MBS

ni FSi

tu FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh

(Affinal)

pi MBW,WZ,WSi pu WF,WB

ni HM -rang FSiH,HF

mou DI,BW(ws) mak SI,SiH(ws)

Lushei has an especial term for BCh(ws), viz. va' (apparently connected with the root *wa H), and Yindu has an especial term for BD(ws), viz. (ka-)li, which has been compared with the root *ma-li gCh (Burmese, Mung), xM (Mikir). In Siyin and Chawto, however, BCh(ws) is equated with Ch. The analyzing development in Laiyo has entirely obliterated all traces of the Omaha system, yet the term tu FSiCh is

SA 601 193 197 ST ●601 193 197 retained. Haka has both (k-)tu FSiCh and the analytical term (k-)ni fa as an alternative. Lakher applies Sb terms (in address) to FSiCh and occasionally to MBCh, and both Thado and Aimol sometimes apply the oSb term to FSiCh(os). Chinbok employs an analytical term for MBS, but equates MBD with MySi. Thado resembles Chinbok in equating MBD with MSi, but elsewhere the regular equation is with MBW = gM. Chinbok is further aberrant in equating FSiS with SiS(ms) but having a distinct term for gS. Yindu equates DS with SiS, FSiS, but employs an analytical term for SS. Yindu has distinct terms for MBCh, and Kyaw has distinct terms both for MBCh and FSiCh(i.e. Omaha features are lacking). Aimol, if we can trust our sources, has reversed the Kuki pattern, with (ka-)pu FSiS and (ka-)tu-pa MBS. Chinbon has MoBS = MyB, MyBS = WB, reflecting the stress placed on age distinctions in Southern Kuki. Our Chawte material, which is not reliable, indicates a distinction between FSiS(ws) and FSiD(ms), and the equation of SiCh(mws) with gCh. The affinal term mak Sl is commonly replaced by the consanguineal term tu SiS(ms), as in Haka, Chawte, and Sho, and the reverse process whereby an affinal term "invades" the consanguineal nomenclature (as in Kachin) is illustrated by Kyaw sa-mǎk SiCh(ms) = Sl, and Ayaing Khami mok-sa FSiCh, SiCh(ms) = Sl, both from the root *mak Sl. The latter language has retained the root *tu, however, in the term (ka-)tu FSiCh(ws), gS.

It is evident from the above citations that this Omaha pattern is extremely susceptible to variation at all points.

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Nothing approaching the specific Kachin variety has been encountered, however, and the two systems seem to have little in common. In the Kuki system the equations FSiCh = SiCh(ms) and MBS = MB obtain regardless of the sex or speaker, there are additional equations of MB with gF and SiCh(ms) with gCh, and ni FSi is retained as a consanguineal term. In addition, distinct terms for xC(ss) and Sbl are lacking. The historical developments of the two systems have been quite different, if we are permitted to draw inferences from comparative data. The terms pi and pu are the original gP terms (TB *p'i gM, *p'u gF), and the term -rang (prefixed) can be regarded as the original term for MB, cognate with Tibetan ʾa-ǰang < *zrang MB (cf. Kachin ku HF, FSiH = MB). The term tu occasions some difficulty, since we have only the Burmish-Loloish root *tu and the Nung term pa-du, both applied to N (xN in Burmese) for comparison. In view of the parallelism in the equations MB = gF and xN = gCh, however, we must fix the original meaning of tu as "gCh" rather than "xN". The clue to these equations seems to be teknonymy in conjunction with xC marriage, i.e. we must suppose that a man applied the teknonymous terms pu gF and pi gM to his wife's parents, whereas a woman applied the consanguineal terms ni FSi and -rang MB. With the development of unilateral marriage with MBD, a feature found in the Kuki area as well as in Kachin, the two sets of Pl terms were fully differentiated in function, and the term pu Fl = gF replaced the consanguineal term -rang MB, with pi coming into

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use for MBW. The equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh was the natural result of the above development. Since the term ni FSi was retained in its original setting, no comparable term was developed for the reciprocal relationship BCh(ws). The evidence for the use of teknonymous terms in Tibeto-Burman in general has been resumed above and need not be discussed at this point. Within the Kuki group, note Chinbon (ka-)mo-pauk WH=gF and (ka-)mu-bok MoB (probably a variant of the foregoing), (ka-)mo WM= gM and (ka-)mok MoBW (probably a variant of the foregoing), but (ka-)ze HF (analysis uncertain), (ka-)zi HM=FSi. Chinbon thus makes use of teknonymous terms precisely as suggested above for the Kuki group in general.

We are still faced with the problem of explaining the equations MBS= MB, MBD= MBW (or MSi), and FSiCh=SiCh(ms). Here again we must take into account the affinal setting of these terms under a system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD. The fundamental equation seems to have been that between WF and WB (pu) rather than between MB and MBS, i.e. these kin were identified because of the similarity of their roles as wife's father and brother rather than as mother's brother and mother's brother's son. In other terms, the especial position of MB and MBS among the Kuki groups seems in large measure to have arisen through xC marriage. The equation of FSiCh with SiCh(ms) reflects the equation of MBS with MB, just as the equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh reflects the equation of MB with gF.

It is possible to conceive of the Kuki development without recourse to teknonymy simply by assuming that pu gF was

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applied to MB and MBS in an honorific sense, with tu gCh SiCh(ms)=FSiCh as a complementary equation. In any event, the equation in the MB line must be regarded as the primary one, and the equation in the FSi line as complementary. The same situation was found to obtain among the Kachin (supra).

The Naga languages, which make up the northern division of the Kukish group, also reveal Omaha features, which are of Kuki rather than Kachin type. MBD is equated with MSi or MySi rather than with gM=MBW. In Ao (all three dialects) the terms for gF (o-pu) and gCh (sam-cir) are distinct, i.e. there is no teknonymy, the TB root *k'u is retained in the consanguineal nomenclature (o-k'u MB,MBS) while MBD is equated with MySi, and the affinal terms for Sl (a-nok) and Dl (a-mu) are applied to FSiS,SiS(ms) and FSiD,SiD(ms), respectively, precisely as in Ayaing Khami. Sema has a distinct term for gF (neuter) and equates gCh with Ch, but has developed a new root for MB,MBS (a-ngu) and has retained the root *k'u only in the affinal meaning "FSiH" (a-ci). Thus both Ao and Sema show full Omaha features without distinction of sex of speaker (as in Kuki) but also without teknonymy (as in Kachin). The Angami, Rengma, and Lhota systems, however, all show teknonymous features. Rengma (all three dialects) equates MB,MBS(os) with gF (ggF in Nzong), and FSiCh,SiCh(ms) with gCh. Lhota shows a partial equation of MB,MBS with gF (o-mo and o-mo-tsü) and at least similar terms for FSiS,SiS(ms) and gS (o-hro and o-hre). Angami equates FSiS,ySiS(ms) with gS, but distinguishes between

SA gF and MB, yet the term for the latter (mi) is connected with
601 the Rengma term for gF,MB (a-mi ~ a-mui) and the Lhota term
193 for MB (o-mo) and gF (o-mo-tsü). We can thus interpret Angami
197 mi MB as the original term for gF,MB and in this way explain
ST the lack of symmetry in the Angami nomenclature as it now
●601 stands (a man calls his sister's child "gCh", but a child
193 calls his mother's brother "uncle"). Angami lacks the Omaha
197 traits on one side, since MBCh is addressed or described by name, or analytically if the need arises. The Rengma equations on the MB side appear only in the vocative nomenclature, and only when the cousin (MBS or MBD) addressed is older than speaker.

As noted in pt. 16, Majumder attempted to explain some of the features of the Sema nomenclature in terms of marriage with F's widow, after the fashion instituted by Rivers. Almost no instances of marriages of this type have been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman area, however, and the writer fails to see how Rivers' theories are of any relevancy in the present situation. The most curious form of marriage noted is the Lisu marriage with FSi cited by Fraser, and this is not reflected in the Lisu nomenclature. Omaha features among the Omaha and Miwok are perhaps based on WBD marriage, but for the American evidence there is no unanimity of opinion, and at least three recent writers on the subject (White, Gifford, Tax) have attacked this as a general explanation. Of this trio White alone suggests a general explanation, viz. that the Omaha type

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is developed from the Dakota-Iroquois type (pC = Sb, xC distinct term) under the influence of a mature and vigorous patrilineal clan system. Gifford has successfully attacked this view on the basis of the American material, and the same general strictures are applicable in the Tibeto-Burman field, where no correlation can be established between strong patrilineal clans and the Omaha type of terminology.

The Kuki equation of xN with gCh is also encountered in Miri (ä < o-i "child below") and Tibetan (ts'a). Miri has retained the TB root *k'u MB (a-kä), but does apply teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml (= MB and FSi under the Miri bilateral xC marriage system). In Tibetan, however, teknonymy has been found only in the dialect of Bathang (eastern Tibet) as recorded by Desgodins, who cites rmo-rmo Ml = MM (hence a man's term for his WM). Abor shows reverse teknonymy in the shifts a-bu gF < F and a-mä gM < M, reflected in the equation o Ch = N = gCh (Abor, like Miri, applies teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml).

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We are perhaps not justified in concluding that all equations of xN with gCh are based on teknonymy involving the affinal nomenclature (gF > Fl = MB), but no better general explanation can be suggested. The general thesis outlined above conforms to the basic Tibeto-Burman sociological pattern of cross-cousin marriage, and thus enjoys an initial advantage over any alternative theories of a more <u>an hoc</u> nature.

Reciprocal terminology has already been mentioned in connection with Kachin ts'a MB < SiCh(ms), k'ri HBiCh, FSiHBi,

SA and Bodo a-doi FyB, nang-a-doi oBCh. This phenomenon is not
601 typical of Tibeto-Burman but can be traced in a few languages.
ST Newari ni-ni FSi, i-ni D1 (< HD,ws) is comparable with Kachin
●601 ts'a. The following instances of grandparental reciprocity
have been noted: Lepcha a-so ggF ∾ a-son gCh (with -n suffix);
Bodo a-bau gF,gCh, Moran a-lu gF,gCh (as cited by Gurdon);
Lisu a-lǐ ggF, lǐ-pa gS (and perhaps a-za gM, za S), which
are not strictly reciprocal. Note also Lushei t'laʾ "a
descendant, posterity", t'laʾ-tu "an ancestor, progenitor"
(apparently formed with the root *tu gCh), Siyin tu-k'an ta-k'an
"descendant; ancestor", based on tu < *tu gCh and ta < *za Ch.
Lisu also has the combined terms pa-la "F and Ch", ma-la "M
and Ch", and pi-li "gF and gCh", all used in a collective
sense. Kansuri spats gCh seems to have been derived from
a-pa F, with the diminutive suffix -ts as in a-pats FB and
the s- prefix as in Tib. p'a-spad "F and Ch" (collective).

To resume the foregoing discussion, we have reconstructed
for the Tibeto-Burman peoples a sociological pattern of bi-
lateral xC marriage and a corresponding linguistic pattern
with primary terms for MB and FSi, for S1, and perhaps for D1,
but with the affinal nomenclature in general based on cate-
gorical equations. In the Lowie system this pattern would
be designated "bifurcate merging". The breakdown of the xC
marriage pattern is shown to have directly influenced the
affinal nomenclature but to have exerted little effect on the
consanguineal nomenclature. The development of unilateral xC

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marriage with MBD in Kachin and the Kuki and Naga tribes is associated with the presence of two sets of F1 terms and of Omaha features in the collateral terminology. This association naturally has no statistical significance, yet fits very well into the general picture.

The practice of unilateral xC marriage with MBD is to be interpreted in terms of asymmetric reckoning of descent, as has been brilliantly pointed out by B. Z. Seligman with especial reference to River's Pentecost material. The Pentecost society has matri-moieties with three patri-sections in each, and the Pentecost terminology shows Crow features, viz. ratahina M,MBi,FSi,FSiD, and nituna MBCh,Ch. The Pentecost pattern is thus the reverse of the Kachin-Kuki-Naga.

The Tibeto-Burman evidence is surprising, perhaps, in failing to suggest a basic pattern of dual organization. Rivers regarded xC marriage as the result of dual organization, and Radcliffe-Brown has expressed the belief that the "Dravidian-Australian" kinship system (xC marriage) is in some way correlated with dual organization. The latter point of view is perhaps that shared by the majority of anthropologists. In the Tibeto-Burman area, however, dual organization has been recorded only for some of the Old Kuki groups and for Garo and Rabha, with additional evidence from the Naga group. Bose (1934) has collected much material bearing on this point, but largely from inadequate sources and in wholly uncritical fashion. In a later article (1937) the same writer places

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emphasis rather on the tri-clan arrangement as found among at least some sections of the Garo, and suggests that an originally matrilineal people had been submerged in a wave of patrilineal peoples coming from the north, and that the restriction against a woman's marrying into her mother's clan is a reflection of this matrilineal substratum. Another Indian ethnologist, Das (1935), postulates a mixture of a patrilineal people with dual organization and a matrilineal people. The Khasi are typically matrilineal, and hence one can easily envisage an archaic Khasi-Mon matrilineal substratum in the Assam-Burma area. The Tibeto-Burman peoples, on the other hand, were and are patrilineal, though practising xC marriage. The Garo, Rabha, and probably other members of the Barish linguistic stock are matrilineal, however, apparently through direct Khasi influence. The theory of a miscegenation between patrilineal and matrilineal peoples, as advocated by Bose and Das, is therefore likely enough, and serves as well as any other as a partial explanation of the development of the asymmetric mode of reckoning descent. It does not explain, however, why the Kachin, living in the upper Irrawaddy valley, should have adopted this feature, nor, inversely, why the Mikir, in close contact with the Khasi, should not have adopted it.

In the present study no effort can be made to follow through the historical and other implications raised by the postulation of an early Tibeto-Burman-speaking population with patrilineal descent and xC marriage. It is difficult to see

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any historical connection with the "Dravidian-Australian" system suggested by Radcliffe-Brown (see also the articles by Hodson and Rivers), inasmuch as an intervening population of matrilineal Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples must also be postulated. From another point of view, the writer is unable to suggest any striking correlation between xC marriage and other cultural traits. According to the view expressed by Kroeber in a recent article (1938), this form of marriage would form part of the "secondary pattern" and would be (ultimately) referable to factors of residence or other elements of the "basic pattern". The argument seems to be that one must live somewhere, but can live without exogamic groupings, totems, and the like - that one must have kin, but not clans. It is equally true, however, that one must marry someone, and that his choice must lie either within the kin group or without, just as residence must be either patrilocal, matrilocal, or neither, with various combinations possible. This point of view seems to be implied in Seligman's (1929) discussion of incest and descent factors.

It is perhaps of some interest to point out that premarital sexual promiscuity and the institution of a bachelor's house or its equivalent are characteristic Tibeto-Burman traits. The writer has not collected data on either of these specific points, yet has been impressed by the almost universal distribution of these features. It is primarily among acculturated groups such as the Tibetans or Burmese that these traits are in abeyance. Contrast, for example, the primitive Almora

SA 601 ST 601 group with xC marriage and a type of bachelor's house with their immediate neighbors, the Tibetans, who practise polyandry rather than xC marriage (traces of the latter persist) and have nothing suggesting a bachelor's house. The same type of contrast is presented by the primitive Arakanese with xC marriage and premarital sexual freedom (Hutchinson, p. 113) and the sophisticated Burmese, who lack xC marriage and whose courtship pattern had become highly formalized even in medieval times (vide the interesting account by Kin). It is not suggested that xC marriage and premarital sexual laxity are necessarily correlated in any way, but, in the area under consideration, both appear to belong to the same general cultural stratum.

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SA [121] ST [121] The present study is of limited scope and comparative material has therefore been eliminated. The parallelism between the Kuki Omaha pattern and that found among the BaThonga and Nama Hottentot of South Africa, however, is too attractive to be omitted. The Nama Hottentot (Schapera, pp. 230 and ff.) employ the terms //náob gF,MB; //náos gM,MBW (but MB is now called omob < Dutch oom "uncle", and MBW is now called mugis < Dutch moekie "little mother"); //núrib xCe,SiS(ms),gS; //núris xCi,SiD(ms),gD. This system can be converted into the Kuki type by limiting //núrib and //núris to FSiCh and applying //náob and //náos to MBCh. Schapera describes xC marriage of bilateral type, but notes that among

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some tribes of the Nama marriage with MBD "is said to have been far more common" (p. 244). For the replacement of the MB term by the Dutch loan-word (omeb < oom), cf. the widespread Tibeto-Burman borrowing of the Indic term mama MB (infra).

The BaThonga evidence (Junod, pp. 216 and ff.) is complicated by the existence of dialectical differences. The regular MB term is malume (Zulu malume MB), applied also to MBS. The Northern BaThonga, however, have kokwana gF,MB,MBS, ntukulu SiS(ms),gS. The BaRonga clans are in a neatly transitional stage, with alternative sets of terms. Radcliffe-Brown (1924) has made an illuminating analysis of the BaThonga material, in which the significance of the terms malume ("male mother") and rarana ("female father") is pointed out (cf. also Firth's discussion of the FBi as "male father" in Tikopia). The BaThonga do not practice xC marriage, according to Junod, and the parallelism with Kuki thus breaks down at this point. Since the application of kokwana gF to MB is apparently of late origin here, the teknonymy principle is of no avail in this instance, and we must accept Radcliffe-Brown's mode of reasoning. Note that neither the Nama nor the BaThonga system is of true Omaha type.

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Loan-words appear in many of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, and include terms of Indic, Chinese, and Shan origin, as well as of Tibeto-Burman origin. Indic loan-words are found in a string of languages extending from Baltistan

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and Kanawur in the northwest to the Garo Hills in the southeast, all exposed to direct Indian influence. The extent of borrowing in kinship nomenclature is in general correlated with the rate of borrowing in general, but this is not necessarily so, e.g. Magari has preserved a large proportion of its original TB vocabulary yet has retained only a single kinship term (za Ch), if we can trust our sources. The tendency to borrow terms for male kin rather than female kin has been observed in Balti, Kanauri, Newari (less well marked), Miri, and Barish. Terms for relatives older than speaker are also more likely to be borrowed than those for relatives younger than speaker. Probably both points can be explained on the basis of the honorific connotations associated with loan-words in general, which go to make up the "respectable" idiom as opposed to the vulgar. The term mama MB has been borrowed by Balti, Kanauri, Dhimal, Bodo, Garo, and perhaps Meithei, whereas the Indic FSi term has been borrowed only once (Dhimal).

The most prominent instances of borrowings made within Tibeto-Burman are those of Lepcha from Tibetan, and Atsi from Kachin. To illustrate the vagaries in the borrowing process, Atsi borrows its MB and FSi terms from Kachin but retains its native FB and MSi terms, whereas Byangsi (Almora group) borrows from Indic (Khasiya) its terms for FoB and FyB but employs a native term for MB. The borrowing of a term in a specialized sense only is exemplified by the following curious series: Kanauri mak-pa "Sl living in Fl's house" (from Tibetan); Lepcha ku-mok, id. (from Tibetan); Kachin

SA 197 601 ST 197 601 luk-k'i, id. (from Shan). All three languages have distinct S1 terms applied under normal conditions. Contrast Garo nok-rong "S1 living in F1's house" (native term), cowari "S1 other than above" (from Indic); note that among the Garo the nok-rong is a formalized institution in a matrilineal society. It would be difficult to find a more ideal illustration of the mirroring of sociological features in linguistic phenomena.

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1 [For abbreviations see this source in Cat, 113, ALl Southeast Asia ALl -- Analyst]

3. Chinese

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In the present section the writer proposes to examine the Chinese system of nomenclature with reference to the basic Tibeto-Burman system reconstructed above. Our interest naturally lies in the early Chinese system rather than in the later developments, for it is here that significant points of resemblance can be expected to appear. We shall devote our attention, therefore, to " ncient Chinese" rather than to "Chinese" in general.

Our analysis has been made possible by the definitive work by Feng, to whom the anthropological world owes a lasting debt of gratitude. Just how great a debt this is can be realized only after a comparison has been made with the early crude account by Morgan (based on material supplied by Hart, an English customs official), the not-so-early but equally inadequate description by Hu, and even the more recent work by Chen and Shryock, which suffers from a grievous want of historical perspective. Feng has provided us with a detailed account of Chinese kinship nomenclature from the earliest period down to the present, based on carefully checked sources which are handled in the competent manner seldom attained even by our foremost European sinologues. A fair proportion of illustrative material is incorporated, and Chinese characters are cited. It is from this excellent source that the writer has drawn most of the material cited in this study.

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Feng's work is incomplete only with respect to the modern dialects of China. Dialectical vocative terms are cited, and the developments behind some of the modern terms are brought to light, but the treatment is essentially literary throughout. For the modern dialects as such we must turn to isolated descriptions of individual dialectical patterns, e.g. May's account of Cantonese nomenclature. The single exception here is furnished by Fei's analysis of the kinship terms employed in the dialects of Wukiang (Kiangsu), Shanghai, Hangchow (Chekiang), Tungchow (Hopei), Quemoy (Fukien), and Lanchow (Kansu), representing three major dialectical groups (Mandarin, Shanghai, Fukien). Fei devotes most of his attention to the vocative terms, which he regards as "more directly connected with the social organization" (p. 128).

From the present point of view, the main defect in Feng's work lies in the almost entire absence of linguistic treatment. Feng refers to his own method of approach as "primarily historical and linguistic" (p. 147), but from his footnote to this page we can see that he employs the term 'linguistic' in a greatly generalized sense. A truly linguistic approach calls for the use of archaic forms rather than of the phonetically degenerate Mandarin forms of the present day, and for an attempt, at least, to point out the affinities of these terms, both within and without Chinese. The employment of archaic forms, even in a

121 normalized orthography, would have removed the confusion
● 601 produced by (modern) homonyms such as fu < b'in (父) F,
fu < pin (夫) H, fu < b'i u (婦) SW; cf. Kroeber's
uncertainty on this point in his analysis of the material
presented by Chen and Shryock (p. 152).

601 [121] The writer has attempted to supply the linguistic
treatment lacking in Feng's work. The forms cited are those
of Ancient Chinese, as reconstructed for approximately A. D.
600. The still earlier Archaic Chinese language of the first
millenium B. C. has also been reconstructed in part, but our
authorities in this field (notably Karlgren, Simon, Li Fang-
kuei, and Chao Yüan-jên) disagree on many important points.
The problems of a purely linguistic nature in this connection
are manifold and cannot be entered upon in the present review,
though occasional points are discussed below. The ancient
Chinese forms cited are slightly normalized variants of those
found in Karlgren's well known Analytic Dictionary. In
Karlgren's orthography, adopted here in the interest of uni-
formity, ə represents the vowel of Eng. 'but', and a the
vowel of Eng. 'all'.

The ancient system of nomenclature is that recorded in
the Êrh Ya and the early ritual works (Li Chi), supplemented
by occasional gleanings from other classical works such as the
Tso Chuan and Mencius. Our data on this ancient system are
not complete, but enough of it is known to provide a good
basis for discussion. In the tabulation below only the more
significant terms are included. Modern Mandarin forms are
cited within parentheses.

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Ancient Chinese Consanguineal Terms

yiuung-mou (王 wang) gM

mou (母 mu) M

ds'iwong-mou (從 ts'ung) MS1

kuo (姑 ku) FS1

tsi (姊 tsǐ) oS1

mûi (妹 mei) yS1

ds'iwong-b'iu tsi-mûi FBD

ds'iwong-mou tsi-mûi MS1D

tsuo (祖 tsu) gF

yiwang-b'iu (王 wang) gF

b'iu (父 fu) F

ds'iwong-b'iu (從 ts'ung) FB

śiĕi-b'iu (世 shih) FoB

g'iòu (舅 chiu) MB

xiwong (兄 hsiung) oB

kuen (昆 k'un) oB

d'iei (弟 ti) yB

ds'iwong-b'iu kuen-d'iei FBS

ds'iwong-mou kuen-d'iei MS1S

śung (甥 shêng) xCe,S1S(ms)

ts'iuĕt (侄 ch'u) S1S(ms)

d'iĕt (姪 chih) BCh(ws)

niwo (女 nü) D,BD(ms)

tsi (子 tsǔ) S,BS(ms)

suen (孫 sun) gS

Ancient Chinese Affinal Terms

kuo M1

i (姨 i) WS1

sûm (嫂 sao) oBW

b'iuu (婦 fu) D1

g'iòu F1

a (亞 ya) WS1H

śung B1(ms)

siwo (婿 hsü) S1

601 prefixes the element ngŭi (外 wai) when these terms are applied to MF and MM, just as it prefixes ngŭi to the terms kuo and g'iŏu when applied to WM and WF, respectively, but the unprefixed terms are also employed. In general, this early system dispenses with the use of categorical terms of this type, except in describing kin of the more remote collateral lines. It is only in the later systems that this type of descriptive nomenclature is fully developed.

The vocative terminology, both ancient and modern, shows much more variation than the descriptive (cf. Fei). Some of the more important F and gF terms are: kung (公 kung) gF (used as a title in early times); ung (翁 wŏng) gF (probably etymologically related to the foregoing; cf. Pelliot, also Feng, note 55 to p. 215); ia (爺 yeh) F,gF; t'ia < *tia (爹 tieh) F (apparently developed in North China); pa (爸 pa) F (apparently developed in South China); b'uŏ (婆 p'o) gM; nŭi (奶 nai) gM (also applied to M in state of Ch'u); niang (娘 niang) M (also "[illegible] lady"); ma (媽 ma) M (the most c[illegible]rm).

The F[illegible] in use at this early period in China conform fund[illegible]ally to Lowie's "bifurcate merging" type rather than to his "bifurcate collateral" type. The most common terms for MBi and FB appear to have been dz'iwong-mŏu and dz'iwong-b'iu, respectively, based on the words for M and F plus the element dz'iwong "following". The term ŝiŭi-b'iu FoB, formed with the element ŝiŭi < *ŝiŭi "generation", was also in general use. These combined terms were

601 gradually replaced by the terms pak (伯 po) "elder" and śiuk (叔 shu) "younger", first in combination with b'iu F (as in the Li Chi) and later independently. Pak, one of the feudal titles, is also found in combination with xiwong oB and tai oBi, as if reinforcing the age distinctions implied in those terms, while śiuk was originally the categorical term applied to the third of a series of brothers. Paralleling the development of these independent terms for FoB and FyB, the affinal term i was applied to MBi as early as ca. 500 B. C. (the earliest recorded instance is found in the Tso Chuan) and has been retained in this meaning to the present day. The modern Chinese system is therefore of "bifurcate collateral" type, as pointed out by Kroeber and Chen and Shryock.

The four Sb terms appear in the earliest material and must be regarded as basic to the system. Of the pair of terms for oB, kuon seems to have been the older and xiwong the more recent; note that kuon-d'iei rather than xiwong-d'iei is employed in the cousin nomenclature. There are indications that d'iei could be used for "yBi" as well as "yB", and an especial character (娣) for the term in this connotation is found in the Shih Ming (ca. A. D. 200).

In the modern dialects, the old terms for oBi and oB have in vocative usage been replaced by tsia (姐 chieh) and kû (哥 ko), respectively, whereas the terms for yBi and yB have been retained even in address. Thus Chinese, like Tibeto-Burman, attests to the generalization that terms

601 applied to kin older than speaker (or otherwise in a position calling for respect) are more susceptible to change than their complementary terms. Tsia is perhaps a variant of tsi (tsia< tsi-a). The term kâ appears in T'ang times in the meaning "F", and was only later (9th tp 10th centuries) applied to "oB". Pelliot has compared the prefixed form a-kâ with Turkic and Mongol aqa oB, but this Altaic form is relatively late. The equation oB= F also appears in xiwong (5th century A. D., as used among some royal families), and the parallel equation oSi= M both in tsi (applied to M in state of Ch'i) and tsia (applied to M throughout the Yangtze valley down to the 13th century). Comparable equations have been noted above for Tibeto-Burman (Section A).

The terms tsi S (tonally identical with tsi oSi) and suan gS are basically neuter (Ch and gCh), but are commonly employed in a masculine sense. Niwo D functions in combined terms as a feminine affix, e.g. suan-niwo (or niwo-suan) gD. Other terms for Ch are ńźie < ńia (兒 ârh) (a diminutive suffix in the modern language) and nuo (奴 nu), apparently the same word as nuo (奴 nu) "slave, servant" (this semantic association is found also in Kachin).

The collateral nomenclature presents an interesting contrast between the pC terms, formed in an analytical manner, and the xCe term źeng. Feng (p. 171) is inclined to dismiss the Erh Ya statement equating xCe with xNe as a later interpolation, and is unable to interpret the alternative term

601 ts'iuět xNe cited in the same source. In Mencius, however, gṛng is used in the meaning "Sl", which can be explained only if we assign the basic meaning "xNe" to this term. It would appear to the writer that gṛng and g'iou are conceptually reciprocal terms paralleling d'iět and kuo, and that the use of gṛng in the meaning "xCe" represents an extension of the term. In the Êrh Ya classification, gṛng is placed in the Ch'i tang (妻黨) category, "Relatives through wife", hence the affinal affiliations of the term seem to have been uppermost in the minds of the compilers of this classic. The application to xCe perhaps represents an "invasion" of the consanguineal nomenclature via the equation of WH with DH. According to this interpretation, gṛng would originally have stood for "husband of a woman of Ego's clan"; cf. the development of the TB root *mak Sl in Kuki and Abor-Miri. Ts'iuět < t'iuět SlS(ms) and d'iět BCh(ws) appear to be variants of a single root, perhaps for xN(mws). The former is cited only in the Êrh Ya (the root is regularly used in the meaning "go out"), and thus can be regarded as of dialectical origin. The xN distinctions are reflected also in the terms lyie-suən (離住 li) SlSS(ms), lit. "departing gS", and kywie-suən (歸 kuei) BSS(ws), lit. "returning gS".

The classing of BCh (ms) with Ego's Ch, though not shown in the Êrh Ya (where these terms are lacking), can safely be inferred from the data supplied by Feng. A distinction began to appear in Han times, with the result that the term d'iět was shifted from BCh(ws) to BCh(ms) during the Chin period (265-420).

601 The affinal nomenclature presents basic categorical equations at three points (Tl= FSi, Fl= MB, Bl= xCe), all indicating xC marriage of bilateral type. Sêu oSW is perhaps a woman's term (Êrh Ye). This term is also employed in the meaning "matron", and may originally have been a general honorific; cf. sau (搜 sou) "old man, sir" (on same tone and with same phonetic element). The term i < tui WSi appears to have been applied only when the sisters married different men, i.e. under non-sororate conditions. This term has from early times been used for "WSi" (vide supra). The terms b'iau Dl and siwo Sl are also employed for Y and Y, respectively, along with numerous other terms which do not merit consideration in this brief review. Finally, a YSiH can be interpreted as an extension of the word in its fundamental meaning "second, younger, inferior", since under a system of brother-sister exchange WSiH becomes Ego's B (we must suppose that the term was applied to YySiH=yB).

The correlation of the system of nomenclature just described with the ancient Chinese practices of cross-cousin marriage and the sororate has been noted by several writers on the subject, with Feng giving the most thorough account. Feng has further invoked the principle of teknonymy to account for a number of later developments in the system, notably the application of kao FSi to WSi (from the 4th century on) and of g'iau MB to WB (from the 10th century on). Granet has attempted to explain the same features in terms of irregular marriages between members of different generations,

601 e.g. the marriage of oSiD by a Han emperor, and of FFSiD (i.e. F's paternal xCi) by a T'ang emperor. Feng has convincingly refuted the arguments brought forward by Granet, and the writer has nothing to add on this point. Insofar as the present limited field of enquiry is concerned, Granet and his theories can be dismissed without loss.

A comparison of the ancient Chinese nomenclature with that reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman brings out some points of capital interest. Basically the two systems are identical or very nearly so. Both have primary terms for FSi and MB, as contrasted with MSi and FB terms formed through extensions of the terms for M and F, plus categorical elements of various types. Age distinctions are on the whole more prominent in Chinese, but not significantly so, e.g. the age distinctions in the PSb terms can be more than matched in Burmese and Southern Kuki. The two most serious points of discrepancy occur in the gP and Sb sets of terms. Chinese has nothing to match the TB primary roots *p'i gl and *p'u gɣ, though it must be noted that vocative terms are not lacking (vide supra). Chinese distinguishes between muâi ySi and d'iei yb, as opposed to the TB neuter term *nau ySb, yet there are indications that d'iei was originally a neuter term (ySb), as noted above. Muâi ySi was perhaps secondarily developed from the root represented by mau M, from a basic connotation "female" (Li Fang-kuei has suggested reconstructions calling for mau < *mwək, muâi < *mwek, the vocalism being determined by tone

601 The sex-of-speaker distinctions found in a number of TB languages do not appear in the Chinese Sb terms. Chinese has two well-attested terms for oB, however, and it might be argued that one of these was originally a man's term, the other a woman's term.

The agreement of the two systems in the affinal terminology, each showing categorical equations indicative of cross-cousin marriage, is undoubtedly the most significant single fact that has been unearthed in the course of our survey of Asiatic kinship. Since we have abundant evidence for cross-cousin marriage itself in both areas, as well as the terminologies in both linguistic families, the inference of an ancient cross-cousin marriage pattern becomes virtually inevitable.

This inference is further supported by an amazing piece of linguistic evidence. Scarcely any of the Chinese kinship terms can be identified as cognates of TB roots, despite the close agreements of the two kinship patterns (contrast Karen). The vocative terms ma M and pa F are of TB type, but the descriptive terms mau M (perhaps from ʰmwak or ʰmak) and b'iu F are apparently distinct from any roots in TB or Karen. The linguistic problems in connection with these terms, however, are extremely intricate, and it is doubtful whether they can successfully be attacked at the present stage of investigation. Thus, tsi S would appear to be cognate with a similar root found in Gyarung and Kanauri, but the archaic Chinese form may have been ʰtsiəg, since in the Shih Ching

601 (Book of Odes) tsi (子) rhymes with tək (德), and its cognate dz'i (字) "to nourish, breed, cherish" rhymes with iək (翼). In the midst of all this uncertainty, however, we encounter the term g'iəu MB=F1, which can beyond any reasonable doubt be identified with the TB root *k'u MB=F1. As in other roots (cf. the root for "9" infra) the correspondence shown by the initials cannot be analyzed, though the unaspirated forms in Burmese and Kachin suggest that the TB root may have been *gu or *g'u rather than *k'u (both these languages regularly preserve initial aspiration). The finals, however, belong to one of the best established of all Sino-Tibetan phonetic series. The following set of roots is presented by way of illustration:

	Chinese	Tibetan	Kachin	Burmese
MB=F1*	g'iəu (舊)	k'u	ku	kui
owl	g'iəu (鴞)	-	k'u	-
nine	kiəu (九)	dgu	ǰǎ-k'u	kui^3
pigeon	kiəu (鳩)	k'u-**	-	k'ui

*Note: Tib. k'u FB; Kachin ku FS1H,HF,B1; Burmese B (honorific prefix).

**Note: Tib. k'u-byug "cuckoo" (affiliation uncertain)

Such are the "fact in the case", whatever may be their significance. In Tibeto-Burman, as has been shown, the root *k'u MB is much less stable than *ni FS1, yet in the linguistic substratum common to Tibeto-Burman and Chinese it is the former and not the latter root that has been preserved. Under a system of cross-cousin marriage in conjunction with patrilineal

601 descent, however, MB=F1 rather than FBi=Mi should be the pivotal relationship, hence the problem is a two-sided one. No likely solution is at hand, and the writer will content himself merely by posing this as a final problem.

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1 [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI -- Analyst]

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/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

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/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Moso, Lisu, Nyi, Ahi, and Lolopho, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 205-235./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

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5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other race, is doubtless a mixed one.

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Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

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Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferrymen, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

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In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

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of his coming to reach the Mi-li officials. The consequence was that he met with no obstruction, and was on the whole treated with courtesy and helped on his journey[1]. I must also say in justice to the Mi-li officials that after I had arrived at the capital and satisfied them that I was neither a robber nor a gold-seeker, I had no further trouble of any sort. It was doubtless my sudden and unannounced appearance on their eastern frontier which caused me to be viewed with suspicion at first.

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On the morning after our arrival, a crowd of people from the town turned up to have a look at the strangers and their property. A Tibetan crowd does not annoy one like a Chinese crowd. They are a better-mannered people than the Chinese and are satisfied with a look, without wanting to stand staring for hours.

Among the visitors was our lama friend of the day before. It appears he is a very big man in Mi-li, a sort of prime minister. He was fairly civil and gave me some tea and dried meat. I returned the compliment by presenting him with a bottle of salad oil. Directly he saw me coming towards him, he retired hastily out of sight into the stable, and when I followed him and gave him the bottle, he immediately hid it under his robe. He probably thought it was liquor, and was doubtless wofully disappointed when he opened it.

There are three or four Chinese traders living in Mi-li who say they came originally from the province of Shen-hsi. But they have become very much Tibetanised, and even speak Chinese with a Tibetan accent.

Chinamen are certainly not encouraged to settle in Mi-li. Mr Amundsen relates that a few years ago some Chinese came to wash for gold in Mi-li territory, but the Tibetan inhabitants in their zeal for the preservation of native industries, took the extreme protectionist measure of killing the intruders by rolling stones down the hillside on them. "Now," Mr Amundsen remarks, "none but Milians wash for gold!"

[1] Mr Amundsen gives an account of his journey in the *Geographical Journals* for June 1900 and November 1900.

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

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23: Benedict
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Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

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618 for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

621 To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

582 551 The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

576 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since 582
the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chin- 551
ese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia 551
writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a com- 621
bination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a com- 596
mon *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this 596
sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

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the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582
of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621
sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631
group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang An-shih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

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621 631 divided into groups of five families who are mutually responsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 631 This system gives the government information and places responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the [651] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.

653 622 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

mewu

his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp 233 361

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions. 342

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1.30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1.80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

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Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

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621 divided into groups of five families who are mutually re-
631 sponsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 This system gives the government information and places
631 responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the
[65] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.
653 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the
622 public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

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this work also) for a specified length of time, usually a 653
month at a time in the seasons which are slackest on the land. 622
The magistrate then instructs the village headmen that so many men are required from each village in proportion to the number of families living in it. The headmen have the duty of deciding who shall go. As the headman has no force at his disposal other than the levy of the villagers themselves, he is obliged to fulfil his duties with tact and justice, for decisions which outraged the opinions of the villagers could not be enforced. In this sense the government of rural China is truly democratic in practice.

The picture of course can easily be idealised, if the darker 622
side is ignored. Headmen, though forced to conform to the 661
opinion of the villagers as a whole on important matters, are often men of wealth and large landowners, and as such they tend to become the moneylenders of the village also. This means that an unscrupulous man can practise many petty tyrannies on those who owe him money or have offended him in some way, without the distant and indifferent government exercising any control. In former times a man who went too far might find his granary or his house fired at night, but the emphasis on bandit suppression has tended to make such acts of revenge too dangerous to-day. The system works well when the demands made upon it are traditional and regular, but if too great a strain is placed upon the resources of the villages, and the headman becomes in fact the agent of a grasping and extortionate régime, it speedily breaks down. Honest and just men refuse the invidious task of the headman, and less scrupulous elements intent on their own profit, take over these duties to curry favour with the government. Fortunately this has not happened in recent years in the Ta Li region, for though the heavy demands for forced labour on the great motor road were met with difficulty and grumbling, the government wisely realised

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622 661 that the limit was approaching, and the further work on the Yunnan-Burma railway, now in hand, has been carried out with paid labour. The reform of the land tax system, mentioned in an earlier chapter is also an indication that the government had become aware of systematic undervaluation of the land of the rich, certainly due to the connivance of village elders who were themselves wealthy landowners.

S: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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791 one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for
796 their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localties six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

631 I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the
624 variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

249 II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the 648
highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend
assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu
in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a
certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-
ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the
Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather
marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ang, south
of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude
of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang
Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the
Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government,
especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-
Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-
ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they col-
lect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - 792
in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the adminis- 624
tration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu
lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The
territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a
higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads
are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between 643
He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different 624
from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in
each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with
them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest
son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the
right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the
t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor.
A definite number of families are under the administration of a
chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to
five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions with-
in the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must
see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances
pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has [663]
more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in
addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries.
They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task,
among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no
particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs

Mewu

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

575 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

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691 vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

671 In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil juris-
●626 prudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of govern-
829 ment still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The
642 duties of the government in former times were three; to
626 collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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to the village elders and the arbitrators they agree to appoint. The government is not informed, nor does it wish to know what is decided. 829 642 626

This indifference to and independence of the government is carried over to matters of criminal nature, where the law might be expected to take an automatic course. In practice the people rarely invoke the law except in cases of armed robbery. A bandit is not a person towards whom one needs to use any consideration; if he has a family they will probably have disowned him to avoid being held as accomplices in his crimes. Therefore with a bandit one can safely call in the forces of law and order, since no unpleasant social relations with other members of his family are likely to result from such action. But with other kinds of criminals this factor is always present. The villagers themselves prefer to deal with a thief in their own way, sometimes a very drastic way, for if a man is found to be an incorrigible petty thief, the village assembles, sometimes asks and obtains the consent of the man's family, and either drives him out or even puts him to death by drowning. Consequently between the penalties enacted for various crimes and what actually happens to a detected criminal who has committed such a crime, there is often a wide difference. This is nowhere more evident than in crimes of a sexual nature. 626

Unlike their neighbours to the north, the Na Khi, who still retain a tolerance of pre-nuptial intercourse shocking to the Chinese, the Min Chia have wholly adopted the strict and uncompromising morality of the dominant culture. As has been mentioned, the seduction of a virgin, or even of an unmarried girl previously seduced by another (if such a case occurred), is not merely sin, it is a crime, which is punishable by a sentence of two or three years' imprisonment for the man concerned. The girl is not held guiltless of course, but the law takes no account of her fate, which is left to her 834 626

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626 father's discretion. In former times a father might slay an
834 unchaste daughter, just as a husband could put an adulterous wife to death; this is now expressly forbidden by law, and does not in fact seem to have been the usual fate of erring women, even when it was permitted.

The law is thus, even now, severe, but in practice such cases hardly ever come before the courts. The idea of invoking the law in a public court in matters of this intimate nature is extremely distasteful to the Min Chia, as to the Chinese. These things are family matters to be settled by and in the family itself, or with the assistance of relatives as arbitrators. For this reason it is usually impossible to hear of cases of the graver sexual offences such as incest, for such
583 things are never made public. On the other hand the abduction of girls—with their own consent—is a common event, and admitted to be so. This, of course, comes strictly within the criminal category of seducing an unmarried girl, but it is rare that the case is brought to court.

To understand why this is so needs a word of explanation. Marriage among the Min Chia is arranged by the parents, the parties themselves not being permitted as much as to see one another before the wedding ceremony, and the betrothal often takes place when both children are still almost infants. There is thus no legitimate free sexual selection, no means of legalising the love which a chance meeting may have kindled in an unbetrothed pair. The Min Chia, however, are no more rigidly bound by their own conventions than other peoples, and thus when a young man and a girl meeting and loving by chance, refuse to renounce their passion, there is only one way out. The man abducts the girl and endeavours to get her to his own home. If he succeeds, after a more or less prolonged wrangle between the parents of both parties, and the parents of those to whom the erring couple were betrothed, the marriage is at last recognised, the customary

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582 by his intended. But they can usually be consoled by some diplomatic relative who can point out that really they are well out of it, for such a girl would clearly not have made a good daughter-in-law. The youth himself has of course to settle matters with his own family. They will probably be more concerned to placate the family of the girl to whom he is betrothed, justifiably indignant at the neglect of their own daughter and anxious about her future. Sometimes the boy will have to marry both to settle matters amicably, his betrothed as first wife, his love as concubine. This may seem ideal to the parents, but is hardly a promising arrangement
582 for future domestic peace. On the other hand the family of
626 the abducted girl can insist that marriage does in fact take place. Cases where the girl is seduced and abandoned are so rare that I was not able to hear of one. Here, at length, the law could be invoked if necessary, and the seducer, in danger of going to gaol for two or three years, would certainly prefer marriage even if his passion was cold.

In practice it is never necessary to bring things to this point. The law is never invoked, and not being called upon to act, the officials take no steps, even when the facts are well known, the subject of gossip on all sides, and the offender and his would-be bride living at hand within easy
626 reach. No one wants the law and its officers poking their
829 noses into private business. Even the well known fact that armed men were afoot, and a breach of the peace likely, does not rouse the police to action. If manslaughter were done, a reluctant government would be forced to take action, but it is fairly plain that no one expects this to happen. Thus in civil disputes, and even in criminal cases where the motive is not robbery or banditry, the government remains passive and the law is allowed to slumber. The Chinese government, whatever the theory of the reformers, is in practice still actuated by the Taoist principle of "non-

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action", preferring to leave the people to govern themselves which they do very well, and which is all they ask. 626 829

Even in cases where the crime is in no sense a family matter the action of the law is reluctant and the possibilities of compromise infinite. During my residence in Ta Li a case of robbery with some violence occurred, which illuminates the attitude to crime on the part of people and officials alike. A young man of good family and education, impelled by some romantic or neurotic impulse, committed a series of burglaries, not because he was poor and needed money, for the objects he stole were of little worth. On the last occasion he was surprised in the room of the house he was robbing, and discovered. In the struggle that followed he stabbed the householder in the leg with a small penknife, inflicting a painful but not fatal or dangerous wound. He was overpowered by others in the house and the police summoned. The case being clear, he was carried off to the magistrate's gaol and held there while preliminary enquiries were made—enquiries which dragged on from month to month. There seemed no reason why the trial should be so delayed, since the facts were hardly in dispute. 696 627

Meanwhile his relatives, related as they were to every one of influence in the town, began negotiations for a compromise. By circuitous channels, through a relative who knew a friend, who had a friend who knew the victim of the robbery and assault, a proposition was at length put forward. If the victim would agree to forgo prosecution, various men of substance would be found to guarantee the criminal's future behaviour. The officials were perfectly aware of all this and eager to promote the compromise. At last it was agreed that if the criminal could find six men to guarantee his behaviour, who would also undertake to provide him with some means of livelihood, since his reputation and his occupation were equally lost, the victim would write to the

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696 magistrate a formal disclaimer of any desire to prosecute.
●627 When this had been arranged the case was reviewed by the magistrate and the prisoner released. His friends then obtained a commission in the army for him and he left the town to take part in the war with Japan.

In this case the initial step had been to have the case listed as an ordinary criminal one, not robbery under arms. Had the use of a penknife been held to be robbery under arms the case would have gone before the Military Court, and the penalty might well have been summary execution. Fortunately for the offender it was held that he had not intended to commit violence and that his weapon was not sufficiently dangerous to be considered "arms" in this sense. The attitude of the authorities in this case well illustrates the reluctance which they feel in allowing the law to take its normal course, and the general willingness of all parties to find a way out, to save face, and avoid extreme measures. Here too the factors of family influence, the ramifications of relationship in a small town, and the solidarity of the educated class towards one of its members threatened with a degrading punishment, all played a large part in effecting the compromise.

696 In sharp contrast to the hesitations of the civil author-
722 ities in applying the machinery of the law, the military are
627 ruthless in the suppression of banditry, and this severity is also socially sanctioned, just as the leniency of the civil power is generally approved. In the Min Chia language the name of thief or bandit is classified grammatically with the lower animals, a fact not without significance. In past years the military were far from active in their duty of bandit suppression. This situation which had made travel in Yunnan almost a military operation in the 'twenties, has in recent years been remedied. Under the energetic inspiration of the present Governor, General Lung Yun, banditry has been

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696 stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the
722 north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads.
627 The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

701 The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus
[702] often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with
[712] one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city,
701 or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a
579 Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with wide stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China. 000

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bömbu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic. [792] 754 627

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1) 186

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

682 Quarrels leading to murder happen more often, according to my interpreter, among the Mewu-Fantzu than among the neighboring Chinese. The Fantzu above all tend to become brutal when they are drunk. Murder also occurs. The motive for murder is either jealousy or covetousness (murder attended with robbery). It also happens that a man shoots another because he honestly believes he has been harmed by him through magic.

682 If a murder has been committed, the family of the victim does
628 not relax its efforts until it has revenged itself on the murderer, if possible by killing him. Blood revenge is taken also if murders have been committed in a state of intoxication or if a person suspected of black magic has been murdered. If /82/ blood revenge is not taken, one loses respect. However, blood revenge rarely occurs in actual fact, for the murderer usually flees beyond the borders of the tribal territory, seeking refuge with some other tribe. If the murderer is caught before the victim's family was able to carry out blood revenge, he is first of all soundly thrashed and held captive until he can pay a penalty of 80 yaks. Thereupon he is banished from the tribal territory for four years. There is no death penalty inflicted except by the clan of the blood avengers. The property of the murderer is seized if he was captured or if he escaped. Blood revenge is not considered murder and is not punished. The custom of blood revenge among the Mewu-Fantzu is thus already very much mitigated. It seems to be largely replaced by an indemnity in the form of yaks. For example, if a member of a ts'aowa group kills a member of another group, the two ts'aowa chieftains decide on the indemnity, which is usually a penalty of 80 yaks, at least 40 of which must be first-class, the rest can be less good. If the relatives of the murderer cannot meet the payment in full, the entire ts'aowa group to which the murderer belongs must make up the rest.

421 Foremost among the property rights of the nomads is, of course,
233 the question of the right to pasturelands. The pastureland is divided among the individual tent communities by the t'ou-mu. The land used for planting oats near the winter pastures is divided among the individual families. There is enough land for planting oats, and everyone can cultivate as much as he needs for his stock. The t'ou-mu divides the various families into tent communities. The lamaseries have their own pastures for yaks; they do not raise sheep. The boundaries of the pasturelands of individual tent communities must be respected just as strictly as those of the entire

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582
of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621
sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631
group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang An-shih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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621 divided into groups of five families who are mutually re-
631 sponsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 This system gives the government information and places
631 responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the
[65] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.
653 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the
622 public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localtics six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

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I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

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II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If conditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats, peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats, horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system. West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

123 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
24 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about 3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock farmers. (1)

1. Cf. Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese administration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan
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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the
S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.
ST The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a
302 sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan
191 wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak
S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.
ST Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct
● 631 Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a
622 Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the
S large monastery which is situated a little further along the
ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be
[651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was
S certainly not friendly.
ST It is curious how little impression the civilisation and
177 customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress Gradually they will

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 and blocked by snow for six months of the year, is only used by wood cutters and charcoal burners. Elsewhere the knife edge crest of the range is so precipitous and so overgrown with dense rain forest as to be inaccessible. At a few points it is possible to reach the crest, but the western face being more precipitous than the eastern, it is never possible to cross the range.

162 633 Ten miles up the plain from Hsia Kuan is the city of Ta Li, capital of the *hsien* or county of the same name, and an important military and governmental centre for a wider region. Ta Li itself, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants,[1] is an ancient place, the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, which covered the greater part of the modern Yunnan province. As the centre of government it has a mixed population including Chinese Mohammedans, formerly more numerous than at present, immigrant Chinese from Ssu Ch'uan province, and mixed families of Chinese and Min Chia descent, but at least one third of the inhabitants of the city are Min Chias. The villages of the plain, of which there are more than one hundred, are entirely Min Chia, apart from a small number of Mohammedan villages.

133 The plain of Ta Li, though the most easily defended, is not one of the largest or richest of the lake plateaux of Yunnan. Approximately 100 square miles in area, it is much smaller than that of Yunnanfu (or K'un Ming) in the east of the province, or than the plain of Pao Shan to the west, from which the ancient lake has now disappeared. Cramped between the mountain and the lake the Ta Li plateau is nowhere more than three miles wide, and in many places the cultivable area is much narrower. On the other hand the high range to the west ensures a constant water supply, for

[1] No census exists, but this figure is that generally given by inhabitants and officials of the place, and accords with a personal estimate.

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

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CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

In A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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175 several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no
167 eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li
563 had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

634 There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min
563 Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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ethnographic boundary of the Min Chia people, for al- 634
though the *Hsien* of Ta Li, Erh Yuan, and Chien Ch'uan, are 563
wholly Min Chia, they overlap also into districts north, east and west of these three, which include communities of Chinese, Na Khi, Li Su and Tu Li. Nevertheless although 642
the governmental system is identical with that in force in other parts of Yunnan and in China as a whole, it merits description for the very reason that, as the cadre in which Chinese civilisation operates, it is itself the principal cause of contact between the two cultures. It is well known that the Chinese Empire has for many centuries been ruled by a civil service of officials recruited by public examinations, and this civil service ranked higher and had greater authority than the military officers commanding the rather scanty garrisons stationed in the walled cities. After the Chinese revolution the old system fell into confusion, from which it has recently emerged, modernised, but in many respects unchanged. The civil officials of to-day are no longer recruited by annual examinations held in Peking or at some other great city, but they are required to be University graduates, and in recent years they are also required to pass a civil service examination, held in the provincial capital. Their military colleagues, who acquired inordinate power during the years of confusion following the revolution, are now slowly being brought under the control of the provincial government, from which they had largely escaped, and though endowed with more power than they possessed under the Manchu Empire, they can no longer override the civil power whenever they choose.

The *Hsien*, an area rather smaller than an English county, yet 634
of considerable extent, is under the civil rule of the *Hsien Chang*, or Magistrate, who is responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice within certain limitations. He is also in charge of the public works, administers

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
672 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

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ethnographic boundary of the Min Chia people, for al- 634
though the *Hsien* of Ta Li, Erh Yuan, and Chien Ch'uan, are 563
wholly Min Chia, they overlap also into districts north, east and west of these three, which include communities of Chinese, Na Khi, Li Su and Tu Li. Nevertheless although 642
the governmental system is identical with that in force in other parts of Yunnan and in China as a whole, it merits description for the very reason that, as the cadre in which Chinese civilisation operates, it is itself the principal cause of contact between the two cultures. It is well known that the Chinese Empire has for many centuries been ruled by a civil service of officials recruited by public examinations, and this civil service ranked higher and had greater authority than the military officers commanding the rather scanty garrisons stationed in the walled cities. After the Chinese revolution the old system fell into confusion, from which it has recently emerged, modernised, but in many respects unchanged. The civil officials of to-day are no longer recruited by annual examinations held in Peking or at some other great city, but they are required to be University graduates, and in recent years they are also required to pass a civil service examination, held in the provincial capital. Their military colleagues, who acquired inordinate power during the years of confusion following the revolution, are now slowly being brought under the control of the provincial government, from which they had largely escaped, and though endowed with more power than they possessed under the Manchu Empire, they can no longer override the civil power whenever they choose.

The *Hsien*, an area rather smaller than an English county, yet 634
of considerable extent, is under the civil rule of the *Hsien Chang*, or Magistrate, who is responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice within certain limitations. He is also in charge of the public works, administers

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691 vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

671 In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil juris-
626 prudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of govern-
829 ment still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The
642 duties of the government in former times were three; to
626 collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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to the village elders and the arbitrators they agree to appoint. The government is not informed, nor does it wish to know what is decided. 829 642 626

This indifference to and independence of the government is carried over to matters of criminal nature, where the law might be expected to take an automatic course. In practice the people rarely invoke the law except in cases of armed robbery. A bandit is not a person towards whom one needs to use any consideration; if he has a family they will probably have disowned him to avoid being held as accomplices in his crimes. Therefore with a bandit one can safely call in the forces of law and order, since no unpleasant social relations with other members of his family are likely to result from such action. But with other kinds of criminals this factor is always present. The villagers themselves prefer to deal with a thief in their own way, sometimes a very drastic way, for if a man is found to be an incorrigible petty thief, the village assembles, sometimes asks and obtains the consent of the man's family, and either drives him out or even puts him to death by drowning. Consequently between the penalties enacted for various crimes and what actually happens to a detected criminal who has committed such a crime, there is often a wide difference. This is nowhere more evident than in crimes of a sexual nature. 626

Unlike their neighbours to the north, the Na Khi, who still retain a tolerance of pre-nuptial intercourse shocking to the Chinese, the Min Chia have wholly adopted the strict and uncompromising morality of the dominant culture. As has been mentioned, the seduction of a virgin, or even of an unmarried girl previously seduced by another (if such a case occurred), is not merely sin, it is a crime, which is punishable by a sentence of two or three years' imprisonment for the man concerned. The girl is not held guiltless of course, but the law takes no account of her fate, which is left to her 834 626

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428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-sitsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

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565 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed
369 for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the
423 sons have been given education up to the middle school
443 grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 The second class of family with city and village homes is
369 composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for com-
423 fort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed,
647 are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

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country home is in the next village along the shore of the 565
lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although 369
one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or 423
"Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the 647
name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an 565
example, are the city families with investments in land. The 369
Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal 423
side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, 452
including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the chief pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

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563 The Mewu-Fantzu are already to a certain extent dependent on the Chinese, since they live relatively near them. This dependence is, however, still a rather indirect one, and is expressed through the secular Fantzu ruler of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling."

721 Wars between Fantzu and Chinese no longer occur, since the
563 Fantzu respect the superior military might of the Chinese. But it
648 often happens that Chinese are robbed by Fantzu. Such cases are, as a rule, brought before the court of the Huang-szu-ling who, according to my interpreter, wherever possible sides with the Fantzu. He arranges the payment of damages. The Fantzu are, however, not too friendly with the Chinese, first of all because they feel oppressed by the taxes which the Chinese government imposes on them, and, secondly, because the Chinese are pushing into their territory as colonists. However, the latter reason affects only the sedentary Fantzu to any practical extent.

563 The Fantzu have a different and closer relationship with the Chinese Mohammedans who play a special part in the political and social life of the country. (1) In language and material culture

1. Ekvall describes in detail the relationship between the Fantzu - nomadic and sedentary - and the Chinese and Mohammedans.

these Mohammedans do not differ from actual Chinese, but the latter regard them /88/ more or less as aliens. They are largely descendants of Turkish tribes, who in the course of time settled in Kansu and intermarried with the Chinese. In external appearance (they are a Turanian race rather than Sinic) (2) as well as in

2. Terms according to von Eickstedt 15).

character, they are often very different from the Chinese. The Mohammedans live in Kansu as farmers, merchants and innkeepers. As traders they have penetrated far into Fantzu territory and constitute the chief element of the population in the market towns which have arisen in the vicinity of the large lamaseries. If Mohammedans are robbed by Fantzu they are much more apt to follow their natural war-like bent and fight than are the Chinese. Thus Fantzu raids are sometimes followed by minor avenging expeditions on the part of the Mohammedans. Eleven years ago (about 1925) there was the last major warlike entanglement between Mohammedans
600 and Fantzu. The relationship of the Mohammedans to the Chinese

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provide the labourers with three meals of rice. Labour is 243
engaged mainly in the planting and harvest seasons, and even 465
large farms do not have hired hands permanently on the pay roll. A farm of forty *mu*, or about seven acres, which is large in the Ta Li region, would pay out not more than fifty dollars nickel in the year or about 12*s*. To which must be added the rice for the labourers' meals.

Taxation in Yunnan is light. The land tax and a tax on 651
slaughtering animals are the only direct taxes paid by the people. The newly introduced income tax, first collected in 1938, only applies to the salaries of government officials and teachers, who can ill afford to pay it, and to merchants whose income exceeds 10,000 National Dollars per annum. There are none in this category at Ta Li. The land tax is levied only on cultivated land, and was formerly graded into three categories, applied to the best, medium, and poor land. In 1938 this was changed to a flat rate applied to all cultivated land without distinction. Collected in two equal instalments twice annually, the old tax was as follows:

Grade	*Tax per mu*	*Sterling equivalent*
Best land	4.00 dollars nickel	One shilling (6.0*s*. an acre)
Medium land	3.00 ,, ,,	ninepence (4*s*. 6*d*. an acre)
Poor land	2.00 ,, ,,	sixpence (3*s*. 0*d*. an acre)

The new system requires a flat rate of 2.40 dollars nickel from all land. This is also collected in two equal instalments at the end and in the middle of the year.

This new rate is about equivalent to sevenpence halfpenny per *mu*, which being very much lower than the old rate of a shilling on the best land, and not a very great increase over the old rate of sixpence on the worst, would

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651 suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

[661] Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

651 The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or
362 three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. 0*s* 0*d*., would thus have paid £0 11*s*. 3*d*. in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about 1*s*. 2*d*. ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or 2*s*. 3*d*. Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig
[253] arises. For minor festivities pork can be bought in the city or at a market, thus the butchering tax falls mainly on the professional butchers of the city who cater for a steady market.

426 It is inevitable that with such small margins of ready cash available, the Min Chia farmer is often obliged to contract debts. A wedding, or a funeral, involves expenses for which there is no provision possible unless by borrowing money or mortgaging land. As the rates of interest are very high it is often impossible for the debt to be discharged when due,

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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621 divided into groups of five families who are mutually re-
631 sponsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 This system gives the government information and places
631 responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the
[65] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.

653 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the
622 public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The 462 only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. 463 Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used 285 for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences 231 476 between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of 651 the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese [441] [463] [583] chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are 436 purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: 439 sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and 237

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

376 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 S households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

ST 651 "The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' S ST rations.

101 "There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173 *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).* — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠坡.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan
Border AE3

000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. 0d. or £45 0s. 0d. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 $ Nat. = 2 $ New Paper = 10 $ Old Paper	=	1s. 2d. sterling
1 $ Yunnan Silver = 3 $ Nickel	=	0s. 9d. ,,
1 $ Nickel = 10 nickel cents	=	3d. ,,

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621 divided into groups of five families who are mutually re-
631 sponsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 This system gives the government information and places
631 responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the
[65] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.
653 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the
622 public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

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this work also) for a specified length of time, usually a 653
month at a time in the seasons which are slackest on the land. 622
The magistrate then instructs the village headmen that so many men are required from each village in proportion to the number of families living in it. The headmen have the duty of deciding who shall go. As the headman has no force at his disposal other than the levy of the villagers themselves, he is obliged to fulfil his duties with tact and justice, for decisions which outraged the opinions of the villagers could not be enforced. In this sense the government of rural China is truly democratic in practice.

The picture of course can easily be idealised, if the darker 622
side is ignored. Headmen, though forced to conform to the 661
opinion of the villagers as a whole on important matters, are often men of wealth and large landowners, and as such they tend to become the moneylenders of the village also. This means that an unscrupulous man can practise many petty tyrannies on those who owe him money or have offended him in some way, without the distant and indifferent government exercising any control. In former times a man who went too far might find his granary or his house fired at night, but the emphasis on bandit suppression has tended to make such acts of revenge too dangerous to-day. The system works well when the demands made upon it are traditional and regular, but if too great a strain is placed upon the resources of the villages, and the headman becomes in fact the agent of a grasping and extortionate régime, it speedily breaks down. Honest and just men refuse the invidious task of the headman, and less scrupulous elements intent on their own profit, take over these duties to curry favour with the government. Fortunately this has not happened in recent years in the Ta Li region, for though the heavy demands for forced labour on the great motor road were met with difficulty and grumbling, the government wisely realised

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651 suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

[661] Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

651 The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or
962 three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. 0*s* 0*d*., would thus have paid £0 11*s*. 3*d*. in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about 1*s*. 2*d*. ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or 2*s*. 3*d*. Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig
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622 that the limit was approaching, and the further work on the
661 Yunnan-Burma railway, now in hand, has been carried out with paid labour. The reform of the land tax system, mentioned in an earlier chapter is also an indication that the government had become aware of systematic undervaluation of the land of the rich, certainly due to the connivance of village elders who were themselves wealthy landowners.

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CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172]
tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the west and east walls by a third again, and building a new south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Although the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street connecting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes, which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden, and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

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669 perished. The extensive ruins of their houses, now covered
731 with cactus and wild shrubs, still encumber large parts of the walled enclosure. These older ruins are for the most part in the south east part of the city, those due to the great earthquake of 1925 are found in all parts. This second disaster caused great destruction and a heavy loss of life. The main street was burnt out, and thus the merchant community suffered a total loss of their goods, which were not of course covered by any form of insurance. The loss of life was not so heavy as in the country, where along the lake shore hundreds died in the sudden collapse of their homes. Most of the dwellings in the city were however, either ruined, or so badly damaged as to be uninhabitable. More solidly built, or as the faithful believe, protected by the gods, the great pagodas outside the city and the main temples inside the walls, withstood the shock, as did three out of the four Gate Towers.

As there is no form of insurance operating in Yunnan these heavy losses fell wholly upon the householders themselves. For years the city lay almost in ruins. Slowly, as wealth accumulated, men began to rebuild, first their shops, then the homes of the richer classes, and still to-day the work of reconstruction goes on. During the years 1937 and 1938
341 more than thirty ruinous houses were rebuilt. Fortunately Ta Li was then still far from the centres of progress and innovation, so the old style of architecture was employed in rebuilding the city, unchanged by the rather unhappy influence of European ideas found in too many of the new buildings in the greater cities of China. Ta Li to-day, no longer a city of ruins, is one of the most attractive examples of a small Chinese city built entirely in Chinese style. The end and back walls of the better class houses are made of the local granite building stone, the front, where the windows and doors are placed, of wood, and the roofs are tiled. The three solid walls are plastered and whitewashed on the out-

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634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
682 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

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courts does not always conform to the enlightened ideas of 671
the legislators. It may well be that an older spirit of com- 682
promise on the one hand, and of severity towards socially condemned crimes on the other, still pervades the law as it is applied from day to day. This is illustrated by the kind of sentence imposed for murders of different types. The murder of a near relative, father, mother, brother or sister, a crime abhorred by the Chinese, is punished with death. But the murder of one who is not related to the criminal, even though the crime may have very little palliating or extenuating circumstances, is often only punished by a sentence of five or six years' imprisonment. The prisons of Yunnan are 697
for the most part well below the standard which the government desires to see enforced, and a sentence of some years in prison is therefore not so light as it may seem.

Civil disputes and lawsuits not involving criminal offences 692
come under the jurisdiction of the Branch High Court situ- 685
ated at Ta Li. This type of jurisdiction is of course part of the reforms instituted by the Republic, and the law applied is the new reformed civil code. The Branch High Court has jurisdiction over a much wider area than the *Hsien* of Ta Li itself, for it covers all civil cases of importance brought in the *Hsien* between Pao Shan in the west, Li Chiang in the north, Meng Hua southwards, and Ch'u Hsiung to the east. These places, the nearest to have Branch High Courts themselves, are each about a hundred miles from Ta Li. A civil dispute arising in Erh Yuan or Chien Ch'uan has thus to be brought before the Ta Li Branch High Court, if the parties cannot compose their differences with the aid of arbitrators.
The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are not at all a litigious 691
people, always preferring to settle their disputes by arbitration if possible, and only resorting to the courts in the last instance. The cost of litigation in the civil courts, though not high by European standards, is a further deterrent. The ad-

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691 vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

671 In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil juris-
626 prudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of govern-
829 ment still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The
642 duties of the government in former times were three; to
626 collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

575 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

692 In legal disputes the t'ou-mu chooses a body of judges consisting of himself, the councils of the ts'aowa groups, the kuan-shih of the t'ou-mu or other older men who are known to be good speakers and fair in their judgment. The number of judges varies according to
695 the importance of the case. The choice of venue depends on the circumstances; usually the trial is held in a temple or a village of the sedentary Fantzu. Witnesses are examined, much as in a Chinese court. The parties must take the oath of telling the truth in front of a Buddha image. If the truth cannot be ascertained from witnesses, various methods of divine judgment are used. In less serious cases a box is produced in which there is a white stone and a black stone. The person who draws the white stone wins. In more serious cases one of two forms of divine judgment is used: the two parties must either touch a red-hot ax with their hands or they must dip their hands into boiling rape oil. The one whose hand is not burned is innocent. The boiling-oil test is most often used.

681 If an accused will not confess, /85/ he is tortured. There are nine different methods of torture: 1. a person is whipped on the back with a leather whip; 2. a person's hands are tied behind his back with a leather strap, whereupon he is suspended from a post by his hands; 3. both wrists are bound with a rope made of yak hair, whereupon eight men, four on either side pull the rope tight; 4. the body is stretched out at the four extremities and is suspended in the air; in this position the accused is lashed on the back with a whip; 5. back and legs are beaten with willow withes; 6. whipping with a leather whip. If after the sixth form of punishment the accused does not confess, he is acquitted and is rewarded with a horse. The third form of torture is the most dreaded. Three additional forms occur under certain circumstances: 7. the legs of the accused are tied together with a rope and he is dragged along the ground. The 8th and 9th methods of torture consist of whip lashes. The t'ou-mu orders the torture to take place after having consulted with the court. He can appoint anyone he likes to inflict the torture.

As we have said, there is no capital punishment, with the exception of blood revenge. There is also no punishment of imprisonment, but the t'ou-mu can imprison a criminal until the trial has taken place. Infractions of any kind are avenged by the payment of penalties in money, butter, sheep or yaks. If a convicted person cannot pay the penalty imposed upon him, the t'ou-mu has him taken into custody and soundly thrashed. The penalty which the condemned person cannot pay must be made

good by the ts'aowa group, as we have already mentioned, and the 681
accused must gradually pay off his debt to the group. The most severe punishment is probably expulsion from the ts'aowa group, which makes a man homeless.

Witnesses are not tortured. They are not /86/ examined in pub- 695
lic but in a separate room, so that they cannot be seen by the accused and thus be exposed to his revenge.

The t'ou-mu also has jurisdiction over members of another tribe 692
whom he can punish. The punishment is not, however, always recognized by the tribe to whom the convicted person belongs. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, for example, the t'ou-mu held a lama prisoner for stealing a gun. The lama belonged to the He-tso Lamasery outside Mewu territory. He had ordered the lama whipped. For this reason no male Mewu-Fantzu ventured into the region of He-tso, since he would have been in danger of being captured.

Disputes between inhabitants of various tents in the same tent 578
community are settled by the t'ou-mu or one of his kuan-shih; like 721
wise disputes between various tent communities. In such cases violence is seldom resorted to. Disputes between the tent Fantzu and the sedentary Fantzu of the Mewu tribe are very rare. They, too, are settled by the t'ou-mu. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between Fantzu of different tribes, sometimes leading to war.

In former times wars were frequent. But the Mewu-Fantzu fought 701
their last war about 30 years ago, that is, during imperial times. 721
On the other hand, a war was fought just a few years ago, about 100 li to the southwest. It lasted three years and ended only when the ruling feudal lord of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling" seized control. If a state of war arises the Huang-szu-ling calls his subordinate t'ou-mu to war. This happened, for example, during my stay when the region between T'ao-chou and Ho-chou, to which the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu and the lamaseries of Labrang and He-tso belong, was endangered by the "long march" of Mao Tse-tung's Communist Army to Shensi. The t'ou-mu recruit soldiers. Every tent must furnish at least one soldier, /87/ sometimes as many as two or three. Each man must bring his own weapons, ammunition and horses, just as in ancient times in the wars of the nomadic peoples, such as the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols. Families who cannot furnish a soldier must give weapons and guns, ammunition and a horse for those who are too poor to furnish their own equipment. The t'ou-mu decides how dangerous the situation is and how many recruits are to be called out.

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634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
682 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

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courts does not always conform to the enlightened ideas of 671
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promise on the one hand, and of severity towards socially condemned crimes on the other, still pervades the law as it is applied from day to day. This is illustrated by the kind of sentence imposed for murders of different types. The murder of a near relative, father, mother, brother or sister, a crime abhorred by the Chinese, is punished with death. But the murder of one who is not related to the criminal, even though the crime may have very little palliating or extenuating circumstances, is often only punished by a sentence of five or six years' imprisonment. The prisons of Yunnan are 697
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Civil disputes and lawsuits not involving criminal offences 692
come under the jurisdiction of the Branch High Court situ- 685
ated at Ta Li. This type of jurisdiction is of course part of the reforms instituted by the Republic, and the law applied is the new reformed civil code. The Branch High Court has jurisdiction over a much wider area than the *Hsien* of Ta Li itself, for it covers all civil cases of importance brought in the *Hsien* between Pao Shan in the west, Li Chiang in the north, Meng Hua southwards, and Ch'u Hsiung to the east. These places, the nearest to have Branch High Courts themselves, are each about a hundred miles from Ta Li. A civil dispute arising in Erh Yuan or Chien Ch'uan has thus to be brought before the Ta Li Branch High Court, if the parties cannot compose their differences with the aid of arbitrators. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are not at all a litigious 691
people, always preferring to settle their disputes by arbitration if possible, and only resorting to the courts in the last instance. The cost of litigation in the civil courts, though not high by European standards, is a further deterrent. The ad-

corner of the /48/ tent, which is the home of Yu-la. The fur of all 353
kinds of domestic animals is used, and a tuft of hair is plucked out 776
of each animal for this purpose before it is sold or slaughtered. Thus the bundle constantly increases in size. After a meal, tea, butter, and milk are smeared on the bundle of hair for the house god.

On the altar which is found in every tent stand small statues made of bronze or brass of the Lamaistic deities. The god that seems to be most popular here is called Dzam-la. He corresponds, allegedly, to Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth (2) of the Chinese popular re-

2. Compare Wadell, page 370.

ligion; in accordance with Lamaistic custom, water is regularly offered to this god. Another god much venerated is one that is thought of as dwelling in hell and judging the souls of the dead. He corresponds to the Chinese Yen-lo-wang. The "horse god" (Chinese: Ma-wang-yeh, Tibetan: dam-dzen) who is also worshiped in the Lamaistic temples is offered sacrifices by the sorcerers, especially when there is threat of war. He has three heads and is represented in union with its Cakti (female principle). Ts'ai-shen and Chia-shen are worshiped by men and women alike.

I did not learn anything about a worship of the heavens among 787
the Fantzu, nor of the sun, moon and stars.

After death the soul of the deceased can turn into an evil spirit. 775
It can descend into hell (Tibetan: nal-wa), where it is adjudicated by the judge of hell (Yen-lo-wang, Yama). But just as in China, there is a parallel belief in Buddhistic transmigration of souls, and no one is aware of any inconsistency. If a person has led a good life, he can be reborn as an incarnation (fu-yeh), if he has been bad, he becomes a woman or an animal (bovine, horse, ox, sheep). Here the belief in the transmigration of souls is sometimes confused with the belief in evil spirits into which the souls of persons who have died a violent death are transformed.

/49/ A characteristic incident had just occurred among the 682 775
Mewu-Fantzu:

The t'ou-mu of the Mewu-Fantzu had a younger brother with whom he had quarreled seven or eight years before about the rule of a group of Fantzu. He had had the brother treacherously killed one day when the latter was riding across the steppes. A short time afterwards, groundhogs dug a passage behind the t'ou-mu's house with an opening inside the enclosure of his property. This was a surprising

682 and unusual thing, considering the shy nature of groundhogs. The
775 chief immediately feared that his brother might be among these groundhogs, and proclaimed a general law against groundhog hunting. This law was still enforced, although the sale of groundhog pelts brings in quite a bit of money. It probably means that the Fantzu shared or at least understood the fear of their chieftain. On the other hand, according to primitive ideas of justice, the assassination was in no way avenged, since this would have been exclusively a matter that concerned the family of the victim.

769 Ancestor worship is different from that of the Chinese. There are no ancestral tablets. In the Mewu-Fantzu dialect the ancestors are called xõũ. After the father or mother has died, he or she is venerated by daily sacrifices in front of the tent. Later this sacrifice is made only on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of the month, and then it is gradually abandoned.

791 Just as Taoist and Buddhist priests take part in exorcism, the propitiation of offended spirits and the casting out of evil ones, so Tibetan sorcerers and lamas are enlisted for this purpose. The sorcerer corresponding to the Taoist (tao-shih) or exorcist (kan-kuei-hsien-sheng) of the Chinese popular religion is called no-hua by the Tibetans and "böm-bu" (local pronunciation) by the Chinese. Thus he is a priest of the Bon religion. He wears his hair /50/ long, and is adorned with a special head scarf. (1) There are no different kinds

1. Compare Hoffmann 9), page 137 (names), page 197 (relations to shamanism).

of böm-bu. Not every tent community has a böm-bu, and unfortunately there was none in the community I visited. The böm-bu is married and his profession - the art of carrying out exorcistic rites and writing incantations to ward off spirits - is handed down from father to son, but not to daughter or son-in-law. The altar in the tent of the böm-bu contains the customary small statues of gods and bowls for the sacrificial water, as well as a large Chinese brush with which he writes his incantations, and a long row of copper coins. He always has prayer books, although the laymen say that many böm-bu cannot read their prayerbooks, but only leaf through them. On the other hand, I was told that the böm-bu are able to understand the sacred writings of the lamas, but that, conversely, fewer educated lamas understand the sacred writings of the böm-bu. In spite of the high esteem in which the lamas are

682 Quarrels leading to murder happen more often, according to my interpreter, among the Mewu-Fantzu than among the neighboring Chinese. The Fantzu above all tend to become brutal when they are drunk. Murder also occurs. The motive for murder is either jealousy or covetousness (murder attended with robbery). It also happens that a man shoots another because he honestly believes he has been harmed by him through magic.

682 If a murder has been committed, the family of the victim does
628 not relax its efforts until it has revenged itself on the murderer, if possible by killing him. Blood revenge is taken also if murders have been committed in a state of intoxication or if a person suspected of black magic has been murdered. If /82/ blood revenge is not taken, one loses respect. However, blood revenge rarely occurs in actual fact, for the murderer usually flees beyond the borders of the tribal territory, seeking refuge with some other tribe. If the murderer is caught before the victim's family was able to carry out blood revenge, he is first of all soundly thrashed and held captive until he can pay a penalty of 80 yaks. Thereupon he is banished from the tribal territory for four years. There is no death penalty inflicted except by the clan of the blood avengers. The property of the murderer is seized if he was captured or if he escaped. Blood revenge is not considered murder and is not punished. The custom of blood revenge among the Mewu-Fantzu is thus already very much mitigated. It seems to be largely replaced by an indemnity in the form of yaks. For example, if a member of a ts'aowa group kills a member of another group, the two ts'aowa chieftains decide on the indemnity, which is usually a penalty of 80 yaks, at least 40 of which must be first-class, the rest can be less good. If the relatives of the murderer cannot meet the payment in full, the entire ts'aowa group to which the murderer belongs must make up the rest.

421 Foremost among the property rights of the nomads is, of course,
233 the question of the right to pasturelands. The pastureland is divided among the individual tent communities by the t'ou-mu. The land used for planting oats near the winter pastures is divided among the individual families. There is enough land for planting oats, and everyone can cultivate as much as he needs for his stock. The t'ou-mu divides the various families into tent communities. The lamaseries have their own pastures for yaks; they do not raise sheep. The boundaries of the pasturelands of individual tent communities must be respected just as strictly as those of the entire

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theft among members of one's own group. Even very primitive peo- 685
ples like the pygmies of the Congo jungle are extremely honest among one another, whereas as soon as they come into contact with farming Negroes, they quickly develop into positively virtuoso thieves. (2) There are probably easy transitions from this stage to

2. Gusinde 13).

the abuse of travelers by the extortionist tourist industry in civilized countries, which is not regarded as criminal any more than the robbing of strangers among primitives.

If a thief is caught and confesses his crime at once, his only punishment consists in his being forced to return or replace the stolen goods, provided the victim of the theft does not belong to the same ts'aowa group. If the thief will not confess his crime, he can be brought before the court of the t'ou-mu and he can be tortured into confession. In this case, too, the punishment is no more severe. If the victim who was robbed belongs to the same ts'aowa group, the thief must pay him back two or three times the value of the goods stolen, just as though he were /81/ a lama, whereas, as mentioned before, a t'ou-mu or an incarnation must be repaid ninefold. (1)

1. Cf. the same conditions among the Bedouins; Musil 14); or wergild in medieval Europe.

Outside their tribal territory all Fantzu tend to rob, especially 685
travelers. However, robberies no longer occur as much among the 519
Mewu-Fantzu as among tribes living farther in the interior of Tibet, where robberies are the order of the day. According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not generally shoot or become violent in a sudden attack if one does not offer resistance. In that respect they would not act differently from Chinese robbers, although this is contrary to the experiences of many travelers. (2)

2. For example, a farmer from the province of Szechuan described such conduct of robbers to me as "polite" (k'e-ch'i), whereas it would be "impolite" in his opinion and contrary to good form if people who did not offer resistance were shot at (this does not mean warning shots), or if they were attacked in any other way.

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432 done in the houses or in Chinese temples or on the streets. Money
437 may be paid, or exchange may be accomplished by means of barter. If two objects are bartered and they are of unequal value, the balance may be paid in cash or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

443 The principal market places are in the Chinese cities. Here the Ch'iang bring produce--firewood, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, walnuts fruit, vegetables, chickens, pork, mutton, eggs, hides, etc. With the money they purchase salt, cotton cloth, vegetable oi , and other commodities which they take home.

426 The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from sixty
686 or seventy to over three hundred per cent. This is one of the handicaps now faced by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay, the lender sometimes sends a poor person to live in the home of the borrower and eat his food, smoke his tobacco, drink his tea, and sleep in his bed. This may cost the orrower a lot of money but in the end he must pay all the money owed, both capital and interest. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, a goat, or a cow. Often the interest is paid in corn. For a loan of one hundred dollars the yearly interest is from two to six dou or pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

3. Habitations and Villages.

342 The houses are built of unhewn stones plastered together with clay. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides, so that the walls of the houses appear smooth, and the corners square. There are two or more stories. The first story consists of a small open court and rooms or pens for the domestic animals. The floors of the pens are covered with small twigs, grass, or straw, which are
[241] trend upon for weeks and mixed with the offal of the animals, and later is used for fertilizer. People live on the second floor where dogs, cats, chickens, and sometimes other domestic animals and
[343] fowls range. The roofs are flat, and at the rear of each roof is an open shed in which corn and other grains are stored, and where the women sometimes do their weaving. Similar stone houses are widely used in the highlands of western Szechwan, Si Kang, and
[243] eastern Tibet. On the roof the grain is dried, flailed and winnowed, and here in fair weather the inmates visit and look around at

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vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil jurisprudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of government still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The duties of the government in former times were three; to collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
672 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

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124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692a 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures 421
during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and 233
winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-
lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished
by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every
yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner
must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu 421
has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, 224
for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting
of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunt-
ing rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught
violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock 432
is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are
usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese 692
district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves 663
The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu.
Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted
directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official
by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge.
It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the
Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for
their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge.
They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago
(1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the
t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese.
However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer
acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man
slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral,
respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place with 692
in the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another
territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority
as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial
cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The
ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for per-
mission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work
together in such cases.

692 In legal disputes the t'ou-mu chooses a body of judges consisting of himself, the councils of the ts'aowa groups, the kuan-shih of the t'ou-mu or other older men who are known to be good speakers and fair in their judgment. The number of judges varies according to
695 the importance of the case. The choice of venue depends on the circumstances; usually the trial is held in a temple or a village of the sedentary Fantzu. Witnesses are examined, much as in a Chinese court. The parties must take the oath of telling the truth in front of a Buddha image. If the truth cannot be ascertained from witnesses, various methods of divine judgment are used. In less serious cases a box is produced in which there is a white stone and a black stone. The person who draws the white stone wins. In more serious cases one of two forms of divine judgment is used: the two parties must either touch a red-hot ax with their hands or they must dip their hands into boiling rape oil. The one whose hand is not burned is innocent. The boiling-oil test is most often used.

681 If an accused will not confess, /85/ he is tortured. There are nine different methods of torture: 1. a person is whipped on the back with a leather whip; 2. a person's hands are tied behind his back with a leather strap, whereupon he is suspended from a post by his hands; 3. both wrists are bound with a rope made of yak hair, whereupon eight men, four on either side pull the rope tight; 4. the body is stretched out at the four extremities and is suspended in the air; in this position the accused is lashed on the back with a whip; 5. back and legs are beaten with willow withes; 6. whipping with a leather whip. If after the sixth form of punishment the accused does not confess, he is acquitted and is rewarded with a horse. The third form of torture is the most dreaded. Three additional forms occur under certain circumstances: 7. the legs of the accused are tied together with a rope and he is dragged along the ground. The 8th and 9th methods of torture consist of whip lashes. The t'ou-mu orders the torture to take place after having consulted with the court. He can appoint anyone he likes to inflict the torture.

As we have said, there is no capital punishment, with the exception of blood revenge. There is also no punishment of imprisonment, but the t'ou-mu can imprison a criminal until the trial has taken place. Infractions of any kind are avenged by the payment of penalties in money, butter, sheep or yaks. If a convicted person cannot pay the penalty imposed upon him, the t'ou-mu has him taken into custody and soundly thrashed. The penalty which the condemned person cannot pay must be made

Mewu

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accused must gradually pay off his debt to the group. The most severe punishment is probably expulsion from the ts'aowa group, which makes a man homeless.

Witnesses are not tortured. They are not /86/ examined in pub- 685
lic but in a separate room, so that they cannot be seen by the accused and thus be exposed to his revenge.

The t'ou-mu also has jurisdiction over members of another tribe 682
whom he can punish. The punishment is not, however, always recognized by the tribe to whom the convicted person belongs. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, for example, the t'ou-mu held a lama prisoner for stealing a gun. The lama belonged to the He-tso Lamasery outside Mewu territory. He had ordered the lama whipped. For this reason no male Mewu-Fantzu ventured into the region of He-tso, since he would have been in danger of being captured.

Disputes between inhabitants of various tents in the same tent 578
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In former times wars were frequent. But the Mewu-Fantzu fought 701
their last war about 30 years ago, that is, during imperial times. 721
On the other hand, a war was fought just a few years ago, about 100 li to the southwest. It lasted three years and ended only when the ruling feudal lord of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling" seized control. If a state of war arises the Huang-szu-ling calls his subordinate t'ou-mu to war. This happened, for example, during my stay when the region between T'ao-chou and Ho-chou, to which the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu and the lamaseries of Labrang and He-tso belong, was endangered by the "long march" of Mao Tse-tung's Communist Army to Shensi. The t'ou-mu recruit soldiers. Every tent must furnish at least one soldier, /87/ sometimes as many as two or three. Each man must bring his own weapons, ammunition and horses, just as in ancient times in the wars of the nomadic peoples, such as the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols. Families who cannot furnish a soldier must give weapons and guns, ammunition and a horse for those who are too poor to furnish their own equipment. The t'ou-mu decides how dangerous the situation is and how many recruits are to be called out.

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action", preferring to leave the people to govern themselves which they do very well, and which is all they ask.

Even in cases where the crime is in no sense a family matter the action of the law is reluctant and the possibilities of compromise infinite. During my residence in Ta Li a case of robbery with some violence occurred, which illuminates the attitude to crime on the part of people and officials alike. A young man of good family and education, impelled by some romantic or neurotic impulse, committed a series of burglaries, not because he was poor and needed money, for the objects he stole were of little worth. On the last occasion he was surprised in the room of the house he was robbing, and discovered. In the struggle that followed he stabbed the householder in the leg with a small penknife, inflicting a painful but not fatal or dangerous wound. He was overpowered by others in the house and the police summoned. The case being clear, he was carried off to the magistrate's gaol and held there while preliminary enquiries were made—enquiries which dragged on from month to month. There seemed no reason why the trial should be so delayed, since the facts were hardly in dispute.

Meanwhile his relatives, related as they were to every one of influence in the town, began negotiations for a compromise. By circuitous channels, through a relative who knew a friend, who had a friend who knew the victim of the robbery and assault, a proposition was at length put forward. If the victim would agree to forgo prosecution, various men of substance would be found to guarantee the criminal's future behaviour. The officials were perfectly aware of all this and eager to promote the compromise. At last it was agreed that if the criminal could find six men to guarantee his behaviour, who would also undertake to provide him with some means of livelihood, since his reputation and his occupation were equally lost, the victim would write to the

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696 627 magistrate a formal disclaimer of any desire to prosecute. When this had been arranged the case was reviewed by the magistrate and the prisoner released. His friends then obtained a commission in the army for him and he left the town to take part in the war with Japan.

In this case the initial step had been to have the case listed as an ordinary criminal one, not robbery under arms. Had the use of a penknife been held to be robbery under arms the case would have gone before the Military Court, and the penalty might well have been summary execution. Fortunately for the offender it was held that he had not intended to commit violence and that his weapon was not sufficiently dangerous to be considered "arms" in this sense. The attitude of the authorities in this case well illustrates the reluctance which they feel in allowing the law to take its normal course, and the general willingness of all parties to find a way out, to save face, and avoid extreme measures. Here too the factors of family influence, the ramifications of relationship in a small town, and the solidarity of the educated class towards one of its members threatened with a degrading punishment, all played a large part in effecting the compromise.

696 722 627 In sharp contrast to the hesitations of the civil authorities in applying the machinery of the law, the military are ruthless in the suppression of banditry, and this severity is also socially sanctioned, just as the leniency of the civil power is generally approved. In the Min Chia language the name of thief or bandit is classified grammatically with the lower animals, a fact not without significance. In past years the military were far from active in their duty of bandit suppression. This situation which had made travel in Yunnan almost a military operation in the 'twenties, has in recent years been remedied. Under the energetic inspiration of the present Governor, General Lung Yun, banditry has been

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696 stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the
722 north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads.
627 The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

701 The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus
[702] often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with
[712] one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city,
701 or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a
579 Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with wide stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

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1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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701 579 laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

701 177 The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

177 The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a nine-fold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

575 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

good by the ts'aowa group, as we have already mentioned, and the 681
accused must gradually pay off his debt to the group. The most severe punishment is probably expulsion from the ts'aowa group, which makes a man homeless.

Witnesses are not tortured. They are not /86/ examined in pub- 685
lic but in a separate room, so that they cannot be seen by the accused and thus be exposed to his revenge.

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Disputes between inhabitants of various tents in the same tent 578
community are settled by the t'ou-mu or one of his kuan-shih; like 921
wise disputes between various tent communities. In such cases violence is seldom resorted to. Disputes between the tent Fantzu and the sedentary Fantzu of the Mewu tribe are very rare. They, too, are settled by the t'ou-mu. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between Fantzu of different tribes, sometimes leading to war.

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On the other hand, a war was fought just a few years ago, about 100 li to the southwest. It lasted three years and ended only when the ruling feudal lord of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling" seized control. If a state of war arises the Huang-szu-ling calls his subordinate t'ou-mu to war. This happened, for example, during my stay when the region between T'ao-chou and Ho-chou, to which the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu and the lamaseries of Labrang and He-tso belong, was endangered by the "long march" of Mao Tse-tung's Communist Army to Shensi. The t'ou-mu recruit soldiers. Every tent must furnish at least one soldier, /87/ sometimes as many as two or three. Each man must bring his own weapons, ammunition and horses, just as in ancient times in the wars of the nomadic peoples, such as the Ch'i-tan and the Mongols. Families who cannot furnish a soldier must give weapons and guns, ammunition and a horse for those who are too poor to furnish their own equipment. The t'ou-mu decides how dangerous the situation is and how many recruits are to be called out.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border
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PLATE 82. — WARRIOR DRESSED IN HLI-KHIG ARMOR

古蕃番軍士裝甲

Dressed in armor made of pigskin blades, lacquered red, wearing a helmet of iron segments, Hli-khig and Hai-fan warriors, danced at Nga-ba prior to their attacking Li-chiang in the 12th century.

[p. 156 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 231.—LI-SU GUARD WITH CROSSBOW ON YO-WA-BU PASS

永華大雪山那瓦哨兵

On the summit pass in lovely fir and spruce forest Li-su guards are on the lookout for bandits. They run to Yung-ning to notify the chief should robbers make their appearance. Lo-lo have now settled immediately east of Yo-wa-bu, and thus the pass is practically in the hands of robbers.

[p. 426-G]

> In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide, imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782 224

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture; for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a böm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

Mewu

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563 The Mewu-Fantzu are already to a certain extent dependent on the Chinese, since they live relatively near them. This dependence is, however, still a rather indirect one, and is expressed through the secular Fantzu ruler of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling."

● 721 563 648 Wars between Fantzu and Chinese no longer occur, since the Fantzu respect the superior military might of the Chinese. But it often happens that Chinese are robbed by Fantzu. Such cases are, as a rule, brought before the court of the Huang-szu-ling who, according to my interpreter, wherever possible sides with the Fantzu. He arranges the payment of damages. The Fantzu are, however, not too friendly with the Chinese, first of all because they feel oppressed by the taxes which the Chinese government imposes on them, and, secondly, because the Chinese are pushing into their territory as colonists. However, the latter reason affects only the sedentary Fantzu to any practical extent.

563 The Fantzu have a different and closer relationship with the Chinese Mohammedans who play a special part in the political and social life of the country. (1) In language and material culture

1. Ekvall describes in detail the relationship between the Fantzu - nomadic and sedentary - and the Chinese and Mohammedans.

these Mohammedans do not differ from actual Chinese, but the latter regard them /88/ more or less as aliens. They are largely descendants of Turkish tribes, who in the course of time settled in Kansu and intermarried with the Chinese. In external appearance (they are a Turanian race rather than Sinic) (2) as well as in

2. Terms according to von Eickstedt 15).

character, they are often very different from the Chinese. The Mohammedans live in Kansu as farmers, merchants and innkeepers. As traders they have penetrated far into Fantzu territory and constitute the chief element of the population in the market towns which have arisen in the vicinity of the large lamaseries. If Mohammedans are robbed by Fantzu they are much more apt to follow their natural war-like bent and fight than are the Chinese. Thus Fantzu raids are sometimes followed by minor avenging expeditions on the part of the Mohammedans. Eleven years ago (about 1925) there was the last major warlike entanglement between Mohammedans
600 and Fantzu. The relationship of the Mohammedans to the Chinese

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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trimming and with shell ornaments hanging down the front. Their necklaces are very large plain rings made of silver.

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In the wild Wa[1] country they wear little or no clothes and make a regular practice of going out on head-hunting expeditions, sticking up their trophies in double rows, forming an ornamental avenue in the neighbourhood of the village. My journey lay just outside the head-hunters' country. In fact the head of a European would form such a valuable and unique addition to a collection, that no Wa village would be able to resist the temptation to add such a trophy to their avenue. Even a Chinaman's skull is considered quite an acquisition, and the lucky possessors would expect to have better crops and to be more free from evil spirits than their less fortunate neighbours who could only show the ordinary Wa or Shan variety. The territory of the independent head-hunters I did not therefore enter, but even the more civilised Las I found apt to be suspicious and unfriendly. In some villages certainly they were pleasant enough, but I can remember three occasions at least when I have had some difficulty with them[2]. On the whole the Wa and La race seem to be a less pleasant people than the other non-Chinese races of Yün-nan.

000

Three more days of very hilly marching brought us to the Nam Tum valley at Man-hpa, a village which is built at the foot of a precipitous rock in a little side valley of the Mêng-ko plain.

To give an idea of the up and down character of this part of the country, here are the details of our march on the 16th. We started from Pangmaw (4,300 feet), went downhill to the Nam Kun (2,700 feet), ascended to 3,900 feet, descended again to 3,650 feet, rose to 4,700 feet, thence down to 4,400 feet, up again to 5,500 feet, and finally descended to Hseng-wa, 4,600 feet, all this in 13½ miles of road.

On this march we passed close to Pang-hung, the village which was said to be particularly hostile to foreigners. We even met some of the villagers on their way out to work their fields, but they appeared to have had no news of our

[1] For a very full and interesting account of the head-hunting Was by Sir G. J. Scott, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 493.
[2] See pp. 108, 136.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

696 magistrate a formal disclaimer of any desire to prosecute.
627 When this had been arranged the case was reviewed by the magistrate and the prisoner released. His friends then obtained a commission in the army for him and he left the town to take part in the war with Japan.

In this case the initial step had been to have the case listed as an ordinary criminal one, not robbery under arms. Had the use of a penknife been held to be robbery under arms the case would have gone before the Military Court, and the penalty might well have been summary execution. Fortunately for the offender it was held that he had not intended to commit violence and that his weapon was not sufficiently dangerous to be considered "arms" in this sense. The attitude of the authorities in this case well illustrates the reluctance which they feel in allowing the law to take its normal course, and the general willingness of all parties to find a way out, to save face, and avoid extreme measures. Here too the factors of family influence, the ramifications of relationship in a small town, and the solidarity of the educated class towards one of its members threatened with a degrading punishment, all played a large part in effecting the compromise.

696 In sharp contrast to the hesitations of the civil author-
722 ities in applying the machinery of the law, the military are
627 ruthless in the suppression of banditry, and this severity is also socially sanctioned, just as the leniency of the civil power is generally approved. In the Min Chia language the name of thief or bandit is classified grammatically with the lower animals, a fact not without significance. In past years the military were far from active in their duty of bandit suppression. This situation which had made travel in Yunnan almost a military operation in the 'twenties, has in recent years been remedied. Under the energetic inspiration of the present Governor, General Lung Yun, banditry has been

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634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
672 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172]
tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the west and east walls by a third again, and building a new south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Although the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street connecting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes, which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden, and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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669 perished. The extensive ruins of their houses now covered
731 with cactus and wild shrubs, still encumber large parts of the walled enclosure. These older ruins are for the most part in the south east part of the city, those due to the great earthquake of 1925 are found in all parts. This second disaster caused great destruction and a heavy loss of life. The main street was burnt out, and thus the merchant community suffered a total loss of their goods, which were not of course covered by any form of insurance. The loss of life was not so heavy as in the country, where along the lake shore hundreds died in the sudden collapse of their homes. Most of the dwellings in the city were however, either ruined, or so badly damaged as to be uninhabitable. More solidly built, or as the faithful believe, protected by the gods, the great pagodas outside the city and the main temples inside the walls, withstood the shock, as did three out of the four Gate Towers.

As there is no form of insurance operating in Yunnan these heavy losses fell wholly upon the householders themselves. For years the city lay almost in ruins. Slowly, as wealth accumulated, men began to rebuild, first their shops, then the homes of the richer classes, and still to-day the work of reconstruction goes on. During the years 1937 and 1938
341 more than thirty ruinous houses were rebuilt. Fortunately Ta Li was then still far from the centres of progress and innovation, so the old style of architecture was employed in rebuilding the city, unchanged by the rather unhappy influence of European ideas found in too many of the new buildings in the greater cities of China. Ta Li to-day, no longer a city of ruins, is one of the most attractive examples of a small Chinese city built entirely in Chinese style. The end and back walls of the better class houses are made of the local granite building stone, the front, where the windows and doors are placed, of wood, and the roofs are tiled. The three solid walls are plastered and whitewashed on the out-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the 517
family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even [445]
the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women 357
of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried 567
girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited. Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is always a "*ya t'ou*," that is to say a slave girl. This system, which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed 732
individuals, who, coming from the poor families where 357
goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too 567
deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride, and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some small remuneration, and if possible, to find them a husband when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min Chia women are more independent in character than the other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the whole much better treated than, for example, they are in K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

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482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says "Slippery place", and the one behind replies "Mend your pace" (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

Porters and litter bearers are always Ssu Ch'uanese, and usually ragged wretches drawn from the poorest class who have taken to the roads to earn a hard living. Most of them are opium smokers, but though this probably shortens their lives, they do not seem to be any the worse for it when on the road. They spend their entire lives travelling to and fro over these mountain roads, and though unable to read and quite unfamiliar with maps, many porters know every road in south-west China, and can repeat the names of the stage points from Bhamo to Ch'ung King, more than a thousand miles. They never seem to save enough money to retire, [733 461] for their wages go on opium to ease the pain in their aching shoulders after twenty miles of rough road. The muleteers, who are men of substance, owning their animals and often some land as well, despise these human beasts of burden, who are also strangers from another province.

484 491 Neither muleteers, porters, nor travellers have any real protection against bad weather. In the winter months, when most travelling is done, rain is rare and light, but on the high ground it turns to sleet or snow, and conditions can be very bad in such weather. The mud road becomes a slippery slide on which neither man nor beast can keep a sure footing, and the broken stone paving is, if anything, worse

262 noodles made of both wheat flour and bean flour, carrots and white cabbage in Ho-chou. For feasts wealthy people prepare "pao-tzu," i.e., pastries of cooked flour dough, Chinese style, which are filled with garlic. Rice is also occasionally served. It is prepared in
[265] various ways, preferably boiled until it is soft, with sugar added.

263 Garlic and paprika are the chief condiments, also hua-chiao
273 (Zanthoxylum piperitum D.C.). Salt comes from the Kokonor.
733 Wine is purchased from the Chinese who make it from Tibetan barley. It is not very potent. Most Tibetans drink only on festive occasions; but now and then one also finds confirmed /33/ drunkards. When they are drunk the Fantzu often get very raucous and crude. They sing and shout and brandish their swords. These drunken bouts often end in a fight and sometimes also in murder.

276 Most Tibetans do not smoke because tobacco is very expensive. When they do, they buy pipes from the Chinese or make them themselves of wood or bone. They use the tibia of the sheep, just like the Northern Chinese, for example, in Shansi. Taking snuff is much more common than smoking, but the snuff contains no tobacco. They either make it themselves from a mixture of tobacco ashes and the finely pulverized ash that remains when sheep dung is burned, or they buy Chinese snuff in Ho-chou. The latter is made of wood ashes mixed with various "medicines." The snuff powder is stored in yak horns or in snuff boxes. (1)

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 17, Figures 2 - 4.

264 The nomads eat three meals a day. Breakfast is rather late, after the livestock has been milked and driven out to pasture. The midday meal is eaten when the sun is at its height, the evening meal rather late, after dark. The food - mainly tsamba and butter - is the same at all meals. Guests are also offered food three times a day. Men and women eat the same food, but they are not permitted to eat together in the tent. The men eat in the right-hand section of the tent, the women in the left. The food must be handed from one section to the other around the hearth; it is considered very impolite to hand it over the hearth. (2)

2. so as not to offend the spirit of the hearth: Hermanns 3), page 48.

252 The cooking pots are large kettles made of brass about 80
415 centimeters in diameter and 60 centimeters high. They are

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235 Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious
842 custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival.
796 Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the
779 whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

796 Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly
779 Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

186 Kuangtung, where my guide, a Chinese from the neighborhood, was heartily reproached for having brought the rain-bringing stranger. The poor man was soundly thrashed even by his Chinese fellow citizens after he returned to his own village.

• 151 The customs observed to ward off or eliminate misfortune or invoke good fortune are a hodgepodge of ideas taken from popular religion and Lamaism. Both religions exist side by side in the religious world of the people, just as the böm-bu have taken over Lamaistic customs and vice versa.

Such customs may be magic practices in the widest sense, linked with all kinds of superstition; they can be prayers, sacrifices or oracles. Amulets are favorite magic symbols; they are preferably made by lamas and consecrated by magic formulas spoken over them. When we described the ornaments of the Fantzu we spoke of the rosaries and the small, square or round boxes worn on the chest and containing sacred objects of the Lamaist. These are worn throughout a lifetime, especially when there are unusual dangers, as for example, war. They are often presented to the laymen by lamas.

/55/ Small strips of silk tied around the throat are worn as amulets. The amulet boxes worn on the chest contain, for example, magic writings of an incarnation, bits of clothing, nail parings, hair or remnants of sacrifice of an incarnation, even his excrement; also pills which are made by the incarnation and which are given as a present if one kowtows to the incarnation. These pills may also be kept in the tent in front of the family altar. It is believed that after a month or more small pills originate from the initial large one, and that these can protect the body from all kinds of diseases. Small scraps of clothing of an incarnation are known as nam-sa, the pills, mani-je-la.

I was unable to get any information about special superstitions relating to unerring marksmanship or imperviousness to bullets. However, I learned of a symbolic act of magic to ward off the threat of war or bring about victory. During my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu (late summer of 1936) they were very much afraid of the Communist army which was at that time on its famous march to the north. In the large lamasery of He-tso I observed that hundreds of small figures were being made of a mixture of water, barley flour and butter and that these were painted red.

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are /56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by böm-bu [782]
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1. Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the people visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

/58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

Mewu

> In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide, imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782 224

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a bŏm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

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and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Analyst]

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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 瀘藥土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to

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the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

S 316 135

The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang 吳兆棠 submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang 東昇廠, also Pai-niu ch'ang 白牛廠. At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers (池) or smelters going [the word *ch'ih* 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every *ch'ih* from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

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one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief 782
is universal, and great precautions are taken when travel- 753
ling to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are un- [789]
aware of its existence. A description of rites such as the 787
making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies, 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, 186
and take up the thread another time or with another person. In 771
many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ 124
knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned
a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that
case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and
would not have learned what were the most important things in the re-
ligious life of the laymen.

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In 771
both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits, nature
demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important re-
ligious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere,
and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in
spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions,
combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other
superstitions.

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: 772
djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to 753
the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of
man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which
in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene
(he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of
Lamaism.

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are
feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with
some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe
in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As
among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei,
and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven
him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station
himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night,
and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into
the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the
transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said,
if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits,
earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and
correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is
called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley,
usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

776 themselves by bringing sickness. If someone is suddenly seized with
753 violent internal pains, it is feared above all that the earth spirits have been offended. You can offend them by scratching up the earth, a belief which is strongly reminiscent of Chinese conceptions regarding feng-shui (geomancy).

778 I did not hear anything among the Mewu-Fantzu about water spirits, but in Labrang there is a sacred spring. Once as I was riding by, I saw four lamas slowly encircle this spring, amid song and drumbeat, a ceremony which is performed when the weather is unfavorable, particularly when it is too wet or too dry.

776 There is also a cult of tree spirits among the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu who live below the timber line.

Of the earth spirits in the narrower sense, we must distinguish mountain spirits. In Tibet, as in China, there are mountains whose spirits or gods are the objects of special veneration. The most notable among these is the Amne Machin range in the northeastern reaches of Tibet, about which little is known. /45/ In the large lamasery of He-tso which lies between Labrang and the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu, a friendly lama, one of the lamasery artists, made for me a beautiful picture of Amne Ma chin as a mounted male god surrounded by numerous other gods. (The picture was unfortunately lost in the chaos of war.)

In the more restricted area of the Mewu-Fantzu the mountain spirits known as "ami" who are pictured as living in the "obo," (1)

1. In re "obo" and "ami" see Rockhill, page 734. "obo" is a Mongolian word.

are the most venerated. It took me a long time and required many conversations before I was able to understand the whole complex of ideas surrounding the obo and its ami.

778 Every mountain on which there stands an obo (Tibetan: lab-dza) is particularly sacred. The obo of the nomadic Mewu-Fantzu consists of a wooden structure into which, year by year, sacrificial wooden darts are stuck, so that the obo looks like a bundle or bouquet of darts often more than two meters high. Twigs of bushes are also stuck into this bundle of darts. The darts vary in size, and may be a meter or more long. Every Fantzu visits the obo at least once a year and takes with him a wooden dart or the branch of a shrub as an offering. The t'ou-mu (chieftain) has the privilege of giving especially long darts. Tufts of sheep wool and khadaks are also stuck into the obo.

753 Uganda people of Africa, and many other primitive peoples are all of the same opinion. Like these peoples, the Ch'iang think that diseases are due to the evil influences of ghosts and gods. Since the source of illness is the ghosts and gods, it will be cured only if they are pacified. Therefore, it is unnecessary to take medicines. Deniker, a French anthropologist, remarks that since the primitive peoples believed that illness came from ghosts and gods, sorcerers and others like them were the earliest physicians. Only they could capture the devil inside the patient. (5) This exactly can also be said for the

5. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 285.

[756] [791] Ch'iang. Whenever a Ch'iang is sick, he asks a tuan-kung to perform a magic cure for him. The Ch'iang themselves agree that the major difference between the Ch'iang and the Han /Chinese/ is that the former, while ill, take no medicine.

All ghosts and gods can cause diseases, but each disease caused by them has its peculiar symptom.

The Poison Devil carries poison with finger nails or eyes. The Ch'iang call it mu-mi-kue-dze ku. Diseases caused by the Poison Devil are swelling of the stomach or stomach-ache, indigestion, discomfort of the whole body, and overeating without gaining weight.

Diseases caused by offending the good gods at home are all diseases in the upper part of the body -- head, eye, ear, nose, mouth, chest, back, shoulder, arm, and hand. They can be cured only by inviting a tuan-kung or by making a vow to pacify the god by the patient himself. Diseases caused by offending the Earth God --Hégni --are all diseases in the lower part of the body, such as paralyzed foot, swollen leg, or lameness. Light illness will disappear by itself. But, for serious illness, a tuan-kung must be invited.

Diseases caused by offending the Forest God are headache, thirst, fever, and chill. The patient must avoid eating and must kill no living things. Those taboos must be observed by the patient's whole family. Even their neighbors are not allowed to make noise with gong and drum. In this way, they believe the patient will recover. If the disease spreads to all family members, the whole family is not allowed to go outside to communicate with others. If they die, beggars will be hired to move them away.

Diseases caused by bad spirits have symptoms like languor, bad dreams, abnormal behavior, aching waist, ulcer, and nameless swelling. When a tuan-kung is invited to cure diseases, he uses a red cock and goes to the local god to perform a one-day service. Diseases

is hung a little flag made of fir wood. At the same time, disciples of other tuan-kung also participate in the performance. But they need only thrust the flag, not the knife /into the mouth/. Only the tuan-kung who has performed the teacher-honoring ceremony is qualified to wear the monkey-skin hat. 791

What is mentioned above gives a general idea of the origin of the tuan-kung, his attirements and instruments, and his magic power and instruction. As to the various functions of the Ch'iang tuan-kung, there are many and it takes a long time to enumerate them all. I shall discuss briefly a few cases in the following chapter dealing with examples of the Ch'iang practices, while a discussion of the details must wait until some other time.

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices

The Ch'iang tribesmen believe in ghosts and gods. They are sometimes lenient and sometimes severe. All diseases, poverty, famine, and other misfortunes have something to do with the attitude of those ghosts and gods. Whenever people meet such crises, they ask the tuan-kung for help. The tuan-kung is a person who, on the one hand, deals with ghosts and gods and, on the other hand, promotes the well-being of the people. He has the magic to cure diseases, to exorcise evil spirits, to eliminate plagues, to increase fecundity, and to do many other things. All the Ch'iang believe in such magic. The tuan-kung may also participate in capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. However, there are also many other important programs which have nothing to do with the tuan-kung. For instance, the act of praying for rain, which, it seems, ought to be a favorite job of the tuan-kung, is however entirely a practice of the people among the Ch'iang tribesmen. 776 791

Curing Diseases--People who believe in ghosts and gods consider all diseases as caused by their evil workings. Frazer, an English anthropologist, calls the disease which is caused by the evil influence of ghosts and gods "devil-disease." Even today in China there remains the habit of calling all diseases "devil-diseases." This is undoubtedly a custom handed down from ancient times. The Dyak people of Oceania say that diseases are caused by devils that possess the human body, by the attack of evil spirits, or by the capture of one's soul by the devil. The Savara people of India regard all diseases as the evil workings of their ancestors or other ghosts and gods. /19/ Besides, the Winnebago people of America, the 753.

753 caused by the curse of other people can also be cured by asking the tuan-kung to perform service before the local god.

Besides, the Ch'iang believe that strange dreams can too cause diseases. A cow that drinks water or a woman who does not [844] avoid a shadow may also cause diseases. Born in an unlucky hour also can cause diseases (to the baby). If the source of the disease is unknown, the tuan-kung is requested to burn a sheep's thigh-bone with wormwood to discover it by divination. (The method of divination will be discussed elsewhere.)

The tuan-kung has different ways to cure diseases. The com-
755 monest is the method of supplication and sacrifice, called mŭ-tchi-shōō-tchi-sa-wōō, i.e., substituting sheep for human life. Make a human figure with straws and put on it the patient's hat, clothes and stockings. Take a little tea, flour, and beans; and put them into a paper bag. Next, send the straw man and a sheep together to the graveyard, where the sheep is killed and the straw man burned. Then the tuan-kung prays, saying that the sheep has died for the patient and that the straw man, representing the devil of disease, is riding the sheep to go far away. The patient's relatives are not allowed to eat the meat of this sheep. On his way back, the tuan-kung will call the soul for the patient. Putting a piece of paper on the ground, planting little flags on its corners to represent the ancestors, and placing beside the paper a few moon and sun cakes and in the middle, pine branches, buckwheat, oats, or other grains and lard, the tuan-kung chants the liturgy of calling the soul -- shōō-wo-dio-shuei -- and sees if there is any insect climbing onto the paper. If so, he considers that the soul has returned. (If there is no insect, he uses the lard to paste one on it.) Then, he wraps up the paper and puts it in a basket in which there are a hat, eggs, and other things. A relative of the patient carries the basket and follows the tuan-kung home. On his way back, the tuan-kung points at the hills and streams and calls the soul to return. Arriving at the door, the tuan-kung requests the Door God to open the door and asks, "Has the soul returned?" People inside answer, "Yes." Thus, three times he asks and three times, they answer. Then the tuan-kung sends the wrapped paper to the spirit tablet of the ancestors, /20/ as he beats the drum to declare the conclusion of the service. (If the patient is a female and a woman's long hair is found on the paper when the tuan-kung summons the soul, they regard it as the greatest success. And the patient is going to live several years more than his normal span of life.

791 with all kinds of weapons - muskets, bows and arrows, swords and
765 knives - and driving the spirit into the bag. When the spirit is
789 captured, the bag is carried outside, opened up over a fire of /52/ yak dung and symbolically emptied. The escaping evil spirit is threatened with the weapons carried by the men who accompany the bag, and this is supposed to drive the spirit into the fire where he is consumed. This burning of the spirit always takes place at a crossroad, which is why crossroads are avoided in the evening, since one never knows whether or not the burning has been successful. This type of exorcism is practiced only in cases of illness.

791 In special cases exorcistic rites are carried on simultaneously
789 by a considerable number of böm-bu. Thus before a war 10 to 20 böm-bu gather in order to curse the enemy and ask for good luck. In this case the böm-bu invoke a special god, the horse god (Ma-wang-yeh). They can also, like the lamas, invoke the mountain spirits which bring luck.

791 The böm-bu surpass the lamas in their exclusive ability to
754 practice black magic. However, they must be paid more for this than for ordinary exorcism. A böm-bu can be induced to bring sickness or a cattle epidemic down upon an enemy, but for this he must be paid with a yak or a horse, whether or not he is successful.

When black magic is practiced with the help of a böm-bu, a dog is killed and its blood used. The name of the person to be bewitched is written on a slip of paper, along with a magic formula. Then the paper is dipped in the blood of the dog and buried near the person who is being bewitched. (1) Meanwhile /53/ the böm-

1. In China we also find that cursed objects intended to bring ill luck through black magic are buried. For example, if a woman does not wish her neighbor well, she tries to gain possession of a few of her neighbor's hairs which she brings to an old woman versed in black magic and making a business of it. With the help of incantations, the old woman can make the hairs work an evil spell, for example, produce trachoma or boils. However, in order to be effective, the hairs must be secretly placed under the chamber pot (ma-t'ung) of the victim.

bu is reading aloud from the sacred books in his tent. It is not possible, however, by means of magic to turn men into animals
and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China. 000

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bömbu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic. [792] 754 627

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1) 126

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692a 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than

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usually acting as shrines to the Mountain God, whose name is sometimes chiselled on a smooth face. The enormous evergreen trees called by the Chinese *tung ching shu*, "Winter Green Tree", a kind of ilex (*ilex pedunculosa*), which are planted near temples and in villages, also come in for a share of incense burning, though no one can positively say whether the tree is itself sacred, or merely the home of another spirit such as the Road God. 776 778

Another sacred spot, associated with sacrifices for recovery from illness, is the tomb of the Mongol soldiers of Kublai Khan outside the West Gate, near one of the Nan Chao pagodas. The tomb, the common grave of all who fell at the capture of Ta Li by Kublai, is a large mound surmounted by a more modern stone tablet which records its history. At this place persons who are sick, or who are acting on behalf of a sick relative, burn incense, and sacrifice a fowl, which is then cooked and eaten on the spot. Part of the rite is to break a pottery bowl on the stone base of the tablet erected by the Ming Emperor Hung Wu, which records his conquest of Yunnan from the Mongol Yüan dynasty a century later. This tablet stands close to the Mongol tomb, and is now surrounded by a large mound of broken potsherds, testimony to the antiquity of this rite. No one can give any reason for the association of these two monuments with the healing of sickness, nor do any precise ideas of the agency invoked exist. No god is connected with the two places, and there seems to be no reason why the spirits of Mongol soldiers and their Ming successors should be supposed to have healing powers. 776 778 755

Not very far from the Mongol Tomb and Ming Tablet there is another monument of Kublai Khan, the great stone tablet on a stone tortoise which records at length his conquest and pacification of Yunnan. This monument is well known and its character is familiar to every educated per-

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own.

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife.

In western Yunnan modern medical science is still almost entirely unknown, and the ravages of epidemic diseases proceed virtually unchecked. The doctors who practise old-fashioned Chinese medicine are indeed capable

[1] [i.e. the marriage system. -- Analyst]

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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a
761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which
[297 such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on
765] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

3:Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5. He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

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11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised. 778 755

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons. 778

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies. 796 [562]

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widespread practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrifical animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

held. I gathered from the Mewu-Fantzu that the magic power of a 791
böm-bu is considered greater than that of the lama, although he does not enjoy special social privileges. In cases of illness, the nomads as a rule first consult a lama who can determine which spirit has caused the illness. They are sometimes in doubt whether in a certain case exorcism by a böm-bu or a lama would be more successful. The result is that, oddly enough, a lama is first consulted, and they let him decide, by throwing dice, which exorcism would be more effective, that of the lama or the böm-bu. This is a noteworthy indication of the tolerance Lamaism has for popular religion, and it also shows that the lamas for their part do not doubt the magic power of the böm-bu. Thus I was told that in cases of serious illness, the 791
böm-bu is generally preferred because the people believe he has 755
greater magic power, and that he is nevertheless no more expensive 789
than a lama.

/51/ The most common task of the böm-bu is to heal sickness with magic. The cause of the illness is assumed to be an offense against the spirits or possession by an evil spirit, and above all, enchantment by an enemy. However, sickness is not regarded as a punishment for sins. In our discussion of earth spirits, we pointed out that the Mewu-Fantzu believe that sudden illness can arise if one scratches up the ground and thus offends the earth spirits. In this case barley roasted in a kettle is sacrificed. Half of it is roasted until it is black, the other half is less thoroughly done. Both halves are then mixed and strewn on the ground. At the same time cypress wood is burned, and sacred writings are read aloud. The reading aloud of sacred writings is an essential part of the ritual of exorcism, just as it is among Chinese exorcists. The böm-bu can read the sacred writings in the tent of the sick person, but he also reads them in his own tent, on the one hand, in order to learn them, and on the other, to bring good luck to other people who have delegated him to do the reading. For a three-day treatment of an illness the böm-bu is given a sheep or $3 - $4. For reading sacred writings in his own tent throughout a forenoon, he gets about 20 cents. A lama receives the same amount for treating sickness with prayer.

As an exorcist, the böm-bu's duty is to drive out evil spirits and if possible destroy them. He can catch the evil spirits. To do this he reads the sacred writings aloud and uses a whip made of yak leather. A man stands in front of the böm-bu and holds open a bag of yak leather into which the böm-bu charms the evil spirit. A great many people stand behind the bag, threatening the evil spirit

791 with all kinds of weapons - muskets, bows and arrows, swords and
765 knives - and driving the spirit into the bag. When the spirit is
789 captured, the bag is carried outside, opened up over a fire of /52/ yak dung and symbolically emptied. The escaping evil spirit is threatened with the weapons carried by the men who accompany the bag, and this is supposed to drive the spirit into the fire where he is consumed. This burning of the spirit always takes place at a crossroad, which is why crossroads are avoided in the evening, since one never knows whether or not the burning has been successful. This type of exorcism is practiced only in cases of illness.

791 In special cases exorcistic rites are carried on simultaneously
789 by a considerable number of böm-bu. Thus before a war 10 to 20 böm-bu gather in order to curse the enemy and ask for good luck. In this case the böm-bu invoke a special god, the horse god (Ma-wang-yeh). They can also, like the lamas, invoke the mountain spirits which bring luck.

791 The böm-bu surpass the lamas in their exclusive ability to
754 practice black magic. However, they must be paid more for this than for ordinary exorcism. A böm-bu can be induced to bring sickness or a cattle epidemic down upon an enemy, but for this he must be paid with a yak or a horse, whether or not he is successful.

When black magic is practiced with the help of a böm-bu, a dog is killed and its blood used. The name of the person to be bewitched is written on a slip of paper, along with a magic formula. Then the paper is dipped in the blood of the dog and buried near the person who is being bewitched. (1) Meanwhile /53/ the böm-

1. In China we also find that cursed objects intended to bring ill luck through black magic are buried. For example, if a woman does not wish her neighbor well, she tries to gain possession of a few of her neighbor's hairs which she brings to an old woman versed in black magic and making a business of it. With the help of incantations, the old woman can make the hairs work an evil spell, for example, produce trachoma or boils. However, in order to be effective, the hairs must be secretly placed under the chamber pot (ma-t'ung) of the victim.

bu is reading aloud from the sacred books in his tent. It is not possible, however, by means of magic to turn men into animals and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

caused by the curse of other people can also be cured by asking the
753 tuan-kung to perform service before the local god.

Besides, the Ch'iang believe that strange dreams can too cause diseases. A cow that drinks water or a woman who does not
[844] avoid a shadow may also cause diseases. Born in an unlucky hour also can cause diseases (to the baby). If the source of the disease is unknown, the tuan-kung is requested to burn a sheep's thigh-bone with wormwood to discover it by divination. (The method of divination will be discussed elsewhere.)

The tuan-kung has different ways to cure diseases. The com-
• 755 monest is the method of supplication and sacrifice, called mŭ-tchi-shōō-tchi-sa-wōō, i.e., substituting sheep for human life. Make a human figure with straws and put on it the patient's hat, clothes and stockings. Take a little tea, flour, and beans; and put them into a paper bag. Next, send the straw man and a sheep together to the graveyard, where the sheep is killed and the straw man burned. Then the tuan-kung prays, saying that the sheep has died for the patient and that the straw man, representing the devil of disease, is riding the sheep to go far away. The patient's relatives are not allowed to eat the meat of this sheep. On his way back, the tuan-kung will call the soul for the patient. Putting a piece of paper on the ground, planting little flags on its corners to represent the ancestors, and placing beside the paper a few moon and sun cakes and in the middle, pine branches, buckwheat, oats, or other grains and lard, the tuan-kung chants the liturgy of calling the soul -- shōō-wo-dio-shuei -- and sees if there is any insect climbing onto the paper. If so, he considers that the soul has returned. (If there is no insect, he uses the lard to paste one on it.) Then, he wraps up the paper and puts it in a basket in which there are a hat, eggs, and other things. A relative of the patient carries the basket and follows the tuan-kung home. On his way back, the tuan-kung points at the hills and streams and calls the soul to return. Arriving at the door, the tuan-kung requests the Door God to open the door and asks, "Has the soul returned?" People inside answer, "Yes." Thus, three times he asks and three times, they answer. Then the tuan-kung sends the wrapped paper to the spirit tablet of the ancestors, /20/ as he beats the drum to declare the conclusion of the service. (If the patient is a female and a woman's long hair is found on the paper when the tuan-kung summons the soul, they regard it as the greatest success. And the patient is going to live several years more than his normal span of life.

•755 Those families that are too poor to hire a tuan-kung may let the patient's own sons and daughters do the job of calling the soul. The method is simpler. Put an egg in a hat; take a bowl of rice; burn three sticks of incense and take also three unburnt sticks of incense. Planting the burnt sticks below the eaves from which water drops, the patient's sons and daughters would kneel down, call their parents, and pray, "Mountains are high, roads distant, and the source of water is far away. Soul, please come back, ..." They shout all the way through the door and go straight to the ancestral tablet. They then burn the incense and plant it in the stove. They ask the question "Has the soul returned?" the same way as the tuan-kung does. If the first attempt at calling the soul is not successful, they must call three times in a row at the second calling. If again there is no answer, they must call five times, or seven or nine times in a row. Before the calling becomes effective, the rice and egg cannot be touched and used. The egg represents the soul and must be respected. It must be hidden in the stove before the God of Fire and covered with ashes. After the calling is finished, the egg and rice will be given to the patient to eat.

If the disease is caused by the Poison Devil, the treatment is different. The Ch'iang call it mu-zee-ho-bu, meaning performing service by the tuan-kung at night, or inviting a night tuan-kung. For this, the tuan-kung must display his magic skill. During the evening, the tuan-kung sneaks into the house of the patient, sets up an altar, worships first the God of Curing Diseases (Si-mā), chants the liturgies, makes a straw man and a flag, and does all other preparations. At the same time, he builds a fire outdoors and cooks some food to attract animals. He asks a hunter to hide behind the house to see if there is any animal coming toward the fire. Ringing his magic bell, the tuan-kung carries the straw man and the flag outdoors and calls in all directions to warn the Poison Devil and the animals representing the Poison Devil. Finishing calling, he goes inside the house to perform service. He puts a rice pot, a spade, an iron chain, and a black and a white stone into the stove and burns them till they are red hot. He also prepares a bowl of clean water. He chants the liturgies and jumps over the pot. (He actually walks over the pot. But, because he walks so fast, it is called "jump.") The patient is also assisted to walk over the red pot twice. Then the tuan-kung winds the chain around the patient. He licks the spade with his tongue and holds in his mouth the two red-hot black and white stones. He throws each of the stones into the bowl of clean water and gives the water to the patient to drink. At this moment, if the hunter has seen an animal and has killed it, the tuan-kung will at once, while chanting the

•755 liturgies, take the straw man and a sheep to the cross roads. He kills the sheep, spreads its blood on the straw man and the flag, and then burns them. This means that the straw man, representing the devil of illness, is sent away and that the sheep has died in the place of the patient. Everything in the belly of the sheep is thrown away. The tuan-kung takes the sheep's head, its hind legs, and its skin.

People do not invite a tuan-kung for a Poison Devil disease which is not very serious. They treat it only with the night-watching method called muzee-kue dze. The treatment begins by washing the patient's wound with water. Then, mix flour with that water to make a human figure. Cut a corner off the patient's clothes, take a head scarf and some hairs, and put them all on a plate. Build a fire outdoors and put the plate beside the fire. Also ask a hunter to wait behind the house to shoot the animal that happens to approach the fire. Even a valuable domesticated animal is not to be spared. An animal that has been shot must be traced and brought back, and must not be left to die in front of some other person's house. If no animal comes after long waiting, shooting the flour man or a whirlwind can also be effective.

783 777 Expelling Bad Luck--When the Ch'iang of Li-fan have bad luck and do not know what to do, they invite a tuan-kung to perform magic for them so as to expel the bad luck. This method is called "pil-wara" in the Ch'iang language. It begins with the host preparing two pints of buckwheat flour. The tuan-kung first mixes the flour with water to make various images of gods, which are kept at home; he then makes five mountains with flour and three double-leaf flags with paper. He takes the host's hat, a belt and a sun cake, and puts them into a basket. /21/ Besides, he also takes the host's accounting book, farming tools, and other important things, and with his helpers, moves them several miles away from the house. Finding a proper place where he can see mountains and streams, the tuan-kung sits cross-legged on the ground. He takes the flour mountains out of the basket and arranges them in a row on a paper. Then he builds a fire, burning pine branches. He now starts his magic performance, chanting liturgies, beating the drum, ringing the bell, inviting his old Master, calling the names of the gods of the five mountains, and reading aloud the host's age, name, and misfortunes. If the magic is effective, the weather will change at this moment, -- the wind may blow or a rain may fall. The tuan-kung watches the paper on which the five flour mountains are placed to see what (besides living things) has fallen on it. No matter whether it be an

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĚR-DDĚR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

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131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nä Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

753 Uganda people of Africa, and many other primitive peoples are all of the same opinion. Like these peoples, the Ch'iang think that diseases are due to the evil influences of ghosts and gods. Since the source of illness is the ghosts and gods, it will be cured only if they are pacified. Therefore, it is unnecessary to take medicines. Deniker, a French anthropologist, remarks that since the primitive peoples believed that illness came from ghosts and gods, sorcerers and others like them were the earliest physicians. Only they could capture the devil inside the patient. (5) This exactly can also be said for the

5. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 285.

[756] [791] Ch'iang. Whenever a Ch'iang is sick, he asks a tuan-kung to perform a magic cure for him. The Ch'iang themselves agree that the major difference between the Ch'iang and the Han /Chinese/ is that the former, while ill, take no medicine.

All ghosts and gods can cause diseases, but each disease caused by them has its peculiar symptom.

The Poison Devil carries poison with finger nails or eyes. The Ch'iang call it mu-mi-kue-dze ku. Diseases caused by the Poison Devil are swelling of the stomach or stomach-ache, indigestion, discomfort of the whole body, and overeating without gaining weight.

Diseases caused by offending the good gods at home are all diseases in the upper part of the body -- head, eye, ear, nose, mouth, chest, back, shoulder, arm, and hand. They can be cured only by inviting a tuan-kung or by making a vow to pacify the god by the patient himself. Diseases caused by offending the Earth God --Hégni --are all diseases in the lower part of the body, such as paralyzed foot, swollen leg, or lameness. Light illness will disappear by itself. But, for serious illness, a tuan-kung must be invited.

Diseases caused by offending the Forest God are headache, thirst, fever, and chill. The patient must avoid eating and must kill no living things. Those taboos must be observed by the patient's whole family. Even their neighbors are not allowed to make noise with gong and drum. In this way, they believe the patient will recover. If the disease spreads to all family members, the whole family is not allowed to go outside to communicate with others. If they die, beggars will be hired to move them away.

Diseases caused by bad spirits have symptoms like languor, bad dreams, abnormal behavior, aching waist, ulcer, and nameless swelling. When a tuan-kung is invited to cure diseases, he uses a red cock and goes to the local god to perform a one-day service. Diseases

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

1: Fitzgerald H-S (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a 761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

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domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats. Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease. Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on, and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ST 346 776

represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

ST 601

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

ST 591 ST [164] ST [162]

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

S 487* 193

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mi-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

1: Fitzgerald H-S (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral pro- [764]
cession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small [291]
shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these com- [275]
modities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a govern- [263]
ment monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505] junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443 heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438 walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764 side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods, walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324 can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443 Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438 stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505 many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443 and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438 summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats, protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

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K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

[1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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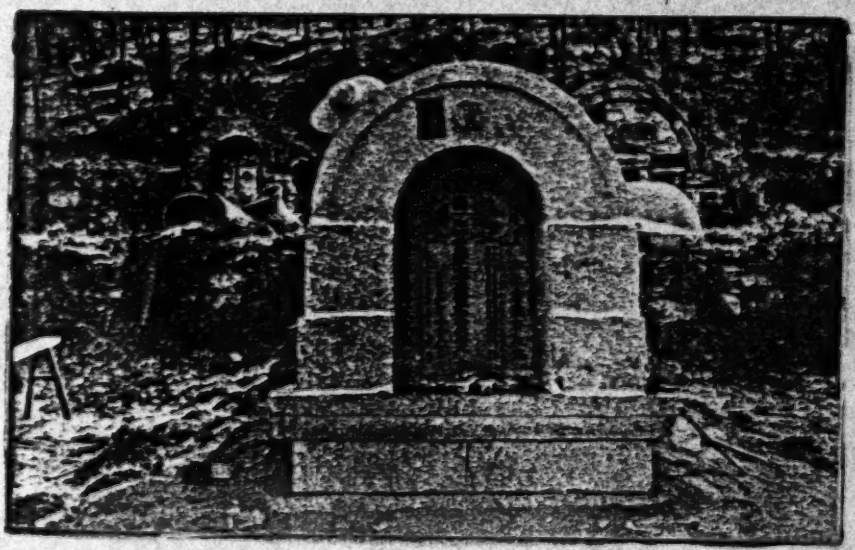
767
964

Paper horses prepared for a funeral.

Min Chia tomb with sacrificial offerings.



[Face p. 104]

769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a momument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

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764 was given by the Generalissimo, General Chiang Kai-shek, and written by General Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan, the deceased having been a military officer of rank.[1]

Not every deceased member, even of a wealthy family has so elaborate a resting place. Those who do not survive to marry and leave children are not buried in the principal family graveyard, but on the lowest slopes, where their monuments are more simple and less enduring. Young children or babies are buried with little ceremony on pieces of vacant land near the city wall, and their graves are soon obliterated by weather and decay. Even the poor, however, try to raise money for a tomb which will remain, though they cannot afford dressed stone and must be content to have a monument of piled blocks of undressed granite. The cattle which graze on these slopes break down such tombs before long, and even the elaborate monuments of the wealthy of an earlier age are found in every state of ruin. Yet well built tombs of the fifteenth century, the Ming Dynasty, are still intact, their inscriptions legible and, when they have descendants living, repaired and maintained.

The earliest dated private tomb which I was able to locate had an inscription of the year A.D. 1426, and this was still in good repair. Such a tomb to-day would cost not less than 200 Silver dollars, and the least expense if dressed stone is used would be 50 Silver dollars, a heavy cost for the poorer classes.

766 Suicides, and criminals executed by the authorities, are not buried with the family. The former are interred at the base of the mountain on common land, and the latter are simply and crudely buried on the public fair ground outside the West Gate, where the low mounds which cover them are soon trodden down and obliterated. In accordance with

[1] This distinction is equivalent to a decoration; no doubt the Generalissimo has secretaries who compose these couplets for such purposes, as he can hardly have the leisure to do so himself.

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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a
761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which
[297 such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on
765] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

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not be more than four or five days later at most. The Min Chia do not follow the custom which prevails in some parts of China of waiting a very long time, perhaps years, for an exceptionally auspicious day before interring the coffin. During these days before the funeral the makers of paper images have been hard at work preparing a number of paper horses, which are placed outside the main gate, and other figures both animal and human, as well as models of houses and sometimes boats, which are to be burned at the funeral for the use of the spirit in the afterworld.

Paper images, in all parts of modern China, have replaced for this purpose the clay figures found in ancient tombs, which are now well known as objects of art in Europe. Their use is to-day traditional for it is no longer customary to make everything that the spirit may be expected to require hereafter in paper, merely a selection of rather traditional objects, two horses, two human attendants (one male and one female), a house, and sometimes a boat. It is also customary to erect a high pole in the courtyard, or in the street outside the house, on top of which a paper heron is affixed. This custom is peculiar to Yunnan, but not to the Min Chia, for it is found in communities of Yunnanese Chinese such as at K'un Ming the provincial capital, and elsewhere. The heron or crane is a Chinese lucky bird, frequently represented as the messenger of the god of happiness, with a bundle of books, emblem of learning and official success, in the beak. But no Min Chia seemed to know why it should be associated with a funeral, and it would seem as if this custom had been merely imitated from the Chinese without its significance being understood. The whole funeral rite is indeed similar to that of the Chinese, and no traces of a different rite or other customs, which may once have prevailed, now exists.

On the morning of the day chosen for the funeral every-

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764 one related to the deceased arrives at the house, wearing that degree of mourning which their degree of kinship entails. All wear the white headcloth, even if they are guests not related to the family. The large and bulky catafalque, a litter with the poles wrapped in red cloth but decorated with white streamers and rosettes, for white is the colour of mourning, waits at the street door with the bearers hired for the day. The coffin is brought out and placed on it, followed by the nearest relatives, the chief mourner being the eldest son, who follows immediately behind the catafalque, walking with bowed back and dragging steps, supported on each side by two other relatives. The chief mourner must in this way display extreme grief, as if he could no longer walk alone. A large portrait of the deceased, to-day often an enlarged photograph, is carried before the catafalque, and the procession is headed by musicians, and followed by men carrying the paper images, other guests and mourners following behind.

In this way the procession winds about the streets of the city, not taking the most direct road to the west gate, which leads to the slopes of the mountain and the tombs. If the funeral starts from a village it usually proceeds straight to the mountain slopes, for the distance is two or three miles at least. The mourners and relatives not closely related usually turn back at the foot of the slopes in a city funeral, or at the end of the village in a country one, only the closer male relatives following to the grave itself, for the older women could in any case hardly make so long a walk, and the younger ones must not do more than their elders are able to do. At the grave, or sometimes at some point before it is reached, the procession halts, and the paper images are ceremonially burned, paper spirit money and incense sticks being burned at the same time. Then the interment takes place in the grave which has already been dug, and this is

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temporarily filled in and covered with stones until the 764
permanent monument can be built over it. It is sometimes customary to sacrifice a cock at the grave, the bird having been brought there tied on to the coffin lid. This custom is widespread among the Yunnanese Chinese, but not universal with the Min Chia. It is another example of a Chinese custom not yet wholly adopted.

Those mourners who have not accompanied the funeral to the grave may return to the house where a meal is served to all, either in the courtyard of the house, or if it is too small, in a mat shed erected outside the street door. The cost of this entertainment for a large number of people, and that of the funeral ceremonies as a whole is a real burden on poorer families, and it is often said that the two great causes of debt are the costs of marrying many sons, and burying many relatives. The Min Chia funerals are, of course, much less elaborate than the great funerals seen in the large cities of China, where several hundred hired attendants line miles of street, but even so a succession of deaths in a short time can greatly impoverish a family, since a display on these occasions equal to, or beyond their means, is considered essential to their social standing.

It is sometimes said that the affectation of excessive grief 765
which custom requires conceals a real indifference, but it would be truer to recognise that the function of these elaborate displays is to occupy the mind and time of relatives who would otherwise be left unoccupied with their sad reflections. No doubt Min Chia relations are sometimes not very distressed at the decease of a domestic tyrant or objectionable sister-in-law, but between most members of the family there is usually the same affection as is found elsewhere, and since the circle of a woman's acquaintance is largely confined to relatives, the death of one of these is more likely to be a real loss than would be the case in com-

3:Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dzu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths. It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb. On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again when she passes into this land of purity and of brightness. Among

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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness.

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies. 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting
those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and
smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is
smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the
floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there
is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats.
Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then
into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into
people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease.
Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn
into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other
diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a
foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and
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doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer
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local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water
into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon
that is causing the disease.

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As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on,
and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days
it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or
cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

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764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the
349 outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
995 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same 782
formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers.

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the 764
strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery 177
there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately /61/ following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

764 the corpse, /62/ attendants cut it up with a knife, severing the limbs
177 at the joints. Any kind of knife is used for this purpose; afterwards it is washed off a bit and used for other things. The various parts of the corpse are thrown in all directions so that they will be devoured by the vultures. The bones, such as skull, jaws, upper thigh bones, are left at the burial place. Many bones are disposed of by vultures.

While this is going on at the burial place, the relatives and lamas (usually only two of the latter) gather in the tent of mourning. Here the lamas read prayers. The family of the deceased prepares a large meal of which the lamas partake. The food consists of tsamba, butter, mo-mo and meat cooked with rice. After the meal tsamba and butter are divided among the relatives. The lamas get the better clothing of the deceased and they in turn give them to their relatives. The lamas continue to read prayers from breakfast until noon and even while people eat. Sometime after the death has occurred, the family gives butter, barley flour and money to the lamasery to which the lamas belong. Wealthy people give each lama $14, a pound (chin) of butter and a bushel (tou) of barley flour. Poor people give each lama only 10 cents; very poor ones give nothing.

Five or six years after the day of mourning the same ceremonies are performed. This custom is perhaps based on the same ideas that underlie the widespread second burial in South China. No special mourning clothes are worn. The Fantzu do not join in official loud weeping as the Chinese do at their funerals; it is only at the funeral feast that they weep softly now and then "to be polite and to show one's sympathy."

A child's funeral does not differ from that of an adult.

If someone has died a violent death, no special customs are observed. Nor is there any difference in the case of suicide. However, this form of death seems to be rare. /63/ My interpreter knew of only two cases of suicides by hanging among the Mewu-Fantzu.

After a death has occurred the Fantzu request an incarnation (fu-yeh) to carry out a ceremony to insure the rebirth of the soul in a human being, not an animal ("scatter flowers rice," tsou hua mi). The fu-yeh strews grains of barley all over the tent to form flower-like figures (Tibetan: dzam-na). A pointed trivet is made of tsamba and is a symbol of the dead. It is also strewn with barley corn by the fu-yeh. A member of the family or a neighbor carries the symbol of the dead out of the tent and throws it away not far

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 944 177

In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-do-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some 792

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tso farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

other, the tuan-kung chants liturgies as he sacrifices to all the gods in the house. In the sacrifice to the Sheep God, there is a special program. A chicken and a living she-goat are used during the sacrifice to the Sheep God. The tuan-kung must regard the sheep as a person and giving it a portion of the ancestor's gifts, wishes it prolific in production. After the sacrifice, the sheep must be fed until its natural death and must not be killed or sold. Special food (dry cabbage) is used to feed the sheep which is called "Sacred Sheep," or hitu-tzé-sawoo. Among other programs, the sacrifice to the God of Granary must be given by the mother of the youth to be capped. In the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof, the heart of the white sheep must be taken out and the black sheep must be killed. These all have their specific meanings which will be discussed in the conclusion.

The funeral ceremony of the Ch'iang is also very complicated. We will discuss here only one of its most characteristic scenes. After the death of a Ch'iang tribesman, a goat is often killed /25/ to guide the dead man. It is called la-par-sar-ma-tchi, or the guiding goat. The man who kills the goat must be a senior of the deceased. If the deceased is a male, a he-goat will be killed; if a female, a she-goat. The place for killing the goat is right in front of the corpse. At that moment, a prayer must first be said: "The goat is guiding you. What disease you died of will be shown on the body of the goat." After the prayer, the goat is killed. The first gush of blood is received in a bowl. Wheat straws are dipped into the blood. The goat's blood is spread on the palm of the corpse (left hand for male and right hand for female) to let the deceased know that the goat will act as his guide. Then the body of the goat is dissected to discover the cause of his death. The disease found in the goat signifies a corresponding disease in the man that causes his death. After the disease is confirmed, relatives begin to cry sorrowfully and regret that they have not known its cause earlier and have not given him the right treatment. The relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this goat.

Although this scene is quite strange, it is not unique. Among the Tchuktchi tribe in Siberia, who practices funeral by exposure (discard), the corpse is cut open in the shape of a cross before the funeral to examine the cause of its death. If cremation is adopted, the corpse does not have to be cut open but the throat must be cut. (10) The Azande (or niam-niam) people in Africa believe that if a

•764 10. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 142.

person's death is caused by the attack of an evil spirit, the source of his disease can be found by dissecting and examining the corpse (11)

11. Levy-Brühl, Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, p. 184.

Anthropologists call this practice "autopsia." Some other places in Africa, such as Libreville, Pahonius and Ngounie, have similar practices. (12) These tribes, however, directly dissect the corpse while

12. "Un enterrement chez les Ishagos," p. 138-9 (Bulletin de la société de recherches Congolaise, No. 8, 1928.)

the Ch'iang substitute the goat for the corpse. Whether the substitution of the goat for the corpse has a specific meaning or not will be discussed in the conclusion.

782 Praying for Rain-- The Ch'iang live in mountains where geographical environment is perilous and difficult. In ancient times a traveler once said, "It worries even birds to pass through them. How can men do it!" Farms are along both sides of the stream or on slopes. Farming under such circumstances, as we can imagine, relies heavily upon rainfall. A summer without rain often makes the harvest hopeless. So praying for rain becomes a very serious business. It would take too much space to describe the various legends and stories about the drought and the rites of praying for rain in all places. Here we will introduce to our readers only one or two programs related to religious beliefs. The Ch'iang custom of praying for rain along the Tsa-ku-nao River in Li-fan is most interesting. For instance, whenever they have a long period of dry weather, the Ch'iang at Hsing-shang-liu-chai, Tseng-t'ou-san-chai and Chu-erh-san-chai as well as those at Niu-shan, Lo-shan, Kan-ch'i, Wen-shan, Chia-shan, Jo-ta and Hsi-shan must go to search the mountains, which they call ho-mu-mo-gee-sar-lir-rahge. The so-called "mountain search" is to prohibit the digging of medical herbs and the trapping of animals. The Ch'iang believe that the digging of angelica and other medical herbs destroys the treasure of the land and violates the law of regeneration. As to the prohibition of trapping animals, it is because the Fork God or horn-mo-tze (the God of Hunting symbolized by a fork) worshiped by hunters is a symbol of slaughter. He should be excluded during the days of difficulties so as to follow the will of Heaven. Once the order of "mountain searching" is published, each village will send several persons to

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

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131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The mas-
S ST sive limestone range of Gkū-dū also lies within the triangle.

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled
771 many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S ST of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S ST finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1939) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a
761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which
[297 such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on
765] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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temporarily filled in and covered with stones until the 764
permanent monument can be built over it. It is sometimes customary to sacrifice a cock at the grave, the bird having been brought there tied on to the coffin lid. This custom is widespread among the Yunnanese Chinese, but not universal with the Min Chia. It is another example of a Chinese custom not yet wholly adopted.

Those mourners who have not accompanied the funeral to the grave may return to the house where a meal is served to all, either in the courtyard of the house, or if it is too small, in a mat shed erected outside the street door. The cost of this entertainment for a large number of people, and that of the funeral ceremonies as a whole is a real burden on poorer families, and it is often said that the two great causes of debt are the costs of marrying many sons, and burying many relatives. The Min Chia funerals are, of course, much less elaborate than the great funerals seen in the large cities of China, where several hundred hired attendants line miles of street, but even so a succession of deaths in a short time can greatly impoverish a family, since a display on these occasions equal to, or beyond their means, is considered essential to their social standing.

It is sometimes said that the affectation of excessive grief 765
which custom requires conceals a real indifference, but it would be truer to recognise that the function of these elaborate displays is to occupy the mind and time of relatives who would otherwise be left unoccupied with their sad reflections. No doubt Min Chia relations are sometimes not very distressed at the decease of a domestic tyrant or objectionable sister-in-law, but between most members of the family there is usually the same affection as is found elsewhere, and since the circle of a woman's acquaintance is largely confined to relatives, the death of one of these is more likely to be a real loss than would be the case in com-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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• 765 munities where families soon scatter. A deceased person, by the very fact of death, has become one of the ancestral spirits, and as such an object of reverence in an ancestor worshipping society. The funeral has thus a double significance, it is not only a farewell to the deceased, but also the first act of worship paid to his spirit which has now joined the ancestral pantheon.

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor
527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure
788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are
[764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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764 was given by the Generalissimo, General Chiang Kai-shek, and written by General Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan, the deceased having been a military officer of rank.[1]

Not every deceased member, even of a wealthy family has so elaborate a resting place. Those who do not survive to marry and leave children are not buried in the principal family graveyard, but on the lowest slopes, where their monuments are more simple and less enduring. Young children or babies are buried with little ceremony on pieces of vacant land near the city wall, and their graves are soon obliterated by weather and decay. Even the poor, however, try to raise money for a tomb which will remain, though they cannot afford dressed stone and must be content to have a monument of piled blocks of undressed granite. The cattle which graze on these slopes break down such tombs before long, and even the elaborate monuments of the wealthy of an earlier age are found in every state of ruin. Yet well built tombs of the fifteenth century, the Ming Dynasty, are still intact, their inscriptions legible and, when they have descendants living, repaired and maintained.

The earliest dated private tomb which I was able to locate had an inscription of the year A.D. 1426, and this was still in good repair. Such a tomb to-day would cost not less than 200 Silver dollars, and the least expense if dressed stone is used would be 50 Silver dollars, a heavy cost for the poorer classes.

766 Suicides, and criminals executed by the authorities, are not buried with the family. The former are interred at the base of the mountain on common land, and the latter are simply and crudely buried on the public fair ground outside the West Gate, where the low mounds which cover them are soon trodden down and obliterated. In accordance with

[1] This distinction is equivalent to a decoration; no doubt the Generalissimo has secretaries who compose these couplets for such purposes, as he can hardly have the leisure to do so himself.

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the belief that drowned persons have been claimed by the 766
Dragon of the Lake, the recovered corpses of those who lose their life in this way are buried on the foreshore, among the willows which line the water. They are given elaborate tombs if they were fathers of a family, just as if death had not been due to drowning, but they are never buried with the family on the mountain slopes. Graves are always orientated 787
in accordance with the instructions of a geomancer, but 766
they invariably face the lake at some angle, and are never faced towards the mountain. The orientation of graves is believed to be intimately connected with the repose of the dead, and if misfortune falls upon a family, or the ghost of the deceased is believed to walk, it is attributed to wrong orientation of the grave, and the monument is reconstructed accordingly.

In all parts of China the Lunar New Year, which falls early 527
in February, is the principal holiday in the calendar, and is celebrated by feasting and festivity. It is usual for shops to close, formerly for as long as two weeks, and even now very little business is done in the first half of the First Month. The 15th of the 1st Month, the last day of the Feast of Lanterns, was the old official end of the holiday season, a period which very much resembles the Christmas holidays of western Europe. In just the same way the New Year holiday is a time for family reunions, a festival in which the religious background is not so prominent as the secular feasting and holiday making. In Ta Li the Min Chia celebrate the New Year with rites, which though they may be affected by Chinese practice in the past, are now strange to Chinese visitors from the eastern provinces. These rites are performed privately in the home and are therefore akin to the Shu Pao ceremonies of Ancestor Worship described above. It is characteristic of Min Chia practice, however, to find Buddhist elements incorporated in the ceremony.

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Ch'iang

764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one
349 large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

● 766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
995 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

to a crossroads and the jar is buried upside down. The jar is covered by paper, and priests have told the writer that the paper moves because the demon is jumping about inside. During cremation, in some villages, two wooden birds are placed on the coffin. They are rescued and carried away to the homes of the rescuers. 766 775

When a person dies there is present a poisonous breath called *an ch'i* 煞氣. To offset its effects and to keep away demons a cockerel is sometimes killed and its blood sprinkled on the door-posts.

V. *Religion.*

1. The Future Life.

The Ch'iang have not a very definite idea of the future life. Some say that hades is below and that it is a dark and shadowy place. They have heard the Christian teaching about heaven and hell, and that of the Buddhists and Taoists about hell and Western Paradice. Their idea of the soul does not seem to be very clear. There are few if any memorial customs excepting those that were influenced by the Chinese. They say that they love and revere their ancestors, living and dead. Said one, "If we offer food or burn spirit money, what good does it do? If we offer food or wine, they cannot eat or drink it. Spirit money when burnt turns into smoke." Some believe in reincarnation. Many commemorate their ancestors on the fifth day of the fifth moon or the fifteenth day of the seventh moon. Some worship their ancestors in their homes on the first, fifteenth, and thirtieth of each lunar month. 775

2. The World View.

These people live on the sides and tops of high mountains, or in narrow valleys. The climate is cool and comparatively dry. Near them live the powerful Jia Rung, the Wa Ssu, the Hsi Fan, and the fierce Heh Shui, Luh Hua, and Bolotzu. Wild animals live in the forests and attack human beings, the crops, and the domestic animals. There are floods and droughts. People fall over the cliffs or drown in the streams. Lightning strikes trees and houses, and sometimes kills people or animals. Earthquakes shake down houses, rolling stones kill or injure people, and pestilences sweep the country killing men and domestic animals. The Ch'iang are not 789

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

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I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 瀘雋土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

S 316 135

The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang 吳兆棠 submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang 東升廠, also Pai-niu ch'ang 白牛廠. At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers (池) or smelters going [the word *ch'ih* 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every *ch'ih* from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.

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771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table,
353 which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being
769 thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morn-
788 ing and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

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tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the 769
morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes 788
the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten.

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead 769
with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well- 796
being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement.

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

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out the inscriptions one by one in a chanting voice, handing them as he finishes to one of the children, who then lays them on the wood fire, while another member of the family, a wife or daughter, throws on to the fire strings of "spirit money"—coloured paper representing ingots of gold and silver.

Fresh piles of "books", which have been lying on the ancestral altar, are brought out and the process of reading out the inscriptions and burning the "books" continues until every deceased ancestor has been so honoured. As, in a wealthy family, the records so kept may go back several generations, and the number of individuals so remembered be over a hundred, the ceremony lasts a long time. When all have been read out and burned, the head of the family rises, and bows three times to the altar, while all the other members of the family, men and women in order of age pass behind the altar, and *k'e t'ou* three times—that is prostrate themselves and knock the forehead on the floor. Even the youngest baby is brought by its mother to make this sign of reverence. The head of the family then pours the cups of rice wine on to the ground before the altar, scattering a few drops from each cup into the fire, and takes pinches of food from the dishes and drops them into the fire. All proceed to the street gate where incense sticks are lighted and fire crackers are discharged, to speed the spirits on their way. This ends the rite. The fire is doused, the altar cleared away. The spirits have departed for another year.

The behaviour of all who take part in this rite is in marked contrast to the careless conduct observed at temples. There is here no laughing and conversation. Nothing but the voice of the head of the family chanting out the names and ages of the deceased breaks the silence, and the scene, lit only by the candles and the firelight, is impressive and solemn.

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(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

It is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to religious practices that, although the Shu Pao ceremony is a rite of Ancestor Worship, it has become associated with other deities as well. On the day following the ceremony many people, particularly women, go to the temple of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and there offer prayers and burn incense for the repose of the spirits of the dead, with the same ritual as is used in the spring festival of this deity. The difficulty of reconciling the belief that the ancestral spirits have just been dwelling in the home, and the belief that they, or some of them, have been confined in the Taoist underworld until released by these sacrifices, does not appear to trouble the Min Chia mind. This is by no means the only instance in which conflicting theology is ignored in favour of the performance of differing rites serving the same general purpose.

Also connected with the Shu Pao ceremony is the custom of releasing K'un Ming "lamps", in reality fire balloons ingeniously made of paper and bamboo lathes, which rise burning to great heights on still windless evenings, such as are common at this season of the year. These fire balloons take their name from the famous Chinese general of the third century A.D., Ch'u-k'o Liang, or Ch'u-k'o K'un-Ming, who first temporarily conquered Yunnan for the Western Han Dynasty. Legend relates that he used this device to send signals to detached bodies of his troops in his wars with the native princes of Yunnan. Although this is the explanation commonly given for the name of the fire balloons, it is admitted that they are never used till the night of the 14th of the 7th Month, the night of the Shu Pao ceremony, and subsequent nights for about a month. In spite of this rather faint connection with religion, no one is able to explain what function, other than that of entertainment, the release of these fire balloons is meant to fulfil. Releasing

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 527 788 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are [764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

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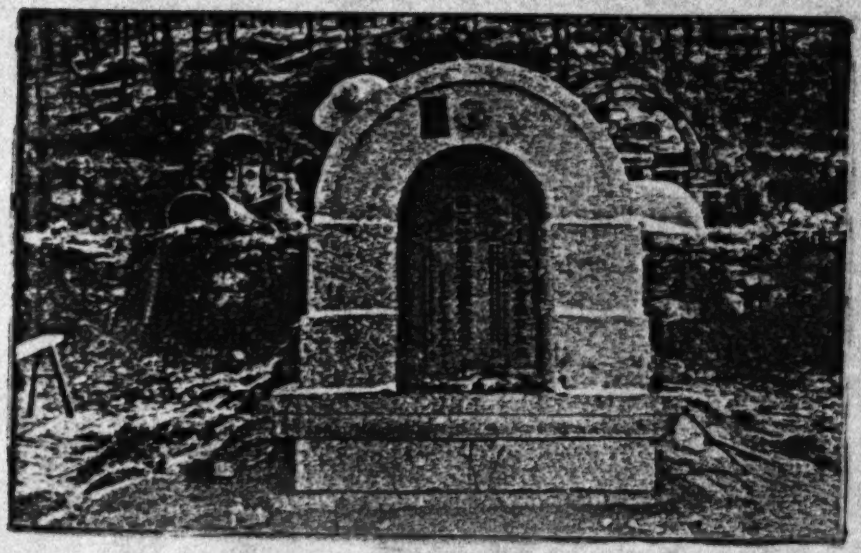
Paper horses prepared for a funeral.

Min Chia tomb with sacrificial offerings.



[Face p. 104]

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769 and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there.
527 Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of
788 reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

769 The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn,
527 for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

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769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a momument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

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527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

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of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* (prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ancestral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family. 527 769 788

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their goodwill and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

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527 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the
769 district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in
788 every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in
779 fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

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valid, would equally dispose of the claims of the ancestral spirits, seems to escape the notice of those who use it. 769 779

In view of the general ignorance of Buddhist theolog and the manner in which Buddhist beliefs have becom incorporated into systems originally distinct, it is not possible to discuss Buddhism among the Min Chia on a theoretical basis. The practice can be observed, but if any attempt is made to fit it into the theory of Buddhism as expounded by scholarly writers, a false systematisation would be the only result. The Boddhisatvas are recognised as deities, with certain powers, and are served with traditional rites on festivals. These ideas may be bad Buddhism, but they are the working practice of the Min Chia, and as such the subject of the next chapter. Nor will it be profitable, in the absence of records, to discuss whether Buddhism was formerly practised in a purer form by the inhabitants of Ta Li. The Kings of Nan Chao certainly erected the magnificent pagodas which still adorn the city, but no evidence exists to show whether the peasants of that distant age understood the religion of their rulers any better than they do to-day.

682 and unusual thing, considering the shy nature of groundhogs. The
775 chief immediately feared that his brother might be among these groundhogs, and proclaimed a general law against groundhog hunting. This law was still enforced, although the sale of groundhog pelts brings in quite a bit of money. It probably means that the Fantzu shared or at least understood the fear of their chieftain. On the other hand, according to primitive ideas of justice, the assassination was in no way avenged, since this would have been exclusively a matter that concerned the family of the victim.

789 Ancestor worship is different from that of the Chinese. There are no ancestral tablets. In the Mewu-Fantzu dialect the ancestors are called xöü. After the father or mother has died, he or she is venerated by daily sacrifices in front of the tent. Later this sacrifice is made only on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of the month, and then it is gradually abandoned.

791 Just as Taoist and Buddhist priests take part in exorcism, the propitiation of offended spirits and the casting out of evil ones, so Tibetan sorcerers and lamas are enlisted for this purpose. The sorcerer corresponding to the Taoist (tao-shih) or exorcist (kan-kuei-hsien-sheng) of the Chinese popular religion is called no-hua by the Tibetans and "böm-bu" (local pronunciation) by the Chinese. Thus he is a priest of the Bon religion. He wears his hair /50/ long, and is adorned with a special head scarf. (1) There are no different kinds

1. Compare Hoffmann 9), page 137 (names), page 197 (relations to shamanism).

of böm-bu. Not every tent community has a böm-bu, and unfortunately there was none in the community I visited. The böm-bu is married and his profession - the art of carrying out exorcistic rites and writing incantations to ward off spirits - is handed down from father to son, but not to daughter or son-in-law. The altar in the tent of the böm-bu contains the customary small statues of gods and bowls for the sacrificial water, as well as a large Chinese brush with which he writes his incantations, and a long row of copper coins. He always has prayer books, although the laymen say that many böm-bu cannot read their prayerbooks, but only leaf through them. On the other hand, I was told that the böm-bu are able to understand the sacred writings of the lamas, but that, conversely, fewer educated lamas understand the sacred writings of the böm-bu. In spite of the high esteem in which the lamas are

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CHAPTER 5

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(1) *Ancestor Worship*

THE Chinese, it has been said, practise three religions; 771
Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. The Min Chia, who have absorbed so much of the Chinese culture, also worship deities and practise rites which can be classified as Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian (or Ancestor Worship). But if one concludes from this that it is true to say that the Min Chia, or the Chinese, have three "religions", in the sense in which the word is understood in the West it would be a profound misapprehension of the real character of their beliefs. The educated classes, who are aware of the separate origin of the three systems, do not believe in any of them; the less educated, who practise the rites of all three, are not conscious of any such distinctions. In the Min Chia language, Buddhist Boddhisatvas, Taoist deities, local gods not in the Taoist pantheon, and ancestral spirits, are all described by one word, *ser*. The distinction between supernatural beings [776] called *ser* and the ghosts of deceased persons, called *gur*, is the only one which is present in the mind of the ordinary Min Chia.

It would indeed be better, if it were possible, to forget the nomenclature and classification of religious beliefs derived from European studies of Chinese culture, since these introduce a false systematisation where no system exists, and create distinctions where none are known to the people themselves. The terms themselves are ill-defined and of such vague import as to be almost meaningless. Buddhism, when used to describe the Indian religion in its earlier phases, is a

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more or less precise term, but as a classification of rites practised, and beliefs held by the Min Chia to-day it is of limited application. Taoism can mean so many quite different things that it may be as well to list the principal meanings and then indicate which is intended when this word is used. Taoism is firstly the name of the ancient system of quietist philosophy developed in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Secondly it came to be the name of the slightly later system of astrology and alchemy which crystallised around the tradition that the early Taoist philosophers had become "Immortals". In the eleventh century the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, for reasons of policy, elaborated an official polytheistic cult with a hierarchy of divinities comparable to the earthly hierarchy of imperial officials. This he labelled Taoism also. At the present time, in most parts of China, any cult, religious rite, practice or belief, which cannot be classified as Buddhist or connected with Ancestral worship, is described as "Taoist". In this chapter the word will be confined to the sphere of the old official cult, instituted first by Sung Chen Tsung and maintained by all subsequent emperors up to the Republic.

Confucianism, another loose term, in fact covers three quite separate things; the ethical and political teaching of Confucius and his disciples, which explicitly excluded all religious questions; the cult of Heaven of which the Chinese Emperors were the sole priests; and Ancestor Worship. The only link between the three is that none could be classified as Buddhism or Taoism. Here Ancestor Worship, or the Cult of the Dead, is all that need be discussed and therefore the term Confucianism will not be used. The practice of the Min Chia as regards these systems of belief can be outlined briefly before entering into detail. The Min Chia worship a large number of Gods, some of whom are Buddhist Boddhisatvas, some Official Taoist divinities,

(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

771 some local deities. They also practise Ancestor Worship, there being a real distinction between the manner and the places in which the gods are worshipped, and those in which the rites of Ancestor Worship are performed.

771 356 One further source of confusion, not unrelated to the notion of "three religions" must be discussed. It is the common experience of all travellers in China, both Yunnan and other provinces, to find temples in poor repair, or ill-kept, and the attitude of the people to this neglect is one of casual unconcern. More than this, the people themselves seem to the European to have no reverence for their gods or their shrines. Men will eat meat and drink rice wine in a Buddhist temple, although wine and meat are forbidden to the Buddhist; they will allow anyone to occupy the shrine itself for a night's lodging, and they laugh, spit on the floor, and behave in an irreverent manner anywhere in the temple precincts. The traveller, or the missionary, who thinks of his own behaviour in a church, is shocked at this conduct and comes to believe that these peoples lack all true spiritual understanding, and practise three religions because they are incapable of devotion to any creed. Chinese of the educated classes, who are in fact agnostics, and hostile to the old religion as a survival of pre-revolutionary China, tend to confirm this opinion. But it is none the less mistaken.

771 If temples are neglected, they are also repaired, even rebuilt, and by public subscription. Hard earned money is spent by farmers who can ill afford any luxury. Women and girls will make long journeys to a temple on the day of festival, and spend relatively considerable sums of money on incense to burn at the shrines. Immense numbers of people collect at the temple festivals, and if many come for pleasure or recreation, great numbers also come to worship. It is not compulsion which brings the crowds and draws their money, for the government is at best indifferent, at worst

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771 openly hostile to the old religious system. If people will take trouble and spend money on a religion disestablished and scorned by their rulers, it can only be because they believe in it.

The explanation of this paradox lies in a misunderstanding of the Chinese (and Min Chia) approach to a religious rite, and the nature of the idea of what is sacred to the European, and to the Chinese. To the West, whether Christian, Moslem or Hebrew, and one may add Hindu, the Church or other place of worship is itself sacred, the house of God, where men meet only to worship the deity in a communal rite. This idea is wholly absent from the Far East. To these peoples religion is essentially not a communal, but a personal, or at most a family affair. The most important rites take place, not in any public temple but in the privacy of the home. The temples of the gods are monuments of piety,
773 built to please, not to house, the deities. Thus the Buddhist
771 "priest" is wrongly described, for he is is not the father of a flock, nor a sacred person knowing more about the gods and how to serve them than a layman. He is at best a monk self-vowed to a life of abstention in order that he may be reborn nearer to Nirvana, and he is also a technician who can be called upon to perform wearisome rites for which the layman has neither time nor inclination. At a funeral, or in sickness, the Buddhist monks are called in to chant sutras, for a fee, just as the doctor is called in to prescribe.

771 There is no communal worship at a temple by the laity.
782 Men and women go to the festivals to burn incense and offer a cash at the shrines of the gods, individually, to acquire merit, avoid ill fortune, or in fulfilment of a vow given in time of sickness. At other times, if they visit a temple, they do not feel called upon to behave in any but the ordinary way.

771 As a practical working system the religion of the Min Chia

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therefore falls naturally into two divisions, the public worship of the gods, whether Buddhist or not, which is carried on at temples and shrines, and the private rites of Ancestor Worship, which are performed in the home or at the family tombs. A broad division between the part played by the two sexes follows the same line of cleavage. The majority of the worshippers at temple festivals are women and girls; men though present, either do not perform acts of worship, or are in a small minority in doing so. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship are carried on by the male members of the family. Women are not excluded from these ceremonies, and play a part in them, but the important rôle is assigned to the men, and without their participation the rites could not be carried on.

It is not easy to determine whether, or to what extent this division represents a difference in belief rather than a mere traditional division of functions. Confucian teaching, the old style Chinese education, was undoubtedly hostile to, or rather, contemptuous of, the other cults, which it regarded as superstitious. This attitude is maintained by the modern education, and in consequence the educated and partly educated men tend to ignore the gods, or leave their worship to women. On the other hand all families make use of Buddhist monks and more or less Buddhist ceremonies for funerals, and on some other occasions. Old men of wealth are the best patrons of the temples and the most generous donors for restoration funds. Among the poorer classes the worship of the gods on occasions of specific need is in no way confined to women. It might be supposed that the overwhelming majority of women worshippers at the festival of Kuan Yin is due to the fact that this Boddhisatva is regarded as a feminine deity, patron of mothers, Kuan Yin the giver of sons. It is natural that here the women should outnumber the men. But the same majority of women worship-

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771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table,
353 which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being
769 thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morn-
788 ing and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

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777 rainbow you must not indicate where it is with a gesture, but merely say "there is a fine rainbow in the east", or the in the south, as the case may be.

771 In spite, or perhaps, because of, the complexity of their religious system and the number of overlapping deities whom they worship, the Min Chia cannot be called a really religious people. In their culture religion plays a secondary part. Lacking any unified and defined system of beliefs their religion has never been the dominating and co-ordinating force which Islam has been to the Moslems, or as Christianity was to the Christian nations of the west. Very rarely, except in a ceremony, will one hear the names of the gods on the lips of a Min Chia. Religion has never given common expletives to the language, and is seldom a subject for conversation. It is characteristic of their attitude that difference in religion is not felt to be so significant as difference in descent. To the Min Chia a Moslem is not primarily a fellow-countryman with a peculiar religion, he is a member of another race. A man asked to distinguish between two muleteers, one of which was a Moslem and the other a Yunnanese, said, "this one is the Chinese, that is the Hui Tze". "*Han jen*," the word used for Chinese, means Chinese by race and speech, "*Hui Tze*" a Yunnanese slang term for a Moslem, is derived from the name Hui Hui, an old Chinese name for the Uigur tribe of Tartars, who were among the first Moslems to be known to the Chinese. Yet these Moslems, although of alien origin, have been settled in Yunnan for six centuries and are entirely Chinese in appearance, dress, and speech.

771 The same attitude exists towards the Christians. Even
797 well educated Min Chia and Yunnanese are unable to understand or believe that the Christian missionaries have come to the country merely to convert people to a new religion. Such an aim seems to them meaningless. The idea

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of an exclusive creed, the one true way distinct from all others which are false, is so unfamiliar to their mental habits as to be barely comprehensible. They are therefore convinced, against all denial, that the Protestant missionaries are the paid agents of the British Government, and that the Catholic missionaries play the same rôle on behalf of the French Government. These two powers are the only European nations familiar by name to most of the Yunnanese peasants, since their possessions in Burma and Indo-China march with the Yunnan frontier. The feeling that converts to the Christian faiths are in some way the servants of foreign powers and perhaps not really loyal to their own country accounts for a good part of the ill-will with which they are often regarded.

Both missions find the Min Chia refractory material. Nearly seventy years have elapsed since the Catholic and Protestant missions were established in Ta Li, but their respective converts cannot yet be counted in three figures. This may in part be due to the fact that both missions have hitherto concentrated on the city folk who can be reached by missionaries familiar with Chinese, and only in recent years endeavoured to find Min Chia speaking converts who can preach to the villagers in their native tongue.

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797 Armageddon, they are not concerned with building a Christian community or nation, for they deny that any community is truly Christian. Thus the long-term methods of the Catholics make no appeal to them, for their approach is to the individual soul. On the other hand they require their converts to abstain from tobacco smoking, and alcohol, and discourage them from attending stage plays and similar entertainments. They thus require a Christian to change his manner of life entirely, and give up many of the characteristic customs of his native culture.

Like the Catholics, the Protestants also do not easily accord baptism, and as the convert has to shoulder some financial responsibility for the maintenance of the Church, and suffers some social disabilities for his new belief, there is little temptation to join the Church for unworthy motives. No doubt for this reason the number of professing Protestants does not exceed seventy in Ta Li and the adjacent country, and many of these are old women. It is, of course, possible that when the missionaries of both religions are proficient Min Chia speakers they will make more converts among the outlying villages where Chinese is only partly understood. The fact that the language is not written, and thus cannot be used for instruction in the schools or for translations of the Scriptures, has discouraged the missionaries from learning it.

797 771 Ignoring, for the moment, theological explanations, it is of some interest for the ethnologist to consider why it is that the missions have produced so small an effect on the Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese, peoples who at first sight, from their attitude to their own religions, would seem to be ripe for conversion. The Min Chia, although traditionally attached to Ancestor Worship and the festivals of the gods, are very little interested in theology and abstract ideas. They are not disturbed by conflicting beliefs

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and do not seem to have that craving for certainty and authority in religion which marks the peoples of the West. Like the Chinese, who by their proverb "Three Ways to one Goal", deny the exclusive validity of any one creed, the Min Chia are quite prepared to add another god to the pantheon, but not willing to recognise any one god as supreme and unique.

The Chinese attitude to religion has always stressed the ethical rather than the theological side, it is always more important to them that men should act rightly rather than believe the Truth. Consequently their approach to the teaching of Christianity is not by faith but by ethical judgment. The Catholics would have people believe in the dogmas and doctrines of the Church, but to the Min Chia and Chinese this is less important than the code of behaviour which these doctrines authorise. Here they find little that is new to them. Christians are monogamous, but so, for economic reasons, are the vast majority of the Yunnanese of all races. The existing code of morality is high and strict, and they do not find in Christian ethical teaching any call to a radical change in morality which would necessitate the abandonment of Ancestor Worship.

The Protestants require them to give up smoking, wine drinking and seeing theatricals. These injunctions do not make a wide appeal to ordinary men. Opium smoking is indeed generally condemned by the Chinese moralists themselves, and the government is endeavouring to suppress it, but tobacco seems to most Chinese, as to many Europeans, a harmless indulgence. Nor is drunkenness a social evil among the Min Chia or Chinese. Wine is never drunk except at a party, and then very rarely to excess. The Chinese stage is probably the least licentious, not to say the most moral, of any in the world, and most plays are definitely based on an ethical idea such as loyalty, conjugal

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174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Isaac Whitehead in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[776] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

•[771] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

III. 1. The arrow is fitted into the bow, the needles are in the case, we can sew silk well with them. 533

2. It is much better if I can meet my Chinese friend on the slope of the mountain, near the huts (this means: it is more convenient for the Tibetan girl to have a rendezvous with a Chinese than to work in her tent camp).

IV. 1. I shall now climb up the mountain; tell me whether there is a Fu-yeh (Living Buddha) there, and whether he will bless me (touch me with his hand).

2. I shall now climb down into the valley; is there peace there now so that I can do my trading?

3. I shall visit my friends in the village, will the villagers then think ill of me? Is my friend at home?

/41/ Religion

In the religious field conditions among the Tibetans are similar to those of the Chinese, that is to say, a more highly developed religious system was superimposed on an ancient primitive folk religion which nevertheless remained alive in the heart of the people. Just as the vulgar form of Taoism developed essentially from Chinese popular religion, so the Bon religion developed from Tibetan folk religion. Superimposed upon this in China is Confucianism and the specifically Chinese form of Buddhism, while in Tibet Lamaism represents the specifically Tibetan form of Buddhism. (1) However, 771 184

1. Compare in this connection Rockhill, page 730: "Primitive Lamaism may be defined as a priestly mixture of Shivaic mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by the thinnest veneer of Mahayana Buddhism." (Compare Wadell 7), page 17) - and Schröder 8), page 258: "The 'faith' of the Tujen combines into a common stratum which as Lamaistic folk religion covers the entire field of the Yellow church... Shamanism - Bon religion - cult of Heaven.... popular Lamaism."

the role of Buddhism in China cannot compare in importance with

● 771 124 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 114 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory description of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 771 124 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course, difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

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when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, 186
and take up the thread another time or with another person. In 771
many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ 124
knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned
a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that
case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and
would not have learned what were the most important things in the re-
ligious life of the laymen.

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In 771
both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits,nature
demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important re-
ligious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere,
and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in
spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions,
combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other
superstitions.

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: 776
djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to 753
the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of
man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which
in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene
(he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of
Lamaism.

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are
feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with
some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe
in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As
among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei,
and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven
him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station
himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night,
and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into
the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the
transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said,
if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits,
earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and
correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is
called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley,
usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

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two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

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In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

771 774 This statement is right to the point. But the nature of ghosts and gods is quite complicated. Deniker says that the so-called animism recognizes not only that a human being has a soul that can temporarily leave his body, but also that all animals, plants, minerals, and even artificial man-made products consist of two elements, the material and the spiritual. Things like dream, shadow, and imagination further strengthen the primitive people's belief in the existence of ghosts and gods. Furthermore they believe that ghosts and gods can be divided into the good and bad ones, and that sometimes they give blessing and other times trouble. (17) The variety and nature

17. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 269, 272.

of the gods worshiped by the Ch'iang, as discussed above, coincides exactly with Deniker's statement. There is no doubt that the Ch'iang beliefs belong to animism.

Souls do not necessarily have shapes, but all objects have souls. Therefore, it appears that to worship the soul is to worship the object. And so Deniker regards fetishism as a kind of animism. S. Reinarch says, "The object inhabited by a spirit or soul is a fetish. In the early period of the Roman Empire, there was fetishism but no idol. The earliest God of War is represented by a spear and the God of Heaven a piece of flint." (18) In the same way the Ch'iang use

18. Oeuvres, pp. 143-4.

white stones to represent the various gods, a leather bag to represent the Poison King, and a fork to represent the Hunting God. The Ch'iang have no idolatry. Although there are now some temples with idols, yet this is the result of the Chinese influence. For instance, on the top of the Holy Mountain, "pai-k'ung-ke," at Hsing-shang-chai there were originally only three holy stones. But now there is a sculptured image of god behind the three holy stones. Some Chinese monks also live in the temple. Another example is that the Ch'iang at P'u-ch'i-shih-chai even give up their old tradition of redeeming vows in the Sacred Forest and instead they come to redeem vows at the Sinicized Chiu-lung Temple where there are images of gods like the Mountain King, the Cow King, the Ancestor of River, and the Mother of Earth, but no longer any white stone.

771 791 We have mentioned above that the tuan-kung is a Ch'iang sorcerer. This is a Chinese term whereas in the Ch'iang language the tuan-kung is called pi. There is no question about the fact that

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the tuan-kung is a sorcerer. However, there are several kinds of sorcerers. The ancient Slavic people called those in charge of sacrifice to the deity priests and those practicing incantation and witchcraft magicians. (19) However, the tuan-kung of the Ch'iang possesses

19. Ibid. p. 260.

the double personality of priest and magician. He is the one who offers sacrifice to gods; he is also the one who exorcises devils and evil spirits. This kind of person has the same status as the Shaman who is prevalent among the peoples in the Frigid and the Sub-frigid Zones of eastern Asia. Montandon says that the Shaman is both priest and sorcerer. (20) Shirokogoroff says that in the language of the

20. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 145.

Tungus, the word "Shaman" means the man or woman who can control ghosts and gods. He is the one who can utilize ghosts and gods to help himself and can, particularly, help those patients under the attack of devils. He has a way to communicate with devils and gods. (21)

21. Shirokogoroff, Psychomental complex of the Tungus, p. 269.

Such being the case, /29/ Shaman is not only a priest and magician, but he also possesses the qualification of a medicine man. However, since he is a magician, he is also automatically a medicine man because to cure diseases by magic is a general method among the primitive people. In ancient China, there was also the saying: "Sorcerer P'eng practises medicine." (22) Evidently, during the period of

22. Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu /Lü's Annals/.

sorcery, the medicine men must have also been sorcerers. This is probably an invariable principle. The Ch'iang practices only add another evidence to this principle. As to the observation that the Shaman possesses the double personality of priest and magician, the question is which personality, from the point of view of religious history, precedes the other? On this point Deniker says that as society progresses, magicians must also become priests. However, it often happens that after the priest class is born, the original sorcery remains.

(23) According to Deniker's theory, both the Ch'iang tuan-kung 771•

23. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, pp.278-9. 791

and all the Shaman represent the last stage of sorcery and the first stage of priesthood.

In the aforesaid practices of the Ch'iang, we see that most of the magic rites performed by the Ch'iang tuan-kung is of the nature of imitative magic, which is based upon the mentality of the primitive people. Since the primitive people "regard similarity as reality." (24) Therefore they firmly believe in imitative magic and the

24. Ch. Blondel, La mentalite primitive, (Collection nouvelles culture).

effectiveness of incantation and gesture given by the magicians. All the practical activities of the primitive people often require the assistance of such magic as may be given to fishing, hunting and agriculture, to raising cattle, or to such human work as ship-building and house construction. (25) The Ch'iang rites of expelling

25. Thurnwald, Economics in Primitive Communities, p. 210.

bad luck are imitative magic extended to human work. They think, after such rites, the clumsy will become skillful and the poor rich. In the Ch'iang practice of praying for rain, the act of intercourse between the two sexes symbolizes clouds and rains in the sky, just like the agricultural festival in India which encourages promiscuity in the hope that the propagation behavior of human beings might influence the propagation of the grains in the field. The Bantus and the French Algerians in Africa, the Dayaks of northern British Bornea in Oceania, and the present Dutch and German farmers all have similar practices. The Ch'iang's killing white chickens and white dogs to pray for fine weather, their searching the mountains to pray for rain, the substitution of goats to die for men, as well as the tuan-kung's breaking a blade of grass to kill a person, all these practices also seek responsive influences through affinitive behaviors. They belong naturally to imitative magic.

The most important act in the Ch'iang rites of fecundity is the sprinkling of blood. The meaning of blood-spreading, according to the recent study by W. Schmidt, an Austrian anthropologist of the 771

•771 geo-historical school, is that: "Blood is the source of vitality. Therefore, during the magic rites of fecundity, blood is used as a symbol. From killing an animal to take out its heart to hunting human heads for sacrifice, all such practices are customs produced from this fundamental concept." (26) As to killing an animal by taking out its

26. W. Schmidt, Origin et l'évolution de la religion, p. 353.

heart, the white sheep, used by the Ch'iang in the capping ceremony at the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof top, receives exactly this king of heart operation. Besides, the yak used by the Ch'iang in the rites of redeeming vows before the White Stone God at the "pei-k'ung-ke" Holy Mountain must also have its heart taken out without being allowed to be killed by any other ordinary method. Although the Ch'iang nowadays do not have the custom of sacrificing human beings, still we can find it in history in the legends of Lin-chün concerning the barbarians in Pa-chün and Nan-chün. It is further evidenced by the facts that in ancient India human beings were used as sacrifice in spring and fall services and that the K'a-wa tribesmen on the Yunnan-Burma borders hunt human heads in order to protect farms, so it is beyond doubt that there is a relationship between bleeding and the rites of agricultural fecundity. Apart from this, the Poison Devil of the Ch'iang can transmit poison by eye, which is called "evil eye" in anthropology. This is an example of wish-magic. (27).

27. Kirkpatrick, Religion in Human Affairs, p. 131.

In the Ch'iang legends and practices, there are still many programs which contain special meanings. To explain them, it seems necessary to refer to the principles of totemism. Some Chinese scholars who have made studies of the Ch'iang tribesmen have mentioned that the Ch'iang have totemism. But they have merely pointed out the fact that the Ch'iang name their tribes after animals, without developing it further. /30/ There is indeed no way to develop it if we rely only upon the material available in history books. Based upon the material gathered from my investigation, I would like to interpret totemism as follows:

Generally speaking, a totemic people, whenever they come across an important occasion in life such as capping, wedding, or funeral, often hold a totemic identification rite or a rite imitating totem. (28)

.771 carrying of sheep.) The words 'ch'iang' and 'yang' (sheep) have a similar sound and are interchangeable."

called themselves "rmee". The best transliteration is, of course, the word 羊 (pronounced mi, meaning the bleating of sheep). To hang wool threads around the neck is to imitate the appearance of a sheep. This is a behavior produced by the principle of totemic identification. After they had defeated their enemies, these "shepherds," recalling their debt of gratitude to their totem, and wishing to identify themsleves more closely with it, went further to imitate the voice of the animal, calling themselves "rmee'." This is probably the reason why the Ch'iang changed the name of their tribe. Strellow, an authority on the ethnology of Australian peoples, says that among the customs of the Australian tribes, there is, it can be said, not a single kind of rites which does not imitate the shape or the voice of some totemic animal. (31) With this as a related evidence, the theory that the

31. "Die Arunda und Loritjastämme in Central-Australian," 1908, quoted from Besson, Le totémisme.

"shepherds" called themselves "rmee" cannot be regarded as mere imagination.

The above-mentioned facts are derived from the Ch'iang legends. Nobody can deny the value of legends in anthropology. As for the Ch'iang and their totemic identification rites, there is, however, evidence of facts which can still be seen today and which are more dependable than legends. In the aforesaid Ch'iang practice of expelling bad luck and capping ceremony, there is the identification rite of circling the neck with wool threads. The act in the ceremony of expelling bad luck is very simple. But in the capping ceremony, there are additional programs which are to be noted. For instance, the act of the one to be capped kneeling before the image of the fir stick ancestor is similar to the embracing of the nurtunja (holy stick) in the adulthood ceremony of the Australian totemic tribes. This is also regarded in Australia as the hiding place of the ancestral soul. According to legends, every tent occupied by their ancestors erected a nurtunja on the top of which was a waninga (holy rod). Besides, there is a special program in the Ch'iang capping ceremony. In sacrificing to the Sheep God, the tuan-kung wraps wool threads around a living sheep that is not allowed to be killed. The wool threads represent gifts from ancestors. The fact that sheep and memare

equally qualified to receive such gifts shows obviously that sheep and men are equal and both totemic animals and men are descendants of totemic ancestors. A concept like this exists only in a totemistic society. 771.

In funeral, the Ch'iang have the custom of autopsia. However, they do not directly cut and examine the corpse of the deceased but use a sheep as substitute. /31/ This practice can also be explained by the principle of totemism. In accordance with the principle of identification, men and sheep are equal. Therefore, what happens in the human body naturally will also show in the body of the sheep. So, in order to find out the cause of illness, we do not have to directly anatomize the human body and instead can discover it by examining the sheep's body. Moreover, the anatomized sheep serves as a guide to the deceased and is called the "Guiding Sheep". This also has totemic significance. The Omahas in America use the buffalo as a totem. After a man's death, his corpse is wrapped in buffalo skin, and an image of the buffalo is painted on the back of his head. Then the sorcerer prays: "Since you came from the animal world, please return to the animal world! Go straight ahead and do not come back!" (32) That the Ch'iang use sheep as guide probably contains also the

32. See Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, I. p. 35, quoted by Vinogradoff, Historical Jurisprudence, Vol. I., p. 205.

meaning of "coming from the animal world and returning to the animal world." That the relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this sheep has also a totemic significance.

To interpret a part of the Ch'iang practice by totemistic principle, of course, can only be regarded as an experiment. We know that totemistic principles should not be applied lightly and loosely, especially after the criticism by Goldenweiser and Lowie, American scholars of the cultural school. However, the repeated facts in the Ch'iang culture compel us to make such an experiment, although we cannot thus assert that the Ch'iang have passed through a stage of totemism, nor can we recognize that the Ch'iang are now practising totemism, for a complete totemistic system will require various other conditions. (33) Therefore, we believe that even if the Ch'iang have totemism,

33. Goldenweiser, A. A., Totemism, an Analytical Study, in the making of man, edited by Calverton.

•771 it must be only an immature totemism. This is a common phenomenon among the tribal peoples in northern Asia. For instance, the Tazes among the Yakut people believe that unless a woman has sexual relation with a bear, she will not be pregnant; the Kirghiz consider themselves descendants of dogs, and the Bouriate call swans their ancestors. Likewise, the organization of the Altai tribes resembles that of the totemistic tribes. All these can only be regarded as immature totemism. The Ch'iang are one of the northern Asiatic races. Their culture naturally mingles with and fits into this cultural sphere. Moreover, not only the totemism in the Ch'iang culture fits into the pattern of the same cultural area, but also things like Shaman religion, bone divination, funeral rites, farming and pasturing, etc., are all in uniformity with this cultural area.

In view of the aforesaid, it seems that there is a logical relationship in the system of the Ch'iang beliefs. Fetishism comes from animism, while Shaman religion and animism are inseparably related with each other. As to the question whether or not totemism is in harmony with these beliefs, our answer is affirmative. We can prove by facts that in the totemistic areas people have, at the same time, sorcery and the belief in ghosts and gods. For example, the totemic system in central Australia is associated with the belief in ghosts and gods. Australian aborigines believe that the problem of the totemic affiliation of their children must be decided by the place where the ancestral ghosts enter mothers' wombs or where women discover their pregnancy. (34) As to the prevalence of sorcery and sorcerous medi-

34. "Notes on some native tribes of Australia," in the Journal and Proceedings of Royal Society of New South Wales, XL, 1906, quoted by Vinogradoff, Historical Jurisprudence, pp. 205-6.

cine in Australia, it is universally recognized by all investigators. From the standpoint of academic theories, Schmidt believes that sorcery of passive nature originated in the primitive matriarchic society and sorcery of active nature is the product of totemistic culture. (35)

35. W. Schmidt, op. cit.

Furthermore, although some anthropologists regard totemism as religion, (36) yet the recent trend generally considers totemism as a social

36. For example, E. Durkheim (see his Elementary Forms of Religious Life.)

771.

system, not religion. (37) If totemism is not religion, then it can-

37. For instance, W. Schmidt, A. A. Goldenweiser, etc.

not be in conflict with animism and sorcery and its co-existence with the latter is possible.

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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nä Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
S
ST

[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
● 771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.

177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

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The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wha with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 711

S ST 346 718

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪布 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] [illegible]

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling [illegible]). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必奇村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必奇寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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Si 342 the pig sty. The layout almost without exception was the same: first a larger main room, in the middle of which, between the central posts, was the fireplace; behind this room is a wall rack for the "Nat," and on this Chinese incense sticks; a small room, partitioned by a mat wall, Si [354] serves as a bedroom for the married couple. In it is usually a mud stove with a large iron kettle, in which the fodder for the pigs is cooked. Needless to say, the houses of this cut-off community, and the occupants themselves, make a very Si 173 wretched impression. According to tradition, they emigrated from China two hundred years ago. Si ●771 Their religion is the demon cult which they have in common with the mountain tribes. It must be assumed that they were influenced by the neighboring Shan and Palaung.

Y 101 [167] Some elements of the Yao tribes (Ting-pan-Yao) (19) have migrated from Chinese areas to the

19. UBG I, 1, pp. 601 ff.

eastern edge of Kengtung, the most easterly of the Southern Shan States—1911: 512. The bulk of this people can be found in eastern Yunnan and Y the adjacent provinces, also in Tonkin and Annam. [177] They are, of course—with the exception of their clothing—entirely Chinese in their customs and Y 342 architecture. Their houses are built at ground level, without pile substructure, and made of split bamboo. They contain one large main room Y and a few sleeping compartments with bamboo bed- [354] steads standing at the sides. The fire is lit in a mud stove. A Yao tribe, the Lenten, builds its houses on low piles. The Shan consider the Lenten as a group separate from the Tingpan-Yao. Though they have many things in common, there definitely exist differences which give weight to this supposition. They do not intermarry with other Yao tribes. According to UBG they belong to the Lahu group.

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Some Creation Stories

Told by Tribal Peoples of The Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan

By T'ao Yün-k'uei

The following is a record of sixteen stories about the origin of mankind, elves, insects and fishes, rice and grains, tobacco and wines. These were written down as told by the natives in the borderland of Yunnan in the year 1936 when an investigation was made of the tribal peoples there. (See map of the distribution of aborigines in Yunnan, Page 2.) /121

Myths and stories, in a simple society, are not merely after dinner talks or subject matters for pastime, but they are recognized as things which actually took place in the past. They look upon the myths in the same way the Chinese believe in the Golden Era of San-huang-wu-ti (three monarchs and five emperors). Their myths live in their everyday life; and thus, from myths, it is not difficult for us to have a glimpse of their mass beliefs, morals and the principles of conformity in social behaviors. In these myths, there are many intricate scenes, winding perspectives, attractive descriptions, numerous love affairs and adventures. And this is no less the reason that it has become one of the indispensable subject matter of pastime for the monotonous living in simple societies. Even we, upon hearing these tales, would feel their vivid persuasiveness, and be thus enlivened by them. From the viewpoint of comparative anthropology, to study the problems of cultural propagation, evolution, and the near and distant relations among various racial groups, myths are also a paramount object for research. Owing to the lack of comparative data, this essay will be limited to a narration of the original tales to serve as a reference for future study.

/3/ I. Moso (who call themselves Nashi)

1. Li-chiang hsien

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge had become calamities which drowned out all mankind. The only survival was a man by the name Zungtzerliri, who, by hiding himself in a drum, narrowly escaped. As the Deluge gradually rose, the drum ascended with it. When the roars of the water had ceased, he broke out from the drum 773 539

and found himself already in Heaven. He then encountered a maid whose name was Zweherbebermi. The maid said to him: "You are a mortal on the earth. Why do you come to Heaven?" The man answered: "There is a great flood on earth. My kindred have all died. Since I have no dear ones left, I have roamed at will to Heaven." The maid said: "I too have no beloved ones. Why not you and I the two of us, befriend and love each other?" The man was then taken to her house, and hid in a bamboo basket behind a door. In the meantime, her father, whose name was Zwe-la-Ap'u, abruptly returned, and inhaling the odor of a stranger, he called out: "Whence came this wild dog in my house?" He, however, made no further investigation but kept on sharpening a knife on a rock night and day, and talked to himself: "Verily, I know there is a strange creature in the house; I must kill him." Then, her mother said: "Please do not raise your hands; let me find out about it later." The mother then questioned her daughter, and she answered: "It is no outsider, but one who has come from the earth. An extra man in our house does no harm. Besides, when the sun rises, you may order him to dry provisions and grains, or if it is cloudy and raining, to dig furrows and clean out the water; but I beg you for his life." The father, who had overheard the conversation between the mother and the daughter, broke in and reproached: "Don't you be tempted by the sorcerer. Bring him forth, and I will personally examine him." The maid opened the basket and led the man to her father. The father had known people well; it required only one look for him to tell a good man from a bad one. He looked over his hands, and learned that he was an intelligent man. He then told the mother: "Though this man is fairly intelligent, he is neither one of our kind nor good enough to to be a slave. Let us spare his life but drive him down to the world below." But the mother insisted that tests be given to determine his ability before making any decision, for she too grew very fond of the man. After her repeated intercessions, the father pretended to consent.

At nightfall, the father commanded the man to spend the night with him on a cliff, from which he intended to throw the man off in his slumber and to effect his death. Both the mother and the daughter suspected the father's intention, and privately told the man: "Tonight as you go to sleep with father, you must take with you a blanket in which a big rock is to be wrapped; and leave it by father's side. Then go secretly to sleep somewhere else." The man went, following the instruction. Toward midnight the father kicked off the rock, which

fell into a mountain torrent and struck dead a roebuck. As the father woke up the next morning, and saw the man was still about, he figured out another plot and said: "Last night when the rock fell, it must have killed a beast. You may go fetch it and share it as food with me; but tonight, I will choose to sleep by the side of a river, and you are to keep me company." The mother and the daughter again uncovered his intention, and told the man: "Tonight you will again take with you a blanket with a rock wrapped inside. Place it by father's feet, and also, leave a piece of log between you two; adversity may thus be avoided." The man obeyed. Toward midnight, the father again kicked the rock, which fell into the river and struck dead some fish. On the morrow, the father found the man was still around, and said to him: "You may go into the river to catch some fish; we two shall eat together. But when we finish eating, you must set out to look for tiger's cubs for me." The man, following his words, set out to look for cubs, but found none. Instead, he returned with the meat of a roebuck. The father became angry, and said: "This is no tiger but roebuck, why cheat me? Go quickly to search for it; otherwise, death will be the punishment." The mother and the daughter then told the man: "Tigers are mostly in places where the sun cannot be seen, but cubs like to stay under the sunlight. Go look for it." Following their words, the man camouflaged himself in a piece of tiger skin and thus succeeded in getting the cubs.

The father, finding that he had failed in his scheme, worked out another, and said to the man: "You will have to cut down, within a day's time, a forest as large as nine mou of land." The man said: "It is impossible to do one mou in a day, let alone nine mou!" The mother and the daughter, consoling him privately, said: "Do not worry. Tomorrow you may carry with you nine axes to /4/ the forest; mother will send some men to help you." Without failing, nine mou of forest were chopped down when night approached. Then the father said again: "Tomorrow you must burn up all the woods, within a day's time, till they are reduced to ashes." The following morning, the man carried out the order by burning up all the woods. But the father said to him again: "You must sow grains upon nine mou of farm within a day's time." The mother and the daughter again instructed the man: "All you have to do is to sow nine

993 grains upon each mou, for when father returns tomorrow, he would
537 order you to collect, in a day's time, all the grains sowed." The man carried it out accoringly, and returned. As expected, the father said to him: "Within tomorrow's time, you will have to pick up all the grains you have sowed." Since the man had listened to the ladies, he was able to carry back the unsowed grains. The father then ordered a counting of the grains, and asked: "Where are the three halves of grain?" The man examined and answered: "Two halves were eaten by the ants, and the other half was in the stomach of a dove." The father said: "You must get them back!" The man had no alternative but to leave for the hills to look for them. Observing some ants under a rock, he picked one/of them/ up and broke it into two joints for the two halves of rice. The ant was an insect with a single body, but today, it has two joints. That is how it happened. He then saw a dove. As he was about to shoot it with an arrow, the maid, who was weaving in a nearby spinning chamber, saw it, and hurriedly threw a shuttle at his arm. The arrow flew instantly away and hit the dove. The other half of grain was taken out after cutting open the dove. As the three halves of grain were found, he took them to the father.

Upon seeing the grains, the father said no words; but after a while he said: "What have you come to do in Heaven?" The man said: "Since all the human beings on earth have died out, I have come to Heaven to search for a companion." The father asked: "Do you want to marry my daughter?" The man answered: "I dare not, but since the people of the world have all died, and I, being up in Heaven, would like to have some one, whether good or bad." The father asked: "How much silver have you brought with you?" The man answered: "There is now only a great deluge on earth. I have escaped with nothing but my life. But ever since I came up to Heaven, you have ordered me to get roebuck, catch fishes, hunt tigers, cut down woods, burn the hills, sow grains and collect provisions, all of which I have accomplished. These may well be regarded as the price for the companion I am seeking." The father then asked: "Do you have relatives (meaning special abilities)?" The answer was: "My relatives are those who have survived the beatings and the murders. (Pointing out that he had not died even though the father had tried to kill him.)" The father then said: "Well, since my wife and daughter both have agreed that you are the right one, what have I got to object?" He then married his daughter to him. Before long, the maid was pregnant. The parents said (to them):

"You must go to the world below to propagate the species; thus, you can no longer stay in Heaven." Then the couple knelt to bid their parents farewell, and went down, hand in hand, to the world below. 773 539

Somehow, the two had incurred the enmity of their heavenly neighbors, who, by blocking out the way with clouds and mists, made it impossible for the two to get out even after a thorough search. All of a sudden, they encountered a white crane and entreating it for a ride, they made their way down to earth. In the meantime, the Flood had receded. With the exception of some buzzing bees, no other creatures were left;so they built a hut with straws. There they lived a month and gave birth to triplet sons, who proved to be mutes. The couple's mother heard of it in Heaven, and knew that it could be of help only if they themselves prayed to their brother and sister-in-law (the oldest son of their heavenly parents and his wife). Therefore, she dispatched a butterfly as a messenger to come down to the world to inform them. The couple then made a sacrifice to their brother and sister-in-law. As soon as the prayer ended, the triplet sons, all at once, were able to speak. But their languages were different, one from the other. The oldest son spoke Kutsung (Tibetan) language, the second son, Nashi (Moso) language, and the third, Paitzu (Minchia) language. These triplets were the ancestors of the three tribes.

At the time when the newlyweds were coming down to the world, their parents bestowed on them all kinds of grains and animals except cats and turnips. However, the wife had secretly hidden some turnip seeds in her finger nails, and kittens in her lap. The grains are the foodstuffs commonly used today, and the animals are those twelve that serve as birth symbols; but the turnip is not among the grains just as the cat is not among the symbolic animals. As the father found out in Heaven about the theft of seeds by his daughter, he was in a rage. He said: "Although the /5/ turnips are very solid, I will now make them soft once they are cooked, so that they will not fill the stomach when eaten. And although the cat is a beast, I will make it purr in the stomach so as to make it different from the other beasts." The mother, who had been worrying over the newlyweds' incapability in housekeeping, commanded a dog to go down to the world with an order that they were to comb their hair once a day and eat one meal every three days. However, the memory of the dog failed him, and he got it so mixed up that he told them that three meals were to be

173 539 eaten every day, and that hair was to be combed once every three days. This became their present habit. But since an excessive quantity of rice had been eaten, the necessary result was excretion. As a punishment, the dog was ordered to eat the manure.

The daughter had been previously engaged to one heavenly god, Käsinasa. Having heard of her marrying someone else, Käsinasa was greatly exasperated. Hence, he exercised his black art by making frost, snow and epidemics fall onto the human world so as to show his vengeance. He also locked up the gate to Heaven; thence, no mortals could enter as they pleased.

II. Lisu.

1. Tzu-kai village, Salween River (under the Administrative Bureau of Kung-shan).

In the ancient time, as the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, people on earth all died out, leaving but two persons who were brother and sister. The older brother named A-heng-Pa, and the younger sister, A-heng-Ma, had been stranded in a mountain cave together with a dog. Since the good earth was drowned out by the floods, and no foodstuffs were to be obtained, they sent the dog to a heavenly god to beg for grain seeds. The heavenly god placed some grain seeds in the ears of the dog to take back to the mountain cave. The dog wagged its head, and the grain seeds fell onto the earth; thus different kinds of foodstuffs were produced. Among them there was a young melon plant, which produced a huge melon. One day, cries were heard inside the melon. Both the brother and the sister were scared and kowtowed toward heaven to ask for help. Suddenly, a knife fell down from heaven. The brother and sister cut open the melon with the knife, and looked in. From the melon, out jumped five men, of whom three were white, one black, and one with wings. The three whites turned into Lisu, the black one, into Nashi (the Moso of Li-chiang area), and the one who had wings, being scared at the moment when the melon was cut open, flew all the way up to a ledge, and turned into a ghost. That is how ghosts in the human world had their origin.

Later, a god was sent down from Heaven to teach them reading. The three whites wrote down all the words they had learned on a piece of skin which was given by Heaven. The black one had them written down on a rock. While the god returned to Heaven to report, they wandered apart. The three whites walked together while the black one went to another place. On the way, the three whites became

hungry, but could not find anything to eat. In desperation, they ate the skin which had the words on it. As a result, they could only speak but could not write. The black one, who had written down the words he learned on a rock, was able to look them up on the rock whenever he forgot.

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2. Wei-hsi-lo-kuo village, Mekong River (Wei-hsi hsien).

The period of the Vast Wilderness was divided into three stages. The first stage was named Chu-fu-ya, during which the size of man was a little over five inches. The utensils they used were small. Thus, the size of a pot was that of an egg shell, the size of a bowl, the husk of rice. At that time, the men had little energy; so they could not engage in exploitation and creation. The second stage was named Miou-shu-miou-hsieng-ya. The size of man was a little over one foot. They had made some progress. But, unfortunately, calamities from Heaven prevailed, and there appeared in the sky seven suns and seven moons which, drying up everything with an intensive heat, set the entire earth in smoke and caused all the plants to wither. Then a drought followed, which had lasted for three days /sic/ before the people went up to the mountains to pray for rain. Rain descended from heaven, and it did not stop after three consecutive months. Thereupon, floods burst forth from hills and mountains, inundated the world, and thus wiped out mankind. /6/ The third stage was called Wa-e-hsei-mei-ya, which was named after the reign of one demon, Wa-e-hsei-mei. This demon was huge beyond measure, and all the cloth woven by the Lisu people for a period of three years was not enough to cut a pair of trousers for him. Seven pots of rice were not enough to fill his stomach. And the quiver carried by this demon could contain a big bear. Since the people were unable to supply him with food, which the demon had exacted from them, they could no longer stand his molestations and resorted to run, one after another, for the valleys. There, they mated with the monkeys and apes, and soon, they themselves became monkeys and apes, thus marking the extinction of mankind.

Later, a god descended from Heaven onto the earth. The name of the god was E-yi-pa, who brought with him a melon seed and planted it on a farm. It grew and grew, finally bloomed, and bore a melon, bigger than a bamboo basket, ten feet high and 20 feet in circumference. Men were often heard talking in the melon. The heavenly god waited until it grew ripe, and with a long knife, he first cut open the east end of the melon from which, unexpectedly,

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two ghosts (Ni) jumped out. Then the south end was cut open, and two wolves emerged. Afterwards, the west end was cut, and two snakes wriggled out. The heavenly god was greatly enraged at the birth of these three kinds of venomous creatures. He then unsheathed the knife and cut the melon, from the north to the south, into two halves. In the east half, there was a boy named A-heng-Pa, and in the west half, a girl, named A-heng-Ma. The two were able to speak and walk at their birth. No suckling was done prior to their eating solid food. The heavenly god adopted them as his son and daughter. As they grew up to wisdom and beauty, the regret was that at the time no other human beings existed to mate with them. The heavenly god had no alternative but to coax the two, brother and sister, into marrying each other in order to propagate the human species. The two refused and, mocking the heavenly god, they said: "We, born of the same bone and flesh, cannot contract a marriage that is incest." The heavenly god said: "This will be all right, for Heaven is going to employ you two for propagating the human species in the world. Do not oppose the will of Heaven. I have a grindstone: You, my son will take the upper portion; and you, my daughter, the lower portion. The two of you will each stand on the top of a mountain and throw down the portions of the grindstone so that they will roll into the torrent. If the upper and lower portions of the grindstone unite, then it denotes that you two may get married. If not, then you may do as you wish and you may not get married." The two agreed to the heavenly god's words, each throwing down the portions of the grindstone from atop two mountains. When the por[illegible]s of the grindstone rolled into the botto[illegible] torrent, they ta[illegible], as properly as could be, one upon th[illegible] The heavenly god was greatly elated upon witnessing it, and [illegible]he two.

After their marriage, the two became unusually devoted to each other. Ten months later they gave birth to triplet sons. The oldest son was name[illegible]cha-gk-Mu, and being wise and handsome, he was employed to rule the people and became an official. The second son, Tcha-li-bi-mu by name, possessed the wisdom to commune with spirits and being expert in divination, became a wizard. The third son, Hsia-ne-la-mu by name, was industrious in craftsmanship and became a technician. Consequently, the world was well ruled. Thence, the three men married the daughters of the common people, and thus there came into being, mankind in the world. (The sudden appearance of the daughters of the common people was not explained.)

3. Yen-wa village, Mekong River (Wei-hsi hsien).

In the distant ancient time, there once lived a wise carpenter who was able to make puppets which looked not only the very images of real people but could also move about. At that time, the entire universe was a vast wilderness uninhabited by mankind except the carpenter, his wife and a daughter. The divine artisan reckoned that it was high time for mankind to multiply themselves on the boundless earth; if not, the earth would grow aged and the heaven, wild. One day, the divine artisan, while talking with his wife, said: "I am going to the hills to carve puppets. I will make them capable of moving about, speaking, drinking and eating, and even bearing children. They will be cast in my own image and so similar to me that you two, mother and daughter, would not be able to tell the difference. This will be my way to propagate the human species who shall, /in turn/ bear children and raise them." His wife said: "Do you really possess such divine art?" The artisan said: "I do possess the divine art in making wooden figures the very image of myself, and if you mother and daughter can identify me among them, then I will confess that I have lost." /7/ On the second day, the daughter went delivering food to her father who was somewhere in the hills. Observing there were thirteen men who resembled her father, she failed to differentiate her real father from the puppets. So the food she brought was distributed to the thirteen men. Upon her return she told her mother everything. The mother said: "You are young in years. That is why you could not recognize your father. Your father has a characteristic which I can tell."

On the following day, his wife went delivering rice. All the thirteen men came to get their food; and his wife nearly failed to identify her husband for the twelve wooden images and the divine artisan were completely alike in every sense and every way. His wife, being nimble-minded in moments of desperation, told the thirteen men to stand still and said to them: "The rice I have brought is for my husband to eat, not for you puppets." As she was saying this, she carefully watched the faces of the thirteen men, and observed that one of them had a few beads of perspiration on his nose. Knowing that he was her own husband, she stepped forward and said to him: "You might be able to deceive your daughter but you could not fool your old wife." Thus, the wooden figures retreated into the mountain forests, mated with apes and monkeys, and since have produced all the species of

mankind. The present Lisu people are also one of those species, whose fathers were puppets, and mothers, apes and monkeys. Hence the Lisu like woods and sleep on wood, which is also used for marking years. A small pine is to be planted upon the birth of a child. When the person dies, this tree is cut down and its cambium rings are examined to determine his life span. Wooden blocks are erected on graves in memory of the deceased.

III. Ch'iutzu (who call themselves Duru)

1. So-ch'ieh village, Tu-lung River (under the Administrative Bureau of Kung-shan).

(A)

In the distant ancient time, living creatures came into being as a result of the intercourse between the sun and the moon. But all the living creatures were stupid round-shaped masses that were chaotic and indistinguishable. Thereafter, a god of the snow mountains, by the name of Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u, turned snow into clean water to lave the various creatures, and did away with their appendages and tumors so that different species were produced. The first to appear was mankind, /consisting of/ a man and a woman. Then birds, beasts, insects and fishes made their appearance with respective sex distinctions. The man and woman mated between themselves and multiplied to become the mankind of today. The rest of the creatures also multiplied, and out of them evolved the various kinds of animals in the world today. After the marriage of man and woman, their progeny thrived, but there were no grains on earth for food. Therefore the husband, Mupongo, rode on sunbeams and ascended Heaven to steal grain seeds. Originally, he intended to sow the grain seeds only on the land where he lived, but unexpectedly, winds blew at his sowing hand and the seeds were scattered all over the world. That was why there are grains everywhere nowadays. Although they had grains, yet there was no fire. So prayers were offered to the heavenly gods to request the means to make fire. While praying, his hands were playing with some rattan, and unintentionally, he rubbed the rattan against the trunk of a tree. As the friction produced enough heat, sparks emerged. The means to make fire was thus learned. Later, Mupongo's children were sick. Riding a bee, he flew to Heaven to ask the heavenly god, Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u, for medicine. When he arrived at the gate of Heaven, he called out: "Open the door!" An answer came inside the door: "Where comes this earthly being who knocks at the door? Go away quickly!"

Mupongo begged and begged, and was finally let in. The god then gave him some medicine; but, in the meantime, the bee which carried him threw off its burden and flew away, leaving him to fall from Heaven. While falling, he came to a lake, and in his carelessness, the medicine fell from his bosom into the lake. Consequently, the water of the lake had the taste of wine. Mupongo returned with empty hands, and the couple blamed each other for their children's death. But afterwards, they bore more children. However, it was because of this that the Ch'iutzu have wines but no medicine; and for the same reason their population has never thrived.

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/8/ (B)

After the marriage between brother and sister, the wife went up to Heaven to visit the heavenly god, Ka-Wa-Ka-P'u. The god told her: "I have bees and honey. I will give you some bees." He put the bees in a bamboo tube and told her to take it to her husband but not to look into it on her way /home/. As the woman descended to mid-air, she could not refrain from having a look at the bees. But as soon as she opened the lid on the tube, the bees all flew away. These are the wild bees to be found today on the hillside. The next day, the woman went up to Heaven again, and the god gave her another tube. She was told to keep it in a chest in her room when she reached home. But the woman, failing again to restrain herself, opened it to look in before she entered the house. So the bees flew away again, and were all over the eaves and trees near their house. That is why today bees are raised on eaves and trees. Some of the bees turned into mosquitoes which, like the bees, sting people; their sting, however, is itchy but not painful.

(C)

There was a time when no line was drawn between human beings and ghosts, and men were often eaten by ghosts. One day, some ghosts who failed to get food on a high mountain, came to the side of a river. There again, they found no food. As hunger intensified, the ghosts cried out for help. A human voice answered: "I can help you /but/ you must promise first that from now on you would never eat people /again/." The ghosts answered: "Fine, we will never eat people from now on." The voice then said: "Go, look into the river. There will be food in the river." In the meantime, the man

had picked a lot of bamboo leaves which he threw into the river, and which turned into fish. The fish was actually food for the ghosts.

(D)

In the ancient time most people went hunting. One day, a man hunted in the hills and heard some one calling his name and saying: "Wait for me. We shall go together." But the hunter could only hear his voice and failed to locate the man. A moment later, the voice said again: "Wait for me. We shall go together." As before, he failed to see the man. The hunter was horrified, and stretching a bow in one hand while holding a knife in the other, he waited. The voice rose again several times and the hunter got angry. He bawled and railed at it. The voice then said: "You rail at me and bawl at me. I shall not go with you anymore." Since then, men and ghosts each take a different path. Ghosts like to exercise evil influences; hence there are diseases and calamities among people.

2. K'ung-ting village

(A)

In the distant ancient time, the Deluge rose as high as heaven, and mankind was destroyed. But on the mountain of the god Kawakapu, there lived two persons, a man and his sister. The name of the brother was Pang, and that of the sister, Nang. Fearing the possible extinction of human species, they married each other and bore nine sons and nine daughters. The sons and daughters also married each other. The first couple had no names; but after they were married, they became the ancestors of the Tibetans. Of the second couple, the man was named Ging and the woman, Nien; they married each other and became the ancestors of the Ch'iutzu. At that time, these four persons had an archery contest. A piece of iron was the target. It was agreed that whoever hit the target could levy taxes on those who missed. The first couple hit the target and the second couple missed. That is why the Ch'iutzu have to pay taxes to the Tibetans. Of the third couple, the man was named Gong and the woman, Kñen; after their marriage, they went to live by the side of the Titzu river, where rattan was produced. They became skilled in braiding baskets with rattan; thus they supplied the Ch'iutzu with rattan baskets. Of the fourth couple, the man was named Tchien, and the woman, Nñen; after getting

married, they moved to live in Man Nuen (to the west of Katha in Burma), and became the ancestors of the natives there. No records are available concerning the rest of the nine couples of whom, however, one couple was the ancestors of the Chinese.

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(B)

/9/ The heavenly god Mubai had married his daughter to a fellow named Gungeng. One day, the heavenly god took various kinds of grains from his house to that of the Gungengs. On the way, he suddenly became stingy and hid away the grain, leaving only some mixed cereals for his son-in-law. His daughter discovered the grain seeds he had brought; she stole them and placed them beside some ginger. Thus, the grains are found in the human world; but since they have been placed together with ginger, the grains also grow twin ears like the ginger which has double-fork sprouts. All the edible plants in the human world were transmitted by the heavenly god Mubai.

On another day the heavenly god gave his daughter some fish spawns, which were placed in a bamboo basket. The daughter went by a river, and through her negligence, the basket fell into the water. Thus, fishes live in water instead of on land.

(C)

Gungeng's children got sick, and his woman went up to Heaven. The heavenly god gave her some medicine and a bamboo tube, and told her not to look into it before she reached home. The woman had gone half the way, when she came by a lake. Through her negligence, the medicine fell into the lake and the water turned into wine. Furthermore, she failed to restrain herself and opened the bamboo tube which was filled with bees. The bees crowded out, all at once, and flew eastward. That is why today there are bees on the cliffs along the Salween and the Mekong rivers. The woman covered the tube hurriedly with a lid and a few bees were left there. She took the bees home with her and raised them, and they became domestic bees. The Gunggeng couple who were originally kid brother and sister, became the ancestors of mankind after their marriage. (The Gungeng couple are Pang and Nang in story A.)

(D)

In the distant ancient time, human beings and ghosts were able

773 to see each other face to face, and they often hunted together. By
539 and by, the men became busy /in other things /; so the ghosts were sent to watch the traps. As numerous boars, rats and monkeys fell into the traps, the ghosts, without reporting to the men, ate them all by themselves. When questioned by the men, they answered that none was caught. Afterwards, a dog which belonged to one of the families, mistakenly walked into the trap, and was also eaten by the ghosts. The owner, searching for the dog, asked the ghosts if they had seen it. The ghosts said they did not. But it was reasoned that a dog would not wander away like this. The hunters then learned that all the trapped beasts were eaten up by the ghosts. They bawled and railed at the ghosts who, being annoyed, hid up their trails and started to cast evil influences on the men. From then on, men and ghosts lived in their separate worlds, and men had many diseases.

3. Sin-jui village.

In the past when the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, all mankind was obliterated except two persons, a boy and his sister who lived together in a house. As they grew up, they inadvertently mated with each other. Afterwards, they felt it was rather unceremonious; so they placed by a river a bamboo tube and filled it with water. The two had intercourse by the water-filled tube, and prayed to Heaven: "If the bamboo tube does not topple over and the water is not spilled while we two are mating, then it denotes that the Old Heaven permits our getting married and bearing children. If the water-filled tube topples over and the water spills out, then it denotes forbiddance." This lasted for three days and nights, and the water-filled tube was not toppled over. They continued to live together and bear children. There were altogether nine pairs of children, of whom one-half were boys and the other half girls. They lived separately in nine places and became nine clans.

4. Pu-k'ao-wang village

/10/ In the past when the Deluge rose as high as the heavens, and all mankind was obliterated, only two persons survived. They were a kid brother and his sister, who had slept in separate beds. As they woke up, the two found themselves lying in one bed. Feeling that it was unceremonious, a water-filled bamboo tube was

placed between the two; but it was moved away when they woke up again. Then, the two prayed to Heaven: "If it is the will of God that we two should be man and wife, then when the water is splashed on the ground it would turn into nine rivers." When they finished praying, the water was splashed, and it actually turned into nine rivers. Thus, they were married and bore nine sons and nine daughters who, mating among themselves, became nine married couples. Each of the couples occupied a river and lived there, thus multiplying into nine species. The Tu-lung is one of the nine rivers and the Ch'iutzu one of the nine species.

IV. Aka

1. Chiu-fang, Lang-t'sang hsien

Once there lived two brothers who had to support their father, who was too old to do any work. Being extremely poor, the two had arrived at a decision one day to take their father out for sale. Approaching the place, they observed a little bird perching on the top of a bamboo, and the father said: "When the bamboo shoots grow, they do not forsake the old stem; nor do the young birds desert their old. How could you have the heart to desert me?" After hearing the words of their father, the two showed remorse and took their father home. However, the situation at home grew worse, and the two wanted to leave home for some other place in order to make a living. So they took out some rice and meat, and said to their father: "We two are going away; the rice and meat are kept for you to eat." Thus they left. Later, the father was swallowed by some water monster when he went to bathe in a pond.

One day, the two brothers returned home. They found some manure left on the ground by their father, but failed to see his person. They carried the manure out and came to a village house. They told the landlord: "We are leaving this in your place. It is medicine, and do not let your dog eat it. Otherwise, you will have to repay us." Consequently, the landlord strapped his dog to a post. He did not expect that the two brothers would free the dog while he was not watching. So the manure was eaten by the dog. The two then reasoned with the landlord and asked for compensation. The landlord had no alternative but to repay them with gold and silver, which the two refused. When iron was offered, they accepted.

The two went to work on the iron by the pond. In the meanwhile,

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the eyes of the water monster were hurt as the water was polluted with iron. So a crab was sent to negotiate with the two and to ask them not to use the water. The two paid no heed, and furthermore, they snatched the crab with a pair of tongs. The crab was pained and jumped into the water. The water monster then sent a fish. The two said: "If your old man (meaning the water monster) has eye trouble, he better come to speak for himself." Thereupon, the water monster came out. (The water monster was actually a dragon.) At that time, the two snatched the dragon with the pair of tongs and wounded it slightly. The dragon then promised to give the two brothers some fish to eat. The older brother wanted to have them fried, but the younger brother wanted to have them boiled. They disagreed and walked apart, each going a different direction.

The older brother went up a river, and saw on one of the banks a tree, on which there was a mother monkey, holding two baby monkeys in her arms. He said to the mother monkey: "I love your sons very much. Would you give them to me?" The mother monkey, not knowing that it was one of his tricks, let the baby monkeys down to the ground. He instantly stamped them to death with his feet and took the mother monkey as his wife. His younger brother went toward another direction. He came to a village, but found no sign of inhabitants there. /As it happened,/ they had been eaten up by the ghosts. Then he found two maidens prostrating underneath a hog trough, but knew not whether they were human beings or ghosts. He pricked their ears with a needle, and they bled. He thus learned they were human. He asked them why there was no one in the village. They answered: "All were eaten by the ghosts but us two. We had hidden ourselves underneath the hog trough and were spared." He asked: "What kind of ghosts are those that exercise this evil influence?" The maidens said: "We cannot dry white cloths in the sun for then the ghosts would appear. Neither can we pound rice. The sound would also cause the ghosts to appear." He did not believe it and told the maidens to get some white cloths to sun them. /11/ To be sure, ghosts came flying in the shape of eagles. He hurriedly killed them with some instruments. When rice was pounded, long-haired monsters appeared. He chopped them all into two sections, but they were reunited and fled. By this time, the ghosts who were either killed or fled, could no longer play their devilish tricks. So the two sisters promised to marry him. The older sister had previously received from their mother a wooden pestle with one end round and the other pointed.

One touch with the pointed end would resurrect a dead man whereas one touch with the round end meant death. The pointed end was used on the villagers who all came back to life. Stems of the willow tree were cut into the shapes of knife and fork and planted at the entrance to the village. Thus, the ghosts could no longer enter the village to cast their devilish influence. This is how the wooden knives and forks at the entrance of an Aka village had their origin. 773 539

The younger brother took the two maidens with him and started for home. On the way, a mother monkey was seen washing his older brother's wrapping towel. He was surprised and questioned it. The mother monkey said: "It is your brother's personal belonging. What has it to do with you?" The younger brother broke into a great rage, killed the mother monkey and ate it. Upon his return, he told it to his older brother. The older brother said: "True, it was my woman." Hearing that it was killed by his kid brother, he sank into a profound sorrow. Moreover, he feared revenge by the numerous relatives of the mother monkey. He then asked his kid brother for a woman for compensation among the two maidens. The younger brother consented, but he privately smeared black charcoal on the face of the beautiful one, while he cleaned and dressed up the ugly one. The older brother was deceived and married the woman who was carefully dressed up. Before long, the relatives of the mother monkey came; they bawled and railed. The younger brother came up with a plot. He had the rocks burned red hot and then asked the monkeys to sit down on them. Consequently, the buttocks of the monkeys were all heated to redness. This was the origin of monkeys with red buttocks.

2. Pan-chung.

Once there were two brothers who, while taking a walk, encountered suddenly a strong wind. The two said: "Whence comes this strong wind? We better find out its origin." Consequently, they walked toward the direction where the wind came. As they approached a ledge, they found it was large and had a huge cave from which came the wind. The two brothers, facing the wind, entered, and found it was dark at first. As they went further it brightened all of a sudden. The two lost their footing and fell to the roof of a house, which happened to be their aunt's. The aunt, who had been missing for quite a long while, was kidnapped by some monster. When she saw them she asked: "Why have you come here?" They answered:

113 To hunt wild boar." The aunt said: "Please, don't ever say such a
53 thing. This monster is very ferocious. You might as well come and see your second uncle."

Before long, they observed the limping approach of a great cock. Their aunt said: "This is your second uncle." The cock seemed pleased to see the two, but said: "Since my nephews are here, you must do something for me to show your talents." So the two were sent to sow grains on a farm and were told to cover in a day ten mou of land. The two, figuring that it was really impossible to finish sowing on such a large tract of land, became worried and frightened. The aunt told them privately: "It will be all right. I will order some little demons to help you. But you better have a good sleep outside the wooden fence." When the two woke up, they observed that the grains had already been sowed. Then they were ordered to cut down bamboo groves, and with the assistance of their aunt, they were able to chop down an entire hill of bamboos. These were carried back to their aunt's house, and with them a number of pigeon cages were plaited. Their second uncle, who was out looking for some people to eat as he had done daily, returned in the evening and was very much pleased with it. He then asked for their wishes. The answer was that they had been away from home too long and would like to get out of the cave and go home. The cock, thereupon, presented them each with nine dumplings of glutinous rice. As the cave was below in the ledge, it required a lot of climbing to get out. With the rice dumplings they could induce the birds and beasts to help them to get out of the cave. Thus, the two bade farewell to their aunt and set out.

At first it was rather difficult; but as they had climbed up a layer, they encountered a turtle dove to which they offered a rice dumpling for its help. But the turtle dove, holding the rice dumpling in its beak, left them without further ado. Fortunately, a shrew-mouse came and leading the two by their clothings, helped them up. The two were grateful and gave the shrew-mouse as gifts a rice dumpling and a flute which they had carried with them. /12/ In the meanwhile the turtle dove had seen this from a distance and flew back to ask for the flute. The two said: "If you fly away after getting the flute, what then?" The turtle dove said: "You may hold on to my tail so I cannot run away." Therefore, the two held on to its tail before they gave it the flute. As the turtle dove got the flute, it tried again, despite the promise, to fly away. But the two held fast onto its tail and thus made the gradual ascent. As they were approaching the mouth of the cave,

they could see the sky and the land; but the tail of the turtle dove gave away at their violent pull, thus leaving the turtle dove free to fly away. By this time, they had reached the mouth of the cave and were able to crawl out. Consequently, today the cooing of the turtle dove is like that of a flute; but it has no tail. The shrew-mouse likes to eat rice but cannot cry. All the creatures in the world were produced from this cave, and so were the winds. 773 539

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776 accordance with their appearance, they may be the images we see in a dream, the shape of a particular thing, or without any shape at all. The corner of the clothes, the dirt on the human body, the air we exhale, insects, fallen leaves, any animal, or any man-made article can all represent gods. In a word, the Ch'iang beliefs remain in the stage of animsim and fetishism. Some say that the Ch'iang beliefs have reached the stage of monotheism. (1) This

1. T. Torrance, "The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Ch'iang," (Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1924). In this article, the author considers the Ch'iang as a monotheistic people like the Jews and denies that the Ch'iang have animism.

view is not correct. Moreover, the fact that the Ch'iang have sorcerers and sorcery fits into this kind of beliefs. If there were no such beliefs, the Ch'iang sorcerers and sorcery would have no reason for their existence. The so-called witchcraft religion is the general term for this kind of beliefs and sorcery. There are numerous examples like this among primitive peoples of the world.

1. The White Stone God and the Sacred Forest

[212] The Ch'iang tribesmen have only a spoken language but no
776 written one. Therefore, so far as their past is concerned, we have
773 to search for it among their folk songs, stories, and legends. The origin of the beliefs in the White Stone God and the Sacred Forest can also be found in their legends and folk songs. According to legends, the Ch'iang once had a great migration, in which they were scattered in all directions. A group of them, after having settled down, met a rival tribe called "Ko-jen" (2) who were dumb but

2. "Ko" is a phonetic transcription. The Ch'iang's victory over the Ko-jen was a crucial event in their national regeneration. So, up to now, the Ch'iang are still very happy to talk about it. It is said that the physiological traits of the Ko tribesmen are: big and hard bones; high eyebrow bones; a high forehead; teeth as big as a thumb; a very thick skull; a very short neck; hairs as

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dark and thick as a horse's mane; eyes always looking up and unable to look horizontally which can be done only by bowing the head; vertical eyes; and a tail which indicates the approaching of death by its gradual withering. From the social and cultural point of view, the Ko tribesmen raised no cattle; knew how to sow but were not good at reaping; ate fruits, grass and roots; took rain and dew for drink; did not know how to make fire by striking stones (they tried to learn it from the Ch'iang but failed); had no spirit of cooperation; lived in caves; and, after death, were buried in bottomless stone coffins. It is difficult to determine what race the Ko were. We can only preserve their legends and wait for the investigation later by scholars.

strong. The Ch'iang were afraid of them and were thinking of running away from them. Fortunately, in their dreams, the Ch'iang received from a god a revelation which showed them how to fight the war. The Ch'iang followed the god's direction and annihilated the Ko tribe. The method revealed by the god to defeat the Ko was quite simple, that is, first using hard clubs and then white stones. The Ko tribe was annihilated and the Ch'iang were then able to live happily in peace. So the people gave cheers such as "We are fine, we are happy, we are strong..." The leader of the Ch'iang was afraid that the people might fall into the abyss of "dying of peace and pleasure" and suggested to repay the god for his blessings so as to show their gratitude to the source of their happiness and also to warn the people of their danger. However, the people knew only that their ancestors received a revelation from the god. /11/ They did not know what god it was, nor did they know how the god looked like. So they said, "We call the god but the god cannot answer. What should we call the god?" Their leader asked, "What weapons did our ancestors use to defeat the Ko?" The people answered, "With hard clubs and white stones we beat the Ko." The leader said, "Since we beat the Ko with white stones, we should return our thanks to the white stones." All the people agreed and each brought back a white stone. The leader then said, "The white stone is our god. From now on whenever you have troubles or difficulties, you may pray to

776 the White Stone God. The god, to whom the Ch'iang wanted to
•773 give thanks, was the one who directed them to defeat the Ko. Since the god had no concrete appearance, they used the white stone as a symbol. After all, the white stone was the weapon with which they defeated the enemies at the god's direction. Here we see that the Ch'iang worship of the white stone has a profound meaning and an historical basis.

776 The Ch'iang people now use the term "White Stone God," or rho-pi-tzé. It seems as if they regard the white stone as god. Actually, the white stone is only a symbol of god, and not a god by itself. What we should like to find out is what god it was who helped the Ch'iang defeat the Ko. The legends give no explanation of such a god. As the Ch'iang people, having met the god only in dreams, did not know while awake who the god was, so they said, "He is the protector; but who is he?" And they also said, "He is God." Here we see the people actually did not know what god he was. However, there is no doubt that the Ch'iang tribesmen have always regarded this god as their guardian deity ever since their victory over the Ko. (3) /The figure 3 for Note 3 is missing in the text. I presume this is

3. Now in Li-fan hsien, at Hou-yu-k'u-shang-san-li, among the nine gods on the roof of the Ch'iang, one is the god of directing war called Ta-la. According to what is said, this is the god who directed the victorious war against the Ko. This saying, this writer suspects, is a later addition, for different gods are worshiped on the roofs in different places but there is only one legend of the Ch'iang like this.

the logical place for it. -- translator's note./

According to legends, the Ch'iang once abandoned their worship of the white stones. This was the period when "men did not worship gods and gods did not care for men." The Ch'iang then returned to their worship of the Forest God, or mei-be-tzé. (It is said that before they worshiped the White Stone God, the Ch'iang worshiped this god.)
[782] There was a definite code of ceremony--sacrificing a lamb, spreading its blood, but prohibiting the eating of its flesh which was either burned to ashes or thrown away in the wilderness. They also composed a standard version of benediction. Sacrifice was held in the Sacred Forest regardless of the weather. Later they built a public temple called wa-gi.

776 (4) Women in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. (This may be considered as a custom derived from women's association with agriculture.)

3. Local Gods

We have mentioned before that in the old times each clan of the Ch'iang tribesmen lived in a village of their own. Nowadays a Ch'iang village is not necessarily confined to a clan. However, in each locality there are local gods, sorcerers and ceremonies. It is to be noted that the local gods can be classified into male and female deities, or good and evil spirits. Because of the threats and blessings of those gods, sorcerers become an indispensable profession. Based upon our survey, we select among the good and evil gods of different localities the following examples so as to give a general picture of them.

/14/ Examples of good gods:

La-hua-chai	Be-mée-tzé	God of the Master /of the House/.
Hua-peng-chai	Wa-ba-tzé	God of City Wall.
Wen-shan-chai	Ü-nga-tzé	God of Peacock.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Shí-gŭ-tzé	God of Iron Mountain.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai	Lü-wa-tzé	God of Communication.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Sha-bo-tzé	God of Piled Stones (stones piled together).
Jo-ta-chai	Mŭ-be-tzé	God of Pine Trees. (sacrifices held jointly with Chia-shan-chai and Hsi-shan-chai.)
Shui-t'ien-chai	H-kuei-dee-tze	God of the Carried-back Cock. (Joint sacrifice with Ch'i-li-chai.)
Kan-ch'i-chai	Ru-bou-tze	God of Deep Cliff.

776 Each local god has a legend of his origin. Take the following examples:

723 The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Shui-t'ien-chai and Ch'i-li-chai--A man from Shui-t'ien-chai and another from Ch'i-li-chai worked together as carriers. One day, passing Yu-ch'i (the Ch'iang call Yu-ch'i "Hunsh"), on their way home, the two felt their burden very heavy. As they were grumbling, they heard suddenly

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the crowing of a cock. They turned their heads and saw a white cock. But as they walked back to look at it closely, they found that it was a white stone. So they left it alone and went away. They did not get far before they heard again the crowing. So they turned back again, and again saw the white stone. Thus they walked back and forth several times. Finally, they prayed to the white stone, "White stone, if you are a god, please lighten our burden. We are willing to carry you back home." Then they carried the stone back and felt their burden very light indeed. When they reached the suspension rope /bridge/ at T'ung-hua-ch'ang (the Ch'iang call it Wa dee), they tried in vain several times to tie the stone on the rope. Suddenly, they saw the white stone turn into a cock that flew and alighted on the slope at Shui-t'ien-chai, and there became again a white stone. But, still it looked like a cock from a distance. The two told their fellow villagers about it. They were all surprised and so worshiped it as a god.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God at Chia-shan, Jo-ta, and Hsi-shan--In ancient times, in the land of "gi-da", there lived six or seven clans (rŭghŭlŭgo; rorobe; wágo, now Chia-shan; jio-da, now Jo-ta; yar-ba-da; thĭ-ru-be; i-zu̧-wá-be) in close neighborhood. Pine trees flourished there and people chopped down their branches at random. Therefore, the God of Pine Trees told the villagers in their dreams, "I am the God of Pine Trees. If you chop down pine trees carelessly, I will punish you." Having had this dream, the people found themselves in a predicament. They asked among themselves where their source of income would be if they did not chop down trees. There were so many pine trees, and they had no way to know which trees belonged to the God. Therefore, those who did not believe in the God still went to the mountains to chop down trees. But from time to time, unfortunate accidents happened to them. One year after the fall harvest, an old man was seen walking to and fro in the forest and then suddenly disappeared. People believed that the God of Trees had come. So they made a vow and asked the tuan-kung /priest/ to offer sacrifice in the temple of the Sacred Forest. During the sacrificial ceremony, while the programs were going on, a participant of the ceremony was suddenly seized with a frenzy and declared, "I am working for God. You do not know where the God's tree is, but I know it." Then he took a large flag and climbed up a big tree. He reached the top of the tree, planted the flag on the top, and came down safely to the ground. He also declared that from now on sacrifice to the God of Trees should be held every year so that their land

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would be safe and peaceful. Not long afterwards, the man's frenzy /15/ disappeared and he was himself again. People were in sympathy with him and gave him a lamb's kidney and a bottle of oil used in the sacrifice.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Kan-ch'i--Kan-ch'i-chai originally had a temple of the King of Chickens (Yu-i-nga). It was destroyed by mountain torrents and not restored because of the lack of funds. The Chicken King was therefore moved to the backyard of the Temple of King Yu at Wen-shan-chai in T'ung-hua. People in Kan-ch'i still went there to pray and sacrifice every year, but they felt that the Chicken King was no longer efficacious. A patient who also felt that the Chicken King no longer had protective power suggested that the sacrifice be stopped. However, a devoted worshiper insisted that the Chicken King was still effective. He went alone to the God of the Chicken King at Wen-shan and prayed for the above mentioned patient, saying: "You are our original local god. The patient in our village hopes that you will still protect him!" The night after his return from praying he and the patient received a revelation from the God of the Chicken King in their dreams. The god said, "I am now no longer your god. I can protect you temporarily. The name of your god is ru-bou-tze. He will arrive here on the mountain in the eighth month of the next year. Under a rock there is water. He will come out of the water." The next morning the two told each other of their dreams and went together to find the spot which evidently was there. Later, the patient recovered. The harvest that year was very rich. The two could not forget what the god had revealed to them in the dreams and often walked to and fro beside the water even before the coming of the eighth month in the hope of seeing the arrival of the god. For a long time they did not see anything. One day they again heard the god say to them in a dream, "Ru-bou-tze, your god, has been drifting on the water for half a month!" Waking up, they asked a waterside wood-cutter about it. The wood-cutter said, "There has been indeed a piece of wood floating on the water for a long time and I could not catch it." The next day the two got a piece of wood beside the river and suspected that it was the god. But the wood was rotten. Some spectators suggested to have it cut and burned, but the two said that since they had dreamed about it, it should not be treated carelessly. That night they got another dream from the god. The god said, "I am in the wood. Peel off the rotten wood outside and you will see my body." They did so the next day and got an image of the god. Now people in Kan-ch'i substitute this god for the Sacred Forest, and they no longer erect a white stone.

791 773 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tā), worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat; from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shǎr (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second 778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one 791 more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made of iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

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party to actions bringing ruin and loss to his kinsmen. No Min Chia or Chinese attributed the manifestations to the magical operations of an enemy, or to the effects of a curse. Opinion was divided between those who credited a human being with remarkable skill, daring and dexterity, and those who believed in the independent action of a malign spirit. The Min Chia are not, of course, acquainted with psychological theories of dissociation of the personality, and so the possibility that one of the members of the guard could have done these things in such a condition did not enter their calculations.

Curiously enough the Min Chia do not share the common Chinese belief in were-foxes, a belief which has deeply coloured Chinese and Japanese legend and fiction. Shape-shifting stories are common in Chinese literature, but do not seem to be known to those Min Chia who could not read Chinese fiction. On the other hand a case of shapeshifting was actually reported on March 18th, 1937. The case created much interest among the Min Chia and all those to whom I spoke declared they had never heard of such a thing before. March 18th was a bright windy day such as are common at that season. Boatmen from the eastern shore who came into the city in the afternoon had a strange tale to tell.

They said that when the boats from Wa Shih, a large village on the eastern shore, were about to start in the morning for the Ta Li side of the lake, a tall handsome man took passage on one boat which had a crew of three men. Half way across the lake the boatmen were horrified to see their passenger turn bright red and transform himself before their eyes into a tiger, which thereupon struck down two of the crew, while the third, diving overboard, escaped by swimming to another boat. When asked what had become of the abandoned boat and the tiger, no one professed to know. In

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(3) MAGIC AND MYTH

Chinese folklore the shape shifter is always a fox, not a 774
tiger, and it is a fox who can assume human shape, not a human who assumes the shape of a fox. This Min Chia story, however, was positive that the shapeshifter became a tiger, and everyone denied ever hearing of a case of shape-shifting before.

Other stories connected with the lake might perhaps be 774
explained if it could be proved that in certain lights mirage 822
effects were possible, but I never observed any such effects nor heard of others who had done so. It is said that "several" years ago a phantom ship was observed from the western shore, apparently leaving Wa Shih, across the lake, about four miles distant. This ship was much larger than any seen on the lake, and—a modern touch—had a deck house with glass windows. No such ship exists on the Erh Hai lake. Halfway across it suddenly vanished. Another phantom apparition on the lake was seen eight years ago (1931). A large and well-attended market was seen from the western shore, apparently taking place on the still waters of the lake, far out from the shore. Hundreds of people going and coming could be seen, with horses and mules. After being clearly visible for some minutes it suddenly vanished. This did not happen on a day when market was being held in Ta Li. As there are several market villages scattered round the shore of the lake the possibility of a vivid mirage cannot be ruled out. The Min Chia know nothing of mirages and considered these phantoms to be supernatural manifestations of unknown import.

Other happenings confirm the fact that the myth making 774
faculty still functions actively among the Min Chia peasantry. A short while after the war with Japan had begun a miracle was reported from a temple near Hsia Kuan, at the lower end of the lake. This temple, on the mountain slope above Hsia Kuan, is dedicated to the Chinese general Li Ming who with

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Stone horse, mutilated for superstitious reasons.

Erh Yuan Min Chia girl.

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[Face p. 144]

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774 all his army was totally defeated and slain near Hsia Kuan by the Nan Chao King, Ko Lo Feng in the T'ang period. A statue or image of the general stands on the altar in the main hall, the temple having been erected to placate the ghost of this powerful personage who had died a violent death. In the month of February, 1938, following the news that Nanking had fallen, news which did not become generally known till then, the statue of General Li Ming was observed to be bleeding in the right arm. This event aroused great interest, thousands flocked to the temple, where however the statue had ceased to bleed; but the monks of the Kuan Yin temple near Ta Li held a special festival, which was largely attended, to implore Kuan Yin to avert the disaster predicted by such an ill-omened event.

This is not the only instance of the popular belief that graven images may be on occasion animated either by the spirit of the deceased person in whose honour they were made, or by malign ghosts. Not far beyond the north gate of Ta Li city there is a small village called Lu Da, lying on the last rocky slopes of the mountain side, and a mile or so from this village there is the elaborate tomb of a Ming official, approached by a ceremonial avenue of stone figures. These figures are arranged in pairs in the conventional Chinese manner, two horses, two griffins, two lions and finally, nearest to the tomb, two human figures. But the legs of all the animal figures have been cut off, and the heads of the human figures are also missing. The people of Lu Da say that they were advised to mutilate the statues in this way because ghosts were animating them at night. The animals would come down and eat up the growing crops, while the human figures left their pedestals and roamed over the countryside terrifying all they met. Since their heads had been cut off, and the animals deprived of their legs, these hauntings had ceased. A similar belief may well

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774 account for the destruction of statuary not only in this region but in other places also.

825 Lu Da was also the scene of an alleged encounter with
774 wolves, during the spring of 1937. A farmer working on the mountain side found a young wolf cub, and putting it in his sack brought it home as a pet. That night he was awakened by a pounding on the street gate, and when he rose to see who it was, found two wolves, a male and a female, leaping up at the gate. He realised that they had come to seek their cub, and fearing that they would jump the wall, he climbed to the top of the gate and spoke to them, saying, "Wolves, I know why you have come here, and I confess that I did wrong to steal your child. Now, if you will go off a little way so that I may safely open the gate, I will let your cub go, and you may depart in peace." When the wolves heard this, they drew off some way down the street, but remained in sight, watching. The farmer then let out the wolf cub through a crack of the gate, and the reunited wolf family at once made off to the mountain. This story was generally believed as true in all particulars, and created a great deal of interest in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps because they are not a hunting people animals play rather a small part in Min Chia superstition. It has already been remarked that they do not share the Chinese belief in were-foxes, although they agree with the Chinese in considering it to be unlucky to kill wild geese. Swallows, as with most peoples, are also protected by a similar belief.
[147] The Min Chia say that anyone who kills a swallow will go bald. This is curious, as the Min Chia hardly ever suffer from this disfigurement, and in fact have no word for baldness in
777 the language. They have like other peoples a number of superstitions not connected with any definite system of beliefs. For example it is considered unlucky to point at a rainbow. If one wishes to draw the attention of others to a

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 796

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sewing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 796

Since the Ch'iang have not yet passed the stage of animism, they believe there are ghosts and gods everywhere. Apart from what has been mentioned before, there are mountain peak gods at the tops of mountains, (pi-rü-tzé); gods of masculine and feminine mountains, (sü-pé-tzé); fortress gods on fortresses, (po-tzé); and local gods in every outpost. Yei-bo is the devil that causes all diseases. The Poison Devil is called is-dụ. One who has the Poison Devil in him or her is called Devil Old Woman (dụ-ma) if she is an old woman, Devil Girl (dụ-tchi) if a young girl, and Devil Man (dụ-tze) if he is a man. Besides, all tribal heroes and those who have done virtuous and meritorious deeds for the people are worshiped as gods. 174

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer--Tuan-kung

One who has relations with all ghosts and gods is the tuan-kung. He himself has his special guardian god. All magic instruments of the tuan-kung have active powers. If we want to have a deep understanding of the beliefs of the Ch'iang, it is necessary to study the tuan-kung. 791

According to their legends, the Ch'iang lost a considerable portion of their traditional culture during the period of exile. Even their original belief in the Sacred Forest was restored only after their victory over the Ko tribesmen. After the restoration of their belief in the Sacred Forest, sacrificial ceremonies were inaugurated by outstanding elders. Also, prayers were collected and edited. A committee of priests was organized with its members in charge of different aspects of the sacrifice. After many years, the rites of sacrifice were slightly changed, and the chief priest who read the prayer became tuan-kung. All religious services, exorcism, treatment of illness, delivery from poverty, as well as capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were done by the tuan-kung.

During the period when there were only priests, the clothing of the priests was the same as that of the common people. Since the advent of the tuan-kung, there were special attirement and various magic instruments. 791 292

The tuan-kung wears a white skirt (jar-pü), and his topcoat may be a sheep-skin vest or an ordinary garment. It is the same all over Wen-ch'uan and Li-fan. But in Mao-hsien, along Lo-ta-ku, Shui-mu-kou, Shen-ch'ien-san-kou, and, T'a-hua-san-chai, all tuan-kung wear leopard skin. Besides, in Li-fan there are some special clothes of other styles.

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two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

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In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

771 774 This statement is right to the point. But the nature of ghosts and gods is quite complicated. Deniker says that the so-called animism recognizes not only that a human being has a soul that can temporarily leave his body, but also that all animals, plants, minerals, and even artificial man-made products consist of two elements, the material and the spiritual. Things like dream, shadow, and imagination further strengthen the primitive people's belief in the existence of ghosts and gods. Furthermore they believe that ghosts and gods can be divided into the good and bad ones, and that sometimes they give blessing and other times trouble. (17) The variety and nature

17. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 269, 272.

of the gods worshiped by the Ch'iang, as discussed above, coincides exactly with Deniker's statement. There is no doubt that the Ch'iang beliefs belong to animism.

Souls do not necessarily have shapes, but all objects have souls. Therefore, it appears that to worship the soul is to worship the object. And so Deniker regards fetishism as a kind of animism. S. Reinarch says, "The object inhabited by a spirit or soul is a fetish. In the early period of the Roman Empire, there was fetishism but no idol. The earliest God of War is represented by a spear and the God of Heaven a piece of flint." (18) In the same way the Ch'iang use

18. Oeuvres, pp. 143-4.

white stones to represent the various gods, a leather bag to represent the Poison King, and a fork to represent the Hunting God. The Ch'iang have no idolatry. Although there are now some temples with idols, yet this is the result of the Chinese influence. For instance, on the top of the Holy Mountain, "pai-k'ung-ke," at Hsing-shang-chai there were originally only three holy stones. But now there is a sculptured image of god behind the three holy stones. Some Chinese monks also live in the temple. Another example is that the Ch'iang at P'u-ch'i-shih-chai even give up their old tradition of redeeming vows in the Sacred Forest and instead they come to redeem vows at the Sinicized Chiu-lung Temple where there are images of gods like the Mountain King, the Cow King, the Ancestor of River, and the Mother of Earth, but no longer any white stone.

771 791 We have mentioned above that the tuan-kung is a Ch'iang sorcerer. This is a Chinese term whereas in the Ch'iang language the tuan-kung is called pi. There is no question about the fact that

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(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

It is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to religious practices that, although the Shu Pao ceremony is a rite of Ancestor Worship, it has become associated with other deities as well. On the day following the ceremony many people, particularly women, go to the temple of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and there offer prayers and burn incense for the repose of the spirits of the dead, with the same ritual as is used in the spring festival of this deity. The difficulty of reconciling the belief that the ancestral spirits have just been dwelling in the home, and the belief that they, or some of them, have been confined in the Taoist underworld until released by these sacrifices, does not appear to trouble the Min Chia mind. This is by no means the only instance in which conflicting theology is ignored in favour of the performance of differing rites serving the same general purpose.

Also connected with the Shu Pao ceremony is the custom of releasing K'un Ming "lamps", in reality fire balloons ingeniously made of paper and bamboo lathes, which rise burning to great heights on still windless evenings, such as are common at this season of the year. These fire balloons take their name from the famous Chinese general of the third century A.D., Ch'u-k'o Liang, or Ch'u-k'o K'un-Ming, who first temporarily conquered Yunnan for the Western Han Dynasty. Legend relates that he used this device to send signals to detached bodies of his troops in his wars with the native princes of Yunnan. Although this is the explanation commonly given for the name of the fire balloons, it is admitted that they are never used till the night of the 14th of the 7th Month, the night of the Shu Pao ceremony, and subsequent nights for about a month. In spite of this rather faint connection with religion, no one is able to explain what function, other than that of entertainment, the release of these fire balloons is meant to fulfil. Releasing

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(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight variations. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs derisively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

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person is not at peace about some matter, and if the manifestations continued the geomancers would be called upon to re-orientate the grave. 787

In common with many other peoples the Min Chia believe that dogs can see ghosts at all times, and the howling of a dog is taken as a sure indication that ghosts are about. It is also believed that cross-eyed people can see ghosts, though whether those afflicted in this way substantiate this opinion I cannot say, as I never had an opportunity to talk to a cross-eyed Min Chia. If a ghost is seen in a public place, such as a street, the residents subscribe to maintain a street shrine with chanting of sutras and music for a day or two, as it is considered unlucky and ill-omened. In 1938 the ghost of a certain old woman, who had been the gate keeper of the Protestant Mission and who had died suddenly, was seen in broad daylight not far from the Mission, or so at least it was alleged. The residents of that part of the main street of Ta Li where the ghost was seen then set up a street shrine, to the considerable inconvenience of wayfarers and muleteers passing through the town. 775

The Min Chia also believe in possession by evil spirits, or more strictly, by malign ghosts. There is a standard rite for exorcising such ghosts, and though I was never able to witness this, it was described to me by a Min Chia who had seen it performed. A miniature suit of clothes, coat and trousers, is made from coloured paper, and brought into the room where the possessed person is confined. The doors are then shut, and fresh peaches thrown about the room in all directions, whereupon the paper suit is thrown out of the window, and promptly burned by persons waiting outside for this purpose. The rite is performed by a member of the family, no outside person, priest or Sai Dser being called in. It was explained that the act of throwing peaches about drove the ghost to take refuge in the paper suit, and thus

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775 enabled it to be cast out bodily and rendered harmless. The peach in China and the Far East generally is a fairy fruit, and charms are made of peach wood or peach stones. It is also an ancient belief in China that peach wood is a defence against evil spirits. The modern "gate gods" are simply pictures pasted on the gate to keep out demons, but they were originally painted on peach wood boards hung upon the gate.

The Min Chia also believe in poltergeists, a belief shared by their Yunnanese neighbours of all tribes. During the time I was in Ta Li I was not able to hear of a local poltergeist, although I was told that some years before one had been active in a certain village not far from the city. But in 1937 the city of Li Chiang, just beyond the Min Chia country to the north, was the scene of poltergeist manifestations which attained a considerable local celebrity. The home of a rich family of merchants of that city was almost entirely ruined by these long continued destructive attacks. The family, forced to abandon the house in which mysterious fires would break out in unlikely places, or stones coming flying through the air, left a few faithful members to guard against robbers and attempt to detect the "ghost" in the act, if it should [783] prove to be after all a human enemy. The priests of all local religions, Lama Buddhists, Taoists and others, were invited in to exorcise the ghost, and altars with their incense and offerings were placed in every room. The manifestations continued for more than eight months, and when I visited the house late in 1937 it was virtually ruinous. Much of the woodwork was burned or charred, even under the eaves and high up on the walls, where the fire can only have been applied by a torch. The doors and window lattices were smashed and scarred by stones, and these lay in heaps in the courtyard. It was said that one fire had broken out the previous night, and we were shown the spot, under the roof ridge, which was indeed charred and still smoking slightly.

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(3) MAGIC AND MYTH

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No stones were thrown during my visit to the house, but other European visitors have told me that stones were thrown when they were there. When a Chinese colonel, second-in-command of the Li Chiang garrison, visited the house, and with drawn pistol boastfully defied the ghost, he was struck on the back of the head by a stone and rendered unconscious. I was told that he was surrounded by his body-guards at the time that this occurred.

Not long after I visited the house the haunting ceased. It appears that the family who owned it are responsible for the upkeep of a chain suspension bridge across one of the rivers on the caravan route to Mu Li and Ta Chien Lu in Chinese administered Tibet (Si Kang province). The bridge had fallen into a dangerous condition of disrepair, and mules had been lost in trying to cross it. Yet the family made no attempt to undertake repairs. Early in 1938, at whose suggestion I could not discover, they repaired the bridge, and thereupon the haunting stopped at once.

Min Chia and Chinese were much divided in their opinions about this outcome of the Li Chiang hauntings. Some laughingly suggested that it had all been a clever plan on the part of those who wanted the bridge repaired. Others argued that such a secret could never be kept in the middle of a city, and that the effects produced in a house guarded day and night were far beyond the reach of human skill. Anyone as clever as that they said, could have made a fortune as a thief, and would not need to engage in practical jokes of a dangerous kind for no reward. It was however, agreed that no one hitherto had heard of a poltergeist who worked in such a disinterested way for the public good. The third possibility, that the effects were produced by one of those members of the family who were left on guard, was generally discounted by all for the characteristically Chinese reason that no member of a family would be

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775 party to actions bringing ruin and loss to his kinsmen. No Min Chia or Chinese attributed the manifestations to the magical operations of an enemy, or to the effects of a curse. Opinion was divided between those who credited a human being with remarkable skill, daring and dexterity, and those who believed in the independent action of a malign spirit. The Min Chia are not, of course, acquainted with psychological theories of dissociation of the personality, and so the possibility that one of the members of the guard could have done these things in such a condition did not enter their calculations.

774 Curiously enough the Min Chia do not share the common Chinese belief in were-foxes, a belief which has deeply coloured Chinese and Japanese legend and fiction. Shape-shifting stories are common in Chinese literature, but do not seem to be known to those Min Chia who could not read Chinese fiction. On the other hand a case of shapeshifting was actually reported on March 18th, 1937. The case created much interest among the Min Chia and all those to whom I spoke declared they had never heard of such a thing before. March 18th was a bright windy day such as are common at that season. Boatmen from the eastern shore who came into the city in the afternoon had a strange tale to tell.

They said that when the boats from Wa Shih, a large village on the eastern shore, were about to start in the morning for the Ta Li side of the lake, a tall handsome man took passage on one boat which had a crew of three men. Half way across the lake the boatmen were horrified to see their passenger turn bright red and transform himself before their eyes into a tiger, which thereupon struck down two of the crew, while the third, diving overboard, escaped by swimming to another boat. When asked what had become of the abandoned boat and the tiger, no one professed to know. In

3: Torrance E-4 (no date) 1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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764 Chinese influence is strong. In more remote places cremation is
177 still the most common method.

At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a flat stone near the place of
764 cremation. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation while the priest chants the sacred songs. The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments are thrown inside. Next morning, after the fire has cooled down, the relatives come and gather the ashes and deposit it in the large tomb near by.

764 At Lung Ch'i Chai there is a common grave which on the outside looks much like a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one
349 large opening or door, and inside there are two. These doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds near by, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men and boys are placed on the right—on the left as one faces the outside door from the inside—which is the place of honor, and the ashes of the women and girls are deposited on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

The crematory houses are small roofed buildings about ten feet square. This is set on a stone base that rises about a foot from the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but consist of small upright posts a few inches apart, and large posts on the corners. Before the cremation takes place, eight or more men lift the entire building off its hinges and deposit it at one side. After the cremation it is again set into place. One or more families use the same crematory house, and there are several such houses near each village.

766 A baby is often not formally buried or cremated, but simply covered up in a hole in the ground.

764 Near Ts'a To and Ho P'ing Chai small crematory houses, varying in size according to the financial ability of the family, are sometimes built and burnt with the coffin and the corpse inside. There is a funeral dance, and the priest chants and performs his sacred ceremony.

766 People who die violent and unnatural deaths—women who die
995 in childbirth, and men and women who fall over a cliff, are drowned, are killed by wild animals, are poisoned to death or die by hanging, become demons. These are cremated even in villages where burial in tombs has become common, and the priest performs a ceremony by which he encloses the demon inside a jar, after which it is taken

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to a crossroads and the jar is buried upside down. The jar is covered by paper, and priests have told the writer that the paper moves because the demon is jumping about inside. During cremation, in some villages, two wooden birds are placed on the coffin. They are rescued and carried away to the homes of the rescuers. 766 775

When a person dies there is present a poisonous breath called *sa ch'i* 煞氣. To offset its effects and to keep away demons a cockerel is sometimes killed and its blood sprinkled on the door-posts.

V. *Religion.*

1. The Future Life.

The Ch'iang have not a very definite idea of the future life. Some say that hades is below and that it is a dark and shadowy place. They have heard the Christian teaching about heaven and hell, and that of the Buddhists and Taoists about hell and Western Paradice. Their idea of the soul does not seem to be very clear. There are few if any memorial customs excepting those that were influenced by the Chinese. They say that they love and revere their ancestors, living and dead. Said one, "If we offer food or burn spirit money, what good does it do? If we offer food or wine, they cannot eat or drink it. Spirit money when burnt turns into smoke." Some believe in reincarnation. Many commemorate their ancestors on the fifth day of the fifth moon or the fifteenth day of the seventh moon. Some worship their ancestors in their homes on the first, fifteenth, and thirtieth of each lunar month. 775

2. The World View.

These people live on the sides and tops of high mountains, or in narrow valleys. The climate is cool and comparatively dry. Near them live the powerful Jia Rung, the Wa Ssu, the Hei Fan, and the fierce Heh Shui, Luh Hua, and Bolotzu. Wild animals live in the forests and attack human beings, the crops, and the domestic animals. There are floods and droughts. People fall over the cliffs or drown in the streams. Lightning strikes trees and houses, and sometimes kills people or animals. Earthquakes shake down houses, rolling stones kill or injure people, and pestilences sweep the country killing men and domestic animals. The Ch'iang are not 789

corner of the /48/ tent, which is the home of Yu-la. The fur of all 353
kinds of domestic animals is used, and a tuft of hair is plucked out 776
of each animal for this purpose before it is sold or slaughtered. Thus the bundle constantly increases in size. After a meal, tea, butter, and milk are smeared on the bundle of hair for the house god.

On the altar which is found in every tent stand small statues made of bronze or brass of the Lamaistic deities. The god that seems to be most popular here is called Dzam-la. He corresponds, allegedly, to Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth (2) of the Chinese popular re-

2. Compare Wadell, page 370.

ligion; in accordance with Lamaistic custom, water is regularly offered to this god. Another god much venerated is one that is thought of as dwelling in hell and judging the souls of the dead. He corresponds to the Chinese Yen-lo-wang. The "horse god" (Chinese: Ma-wang-yeh, Tibetan: dam-dzen) who is also worshiped in the Lamaistic temples is offered sacrifices by the sorcerers, especially when there is threat of war. He has three heads and is represented in union with its Cakti (female principle). Ts'ai-shen and Chia-shen are worshiped by men and women alike.

I did not learn anything about a worship of the heavens among 787
the Fantzu, nor of the sun, moon and stars.

After death the soul of the deceased can turn into an evil spirit. 775
It can descend into hell (Tibetan: nal-wa), where it is adjudicated by the judge of hell (Yen-lo-wang, Yama). But just as in China, there is a parallel belief in Buddhistic transmigration of souls, and no one is aware of any inconsistency. If a person has led a good life, he can be reborn as an incarnation (fu-yeh), if he has been bad, he becomes a woman or an animal (bovine, horse, ox, sheep). Here the belief in the transmigration of souls is sometimes confused with the belief in evil spirits into which the souls of persons who have died a violent death are transformed.

/49/ A characteristic incident had just occurred among the 682
Mewu-Fantzu: 775

The t'ou-mu of the Mewu-Fantzu had a younger brother with whom he had quarreled seven or eight years before about the rule of a group of Fantzu. He had had the brother treacherously killed one day when the latter was riding across the steppes. A short time afterwards, groundhogs dug a passage behind the t'ou-mu's house with an opening inside the enclosure of his property. This was a surprising

682 and unusual thing, considering the shy nature of groundhogs. The
775 chief immediately feared that his brother might be among these groundhogs, and proclaimed a general law against groundhog hunting. This law was still enforced, although the sale of groundhog pelts brings in quite a bit of money. It probably means that the Fantzu shared or at least understood the fear of their chieftain. On the other hand, according to primitive ideas of justice, the assassination was in no way avenged, since this would have been exclusively a matter that concerned the family of the victim.

769 Ancestor worship is different from that of the Chinese. There are no ancestral tablets. In the Mewu-Fantzu dialect the ancestors are called xõũ. After the father or mother has died, he or she is venerated by daily sacrifices in front of the tent. Later this sacrifice is made only on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of the month, and then it is gradually abandoned.

791 Just as Taoist and Buddhist priests take part in exorcism, the propitiation of offended spirits and the casting out of evil ones, so Tibetan sorcerers and lamas are enlisted for this purpose. The sorcerer corresponding to the Taoist (tao-shih) or exorcist (kan-kuei-hsien-sheng) of the Chinese popular religion is called no-hua by the Tibetans and "böm-bu" (local pronunciation) by the Chinese. Thus he is a priest of the Bon religion. He wears his hair /50/ long, and is adorned with a special head scarf. (1) There are no different kinds

1. Compare Hoffmann 9), page 137 (names), page 197 (relations to shamanism).

of böm-bu. Not every tent community has a böm-bu, and unfortunately there was none in the community I visited. The böm-bu is married and his profession - the art of carrying out exorcistic rites and writing incantations to ward off spirits - is handed down from father to son, but not to daughter or son-in-law. The altar in the tent of the böm-bu contains the customary small statues of gods and bowls for the sacrificial water, as well as a large Chinese brush with which he writes his incantations, and a long row of copper coins. He always has prayer books, although the laymen say that many böm-bu cannot read their prayerbooks, but only leaf through them. On the other hand, I was told that the böm-bu are able to understand the sacred writings of the lamas, but that, conversely, fewer educated lamas understand the sacred writings of the böm-bu. In spite of the high esteem in which the lamas are

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CHAPTER 5

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(1) *Ancestor Worship*

THE Chinese, it has been said, practise three religions; 771
Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. The Min Chia, who have absorbed so much of the Chinese culture, also worship deities and practise rites which can be classified as Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian (or Ancestor Worship). But if one concludes from this that it is true to say that the Min Chia, or the Chinese, have three "religions", in the sense in which the word is understood in the West it would be a profound misapprehension of the real character of their beliefs. The educated classes, who are aware of the separate origin of the three systems, do not believe in any of them; the less educated, who practise the rites of all three, are not conscious of any such distinctions. In the Min Chia language, Buddhist Boddhisatvas, Taoist deities, local gods not in the Taoist pantheon, and ancestral spirits, are all described by one word, *ser*. The distinction between supernatural beings [776]
called *ser* and the ghosts of deceased persons, called *gur*, is the only one which is present in the mind of the ordinary Min Chia.

It would indeed be better, if it were possible, to forget the nomenclature and classification of religious beliefs derived from European studies of Chinese culture, since these introduce a false systematisation where no system exists, and create distinctions where none are known to the people themselves. The terms themselves are ill-defined and of such vague import as to be almost meaningless. Buddhism, when used to describe the Indian religion in its earlier phases, is a

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CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 779 796 For the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

This temple is a large building, or rather series of buildings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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CHAPTER 7

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(3) *Magic and Myth*

776 If the importance of their festivals and the size and flourishing condition of their temples be taken as criteria, the four most important gods of the Min Chia are Kuan Yin, the Boddhisatva, Lur Wa, the Dragon King of the Lake, Sai Sur the God of the Mountain, and Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld. But there are also a number of lesser deities some of whom have small temples, while others are only honoured with improvised shrines. As well as these there are the Ber Dser, the founder ancestors of each village, who of course have their temple in the village. Their cult is perhaps more in the nature of Ancestor Worship, although, as has been shown earlier, they are not necessarily the actual ancestors of the villagers.

The cult of K'uei Hsing, a stellar deity, is of Chinese origin. The Chinese constellation K'uei corresponds in part to the Great Bear of the West, and the deity who resides in this starry abode is in China a patron of literature. In the Ta Li district this cult has spread from other parts of Yunnan where it is well developed. K'uei Hsing is supposed to be also a slayer of demons and a protector against disease, and therefore his temple, always a two-storied detached tower, is built on the south west edge of the village, the side most exposed, according to Chinese belief, to evil influences. No festival is associated with K'uei Hsing, though his shrine is often found in the temples of the principal deities, and gets its share of incense at the festivals held there.

Ao Yu, represented on the eaves of temples as a fish with

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chicken feet, is to the local Chinese and Min Chia the god of the earth and therefore of the dreaded earthquakes. So vast is this monster of the deep earth that the mere twitching of one of the antennæ which grow above his eyes is sufficient to cause a major earthquake. No actual shrines to Ao Yu exist, but he is always represented prominently on the eaves and roof ridges of temples and gates (and even on the Moslem Mosque!) The cult appears to be the confusion of two things, one the chicken footed monster of Buddhist mythology, and secondly the Chinese Atlas, also called Ao, but who to the Chinese is a turtle and carries the world on his back.

Two minor deities connected with the lake seem to have functions which impinge on those of Lur Wa the Dragon King. Tai Po, a Chinese name meaning the Great Mother, or Venerable Lady, has a small tumbledown shrine on the shore of the lake at the village of Shier Yu. No image of the deity exists, but a tablet with the name "Tai Po" stands upon the fire-blackened altar, and is flanked by tablets bearing the names of two minor dragon spirits, the water dragon and the fire dragon, who do not otherwise appear in other temples. The cult of Tai Po is confined to women, and men informants were even unable to say exactly what the functions of this deity were, but it would seem that Tai Po is a wind goddess, and her shrine by the lake shore is appropriate in this case. Women, apart from the usual acts of worship, the *k'e t'ou* and incense burning, also sacrifice a fowl at this shrine from time to time.

The cult of Gu Lao—a Min Chia name of unknown meaning—is confined to the boat people and the villages of the eastern shore from which these folk mostly come. It would appear to be a variant of the Lake Dragon cult, perhaps a less official version. Gu Lao is a spirit, according to some the spirit of a long dead mortal, who from time to

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776 time manifests himself in the shape of a short snake. It is stated that Gu Lao thus appears when stormy weather is expected, and is found on one of the boats, never on land. The boatmen then immediately sacrifice a chicken or even a pig, but only the head of the victim is offered to Gu Lao, who thereupon dives overboard, and the weather improves. The boatmen will not sail unless this rite has been performed if Gu Lao has been seen on a ship. Unfortunately his appearances are rare and I was never able to witness the rite, or to catch a glimpse of Gu Lao in his snake shape. It is, however, a fact that the people of the eastern shore never call a snake by the usual word, but always call it "Gu Lao". One may observe that in other parts of China also the snake is regarded as a dragon in disguise, or what one might call in "undress uniform". Eels are common in the lake and there are also water snakes, the chance discovery of these in the bilge of a boat or close by in the shallows is probably the foundation of the Gu Lao legend.

776 778 Apart from these named and personified deities there exist a large number of "*ser*" that is, spirits, who are associated with various places or ancient monuments. Thus the god of the roads is worshipped at numerous cross roads by simply burning a stick of incense at the foot of a tree or a stone. Wells and springs, especially the very hot spring of sulphurous water near Erh Yuan city north of Ta Li, are often regarded as under the care of a *ser*, who is worshipped in the usual way, by burning incense. The hottest spring near Erh Yuan is in fact regarded as sacred and no evaporation of sulphur is carried on there, instead it is surrounded with incense sticks and paper flags, a form of worship which may perhaps owe something to imitation of Tibetan prayer flags. Certain large rocks scattered over the lower slopes of T'sang Shan, some of which have in past times had Buddhas engraved on them, are now regarded as sacred,

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usually acting as shrines to the Mountain God, whose name is sometimes chiselled on a smooth face. The enormous evergreen trees called by the Chinese *tung ching shu*, "Winter Green Tree", a kind of ilex (*ilex pedunculosa*), which are planted near temples and in villages, also come in for a share of incense burning, though no one can positively say whether the tree is itself sacred, or merely the home of another spirit such as the Road God.

Another sacred spot, associated with sacrifices for recovery from illness, is the tomb of the Mongol soldiers of Kublai Khan outside the West Gate, near one of the Nan Chao pagodas. The tomb, the common grave of all who fell at the capture of Ta Li by Kublai, is a large mound surmounted by a more modern stone tablet which records its history. At this place persons who are sick, or who are acting on behalf of a sick relative, burn incense, and sacrifice a fowl, which is then cooked and eaten on the spot. Part of the rite is to break a pottery bowl on the stone base of the tablet erected by the Ming Emperor Hung Wu, which records his conquest of Yunnan from the Mongol Yüan dynasty a century later. This tablet stands close to the Mongol tomb, and is now surrounded by a large mound of broken potsherds, testimony to the antiquity of this rite. No one can give any reason for the association of these two monuments with the healing of sickness, nor do any precise ideas of the agency invoked exist. No god is connected with the two places, and there seems to be no reason why the spirits of Mongol soldiers and their Ming successors should be supposed to have healing powers.

Not very far from the Mongol Tomb and Ming Tablet there is another monument of Kublai Khan, the great stone tablet on a stone tortoise which records at length his conquest and pacification of Yunnan. This monument is well known and its character is familiar to every educated per-

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

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the Israelites themselves up to the time of the captivity. If opinion does differ somewhat as to the exact character it assumed, whether among the Canaanites or the Israelites, the fact remains that they both did worship the Deity or deities in such sanctuaries.

The Canaanites had their mountain groves or high-places with a stone pillar or pillars in each, a tree or sacred pole, an altar and carved images of their gods. This is borne out from the command of Moses to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 12; 3: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place." Then in Deuteronomy 16; 21 a further command is given: "thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image; which the Lord thy God hateth." The Israelites to begin with obeyed these commands, but worship in high places persisted. The prophet Samuel sacrificed there. The sanctuary at Gibeon, where Solomon once offered a thousand offerings, was called a high place. And the godly King Jehoshaphat, who turned not aside from what was right in the eyes of the Lord, yet did not hinder the people from burning incense in the high places. The Israelites, however, in times of religious relapse so restored the Canaanitish manner of worship that Ashera, the Hebrew term for grove, came to represent as well the images and pillars introduced therein.

The Chiang make no representation, carved or hewn, of Deity but they publicly worship Him in a sacred grove high up on a mountain side or a mountain top. In the grove there is a sacrificial altar built of unhewn stones. Behind the altar grows a sacred tree which is an essential part of the sanctuary. Between the tree and the altar, or on the altar, stands a white stone of glistening purity, generally of quartz. Such a grove it will be noted is more elaborate in its contents than that recognised by the orthodox Israelites, yet has nothing of the corruption of that of the Canaanites. Essentially, this mode of worship, it will not be denied, suggests oneness of origin with both Canaanite and Hebrew, and brings down to us, does it not, a primitive form of Semitic worship in the dress of hoary antiquity? Doubtless the Canaanites did not originally have the corruptions that later characterised their groves and called forth the divine displeasure. Their cult, apparently, was a mixture of Semitic observance and Sumerian superstition. The Chiang, more honourable than the Canaanites, have maintained their monotheism comparatively unsullied, and have given us an example of religious constancy to be found, apart from the Jews, in no other people.

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778 The use of a sacred White Stone is a leading feature of Chiang worship. It is set up both in the groves and on the roofs of their houses. In the grove it stands above the altar of sacrifice; on the roof it is placed ever the middle of the battlement above the back wall. The Deity is not supposed to reside therein and it is not, therefore, worshipped. The Stone is sacred, in the first place, because of its whiteness. Whiteness betokens goodness in contrast to blackness, which betokens evil. Its colour thus symbolises the holiness of God who hates evil and loves good. It is sacred, secondly, because it reminds men that he is the natural Rock or Mount of their strength. That God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, and that he is the Rock Source of all good and blessing, constitute the twin fundamental tenets of their belief.

778 The Stone requires to be conical or mount-like in shape and set up as found in its natural or unchissled state. Occasionally small white stones are placed around its base but these have no religious meaning. The significance of the Stone itself is the continual intimation it makes that God may only be approached by the way of holiness, and is only found when men respond to this demand of his character. As a monument on the house top it bears an unambiguous witness that those who dwell under it are a people who recognise the God of Heaven as their God, and are willing to serve him according to the immemorial customs of their fathers.

776 It will be seen from this that the religion of the Chiang is not one of stone-worship. To speak of it as such is to talk at random and gives a misleading impression. Some who want to believe that it is, because the affirmation sounds sensational, are the worst offenders. They prate about the White Stone worship but they have nothing to support the assertion except ignorant hear-say, or wilful misrepresentation. The Chiang are not animists. They know whom they worship and they do not worship him ignorantly. This requires to be said because already it has been stated far and wide that the Chiang worship the White Stone. A foreign journal once announced that the tribes people worshipped a white stone. The news was sensational; that was the effect desired. Truth, therefore, went by the board. Now, litholatry is a big word. It has a scientific or learned sound. The mere use of it is supposed to be ample proof that the Chiang are litholatrists, and the proving of this is necessary to be able to say they are animists—another big word. The Israelites had two sacred stones in their Holy of holies. Were they litholatrists? They lifted up their eyes unto the hills from whence came their help. Did they worship the hills? Did they not expressly state at the same time that their help came from Jehovah who made the Heaven and the earth? Let us be as just to the Chiang as we are to the Israelites.

It is useless to say that one was told by the Chinese that the Chiang worshipped the White Stone. The Chiang themselves deny

that they do. This should be enough. At the same time some of the ignorant among them may say that the White Stone is their "Pu-sa." Yet the same man tells you that he worships God and none other. In his mind there is no contradiction. The fault is yours if you fail to understand him. Certain words to him have a different meaning than to you. He speaks Chinese as a secondary [191] language. Then he is talking down to you. He is pitying your ignorance and with his imperfect Chinese gives a wrong impression to the listener who has not wit enough to understand this. For instance, a tribesman may call his photograph his "pu-sa." But he knows enough that it is only a likeness. Though he uses this name for it that would not justify any one saying he worshipped himself, i.e. his own likeness, and is therefore, to be scientifically classed as an animist.

Sacred stones in primitive times were very comman. They were used in many different places in many different ways. In some instances they appear to have been worshipped. Few doubt that the Canaanites did. But no *true* Israelites did. The interest to us of the Chiang use of the White Stone is in the reflex light it throws on the use of memorial and covenant stones by the Hebrews. Jacob set up the stone that served as his pillow to mark the site where Jehovah appeared to him in promise and blessing. There he made his vow and from there he started on his journey with the assurance that the all-seeing eye of a gracious Providence watched over him for good. The stone was a mark, a memorial and a sign of his vow. For to him Heaven had opened in that place, and it was given him to see there a ladder of intercourse between earth and Heaven, very dreadful but very reassuring. We shall yet see that the Chiang hold almost identical views regarding their Stone which brings into fine relief those of the patriarchs.

Jacob in his dying blessing to Joseph spoke of the Mighty One of Jacob who caused his bow to abide in strength and made his arms strong when he was grieved and shot at by his persecutors. The God of his father "from whence came the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, should help him and bless him with the blessing of Heaven above and of the deep that croucheth beneath." Obviously in Jacob's mind the Shepherd of Israel and Stone at Israel were one. In his own case he speaks of this Shepherd and Stone as the Angel who redeemed him from all evil. It was he who spoke to him in Paran; He, who as a man, wrestled with him at the Jabbok and by whom he uttered his parting blessings on his sons. The Chiang do not explicitely speak of their Stone as Shepherd or Angel but they do speak of an Angel or God-sent man who acts for them in their approach to God at the altar where the Stone stands. The Chiang and Hebrew concepts are so closely allied that they may be called alike in everything but the terminology.

It was on, Sinai, the Mount of cloud and fire that Jehovah revealed himself to the Israelites and made known his Voice to

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778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship.
171 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man.* Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship
782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

● 776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee". or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

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776 makes the Christian reflect again how Christ's teaching of God as the Heavenly Father is the beauty and the strength of Christianity. The Chiang idea of God makes a wonderful forerunner to that greater one, which Christ gave to men.

God, in his nature, is thought of as spotless in holiness or purity, and in his character as the righteous governor of the universe. He searcheth the hearts of men. He finds out if they are white or black, i.e. good or evil. To the repentant suppliant he extendeth sacrificial mercy; to the evil doer retribution according to his iniquity.

The White Stone and the altar provide tangible evidence of these conceptions. Since God is holy, the sinner may not approach
783 him before he is ceremoniously cleansed. A sin-bearer is, therefore, necessary to remove his sin. On it falls the divine judgement. A spotless bullock, or lamb or fowl is the victim. When its blood has been shed the way is open for prayer and supplication.

The origin of this crucial ceremony no Chiang can give. It has been observed, all say, from time immemorial. They regard it as an all-important divine requirement. Aged priests, deep in the religious lore of their race, which is handed down from generation to generation, unanimously maintain this. The whole purpose of sacrifice, they say, is the removal of sin to secure the divine blessing. Its substitutionary character is never questioned but strenuously maintained. Without the shedding of blood there can be no remission of sin, and apart from that even the priests dare not presume to pray.

It is useless for any one to try to discount this belief of theirs. Some who. from prejudice, would fain read out of it this substitutionary meaning charge us with reading into it preconceived ideas of sacrifice taken from the Old Testament. But love of the truth must state exactly what the facts are. And it is not fiction but fact that the Chiang do thus interpret the meaning of their sacrifices. God, they believe, meets them at the altar, and no where else, because there sin is cleansed away.

That salvation by substitution happens to be an Old Testament and a New Testament doctrine only enhances the interest of the Christian in the Chiang ritual. Yet the interest or the wonder does not end here. There is something more wonderful still, so
776 wonderful, that at first, one can hardly believe his ears when he is
783 told of it. They solemnly assert that their sacrifices are only provisional: they are but the semblances of a supreme sacrifice yet to come. How can the critic account for this? Let who will question the asseveration, the proof again is overwhelming.

A divine agent is to come from Heaven to be The Great Sin-Bearer. When he appears the reality of their sacrifices will be accomplished. This future Sin-Bearer even now comes as an unseen Presence to the Grove to put through their petitions for

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776 them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in
783 the sacred grove and as The Agent who mediates between them and God.

776 At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol
778 of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is
783 a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the sacrifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

776 The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly
783 corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang,
171 as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

776 The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so
171 like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

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776 down to coincidence, of course, but its designation can hardly be
171 that. It is known as Abba Malah. Abba means Father: here, the Father in Heaven. Malah is not known other than as a name. They do not seem to be able to define or explain the term, But the pronunciation is very precise. The "lah" is spoken with a definite click, so much so that it is virtually Malak, the Hebrew word for Angel. Have we not in this another strong indication of the Semitic origin of the Chiang religious beliefs?

In connection with this Sacred Roll and angel-Sin-Bearer or Redeemer the student of scripture inevitably recalls the many instances in the Old Testament of the mysterious angel-visitant appearing as God in human form to patriarchs, prophets and saints in times of stress and difficulty. By Isaiah he is called "the Angel of His Presence who saved them ":" in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them, and carried them all they days of old. (Isaiah, 62; 9). In Malachi, 3; 1, "He is called the Lord whom ye seek, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."

This delight of the Israelites for their Malak or Messenger of the covenant has a remarkable parallel in the fondness of the Chiang for their Abba Malah or Je-Dsu. They speak of Him in the possessive sense. The prefix of "ga-gee" goes with His name: "Ga-gee Je-Dsu" they say. The sentiment is that of the Christian hymn, "My Jesus I love thee, I know thou art mine."

Among Chiang Christians when the hymn "Jesus loves me" is sung the use of their own name "Je-Dsu" in place of the Chinese "Ye-Su" adds great zest to the singing. Every face then shines —every face is, as it were, a glistening white Stone.

796 At festival times the sacred roll is carried by the priest to the grove on a platter, where its base is embedded or planted in seed wheat. The emphasis is on the seed. The interpretation is not far to find when taken with the use to which this seed wheat is put. It is that death forms the prelude to life, a belief which the Chiang firmly hold. This will become plain as we proceed.

In some places the seed-wheat is carried separately to the grove, but at the grove the sacred roll is placed in it.

Where strict orthodoxy prevails there are three religious festivals in the year. The first occurs at their old New Year time, which falls on the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese calendar. The second comes in the Summer and the third in the Autumn. But the dates vary according to the locality and even may be changed a little, as exigencies of weather and social conditions indicate.

In numerous places now only one religious festival is held in the year; in other places two. Uniformity has lapsed. Even in exact ritual procedure it is not found. One district has preserved customs and conceptions that another has let go or forgotten.

783 For private sacrifices there is naturally no set time. These

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old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 ● 796

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 796

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789 educated or scientifically trained, and they assume that they see in these events the working of mysterious forces that may do good or harm. The priests, the gods, the ceremonies and the sacred implements are surcharged with mysterious power with which he seeks to control events, warding off calamities and enabling him to enjoy a successful and satisfying life, in which the basal needs of food, sex, clothing to protect from the cold, shelter from the forces of nature and protection from enemies, numerous descendants etc. are satisfied, and one can enjoy a successful and happy life.

3. The Gods.

776 The Ch'iang are not monotheists, and there is no certain evidence that they ever have been. The priest at Mu Shang Chai, who is a relative of the deceased Christian pastor Kou P'in-shan, stated that in his ceremonies he worshipped besides the greatest god twelve other gods. At Lung Ch'i Chai we saw two different shrines on housetops where the large white stone was surrounded by twelve smaller stones. In the sacred grove at Lung Ch'i Chai there are four different shrines to four different gods. By persistent enquiry we learned that in some of the villages the Ch'iang have five major gods and twelve minor gods, not counting a goodly number of Chinese gods that are found in Ch'iang homes, in wayside shrines, and in Chinese temples. In addition to making enquiries in several different localities, we have translated, as well as possible considering our very limited knowledge of the language, enough of the chants of two different priests to assure ourselves that they worship a number of gods. In one of the chants the different gods are named in order as we will give them below, and called upon to come and assist the priest. While we must make allowance for variations in different localities, we can be sure that they are not monotheists and worship more than one deity.

[177] The supreme god is called Mu Byei Sei (mv bjei sei), Mu Bya Sei, M Ta Bei, M Bya, Sei, Ma Byei Ch'i, and at least at Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai and Mu Shang Chai where Christian influence has been strong he is often called Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei. Abba means father and it may be applied to any god. On the other hand a number of Ch'iang have asserted that Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei is properly used only to designate Chinese gods in Chinese temples. The first two syllables, Ma bei, mu bya, or m bya, mean sky and sei

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or ch'i means god. Literally it means sky god. This idea is closely related to that of T'ien 天, meaning sky, God of the Sky or Heaven, of the Chou dynasty Chinese, and it must be remembered that the Ch'iang lived close enough to the Chou about 1121 B. C. to unite with them in the conquest of the Shangs.[1] At present many of the Ch'iang identify Mu Bya Sei with Yu Huang Shang Ti 玉皇上帝, the highest god of the Taoists, and also with the Christian God. Mu Bya Sei is the greatest of all gods, is righteous and pure, controls everything everywhere in heaven and on earth, requires righteousness among men, protects men and domestic animals, gives rain and good crops, and helps people secure children and a numerous posterity. 776

The supreme god is worshipped near sacred white quartz stones, called in different localities lu sha, lu ts'a, lo p i etc. Its whiteness symbolizes the purity and righteousness of the god. The white stone is sacred and holy, and near it communion with the god is natural and easy. Not every white quartz stone is sacred. It must be the right shape, somewhat pointed at the top and with a wide base on which it can stand upright. The sacred white stone has superhuman power, and for this reason it is placed on top of graves, and on walls in front of doors to keep demons from entering the house. Generally the sacred white stone is not identified with Mu Bya Sei, but we have met some individuals who have affirmed that the white stone is Mu Bya Sei. The use of sacred white stones is widespread in Si K'ang, eastern Tibet, and among the tribespeople of western Szechwan. 778 776 823

The sacred white stone is used as a place of worship on the top of every house, at the rear and in the center, on the highest point of the back wall. Below it is a small platform and a hole for burning incense. Here Mu Bya Sei is worshipped by the men of the household. Another sacred white stone is found in the temple in or near the sacred grove, and still another on the shrine near the sacred tree or trees in the sacred grove.

A second god is Abba Mula (a· ba· ma la·), mo lo sei (mo· lo· sei) or abba mo lo sei. Near Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, and Mu Shang Chai he is sometimes called Ndjei Tsu or Nyei Su. No priest is without this god, for without it he would be powerless. It is his patron or guardian deity and instructor. This god consists of the skull of a goldenhaired monkey wrapped into a round bundle in sheets of white paper. Inside are also dried pieces of a golden- 776

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776 haired monkey's lungs, liver, intestines, lips, and finger-nails. Its eyes are often old cowry shells. It is so wrapped that the face of the skull is visible at one end. The priest will not allow another person to touch his Abba Mula or sometimes even to see it, and he will not take it down from its shrine without first worshipping it and burning incense. Abba Mula has a permanent place in the hearts of the Ch'iang. One priest said to the writer with disapproval that "Mr. Torrance said that this was a temporary god until Jesus came."

354 776 We have noted the fact that one form of the Ch'iang stove has three legs. These are sacred and must not be touched. One often has a hole in it, and in this hole is a ring. This leg is the fire god, Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bu Sei. He controls the fire in the home and prevents it from burning the house. The second leg is Abba Sei. This is not the supreme god, but the male ancestor of the Ch'iang, who is worshipped and revered. The third is Ata Sei who is the female ancestor of the Ch'iang and is worshipped as such. This is the triad of the Ch'iang.

776 There is a group of five greatest gods. They are

1. Mu Bya Sei, who is supreme.

2. Ru Be Sei, the earth god. He controls the earth, causes rain and good crops, protects people from illness and other calamities, and helps them.

3. Lolo Sei He controls the snow mountains and the shrubs and herbs that grow only a foot or two high near the snow line.

4. P'i Ru Sei. He controls the forests and large trees on the high mountains.

5. Su Mu Sei who also controls forests, and governs wild animals and fowls.

All these five are worshipped on the housetops and in the sacred groves, at least in some localities, at the same time that the highest god is worshipped.

There is a second group of twelve lesser gods.

1. Ji Gwe Sei, the family or house god who protects the home and its inhabitants.

2. Stu Ja Sei who controls and protects domestic animals, pigs, cows, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks, etc.

3. Ndzi Ju Sei He is a god of wealth controlling the finances of the home, gold, silver, money, etc.

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4. Yi Mu Sei. She gives sons, protects women when they have conceived and during childbirth, and protects children. 776

5. Mya Wei Sei who protects men and boys.

6. Sti P'r Sei who protects women and girls in matters not connected with childbirth.

7. Do Dzu Sei a door god who is on the right side and keeps demons out of the homes.

8. Nu Nga Sei a door god on the left side who helps keep out demons.

9. Sbe Pri Sei, the god of the bin who controls the five grains after they have been harvested and are in the house or in the bin.

10. Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bo Sei, the fire god who controls the fire in the home lest it burn up the house.

11. Abba Sei, the male ancestor.

12. Ata Sei, The female ancestor.

These are regarded as so distinctly Ch'iang gods that they are put into a different category than the Chinese gods whose images are worshipped in shrines, in homes and in temples. The pronunciation of the names of the gods as given above is that which was given us at Ta Ho P'in Chai, near Wen Ch'uan.

The above Ch'iang gods have no images.

There may be other gods that are regarded as Ch'iang, but at present we can not affirm it with certainty. Many Chinese gods, however, are commonly worshipped by the Ch'iang. Among them are the Pearly Emperor, Ch'uan Chu 川主, the Lord of Szechwan, Wang yeh 王爺 who is elsewhere the god of boatmen. The housegod 天地君親師位 meaning Heaven, Earth, Rulers, Relatives, Scholars, the T'ai Shan Shih Kan Tang 泰山石敢當, the T'u Ti 土地, Kuanyin, and many others. They are regarded by the Ch'iang as real, living deities.

4. The Priesthood.

The Ch'iang are a very reverent and devout people, and their religious ceremonies and rituals are considered to be very important. They must be performed with exactness and fitting decorum. Some of them are long. Since they have no written language their chants or songs, which they regard as the equivalents of sacred 793 538

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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign fevor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this
782 seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep then from ente ring the house.

796 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on
776 the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves three times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month. but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the
778 sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

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174 important among them, was Kou P'in-shan, called Issac Whitehead in Mr. Torrance's book, "The First Missionaries To China." Mr. Torrance became interested in the customs of the Ch'iang, and especially in their religion. He believed that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that there were close resemblances in their social and religious customs. Mr. Kou was also interested, and at Mr. Torrance's suggestion he travelled among the Ch'iang looking for parallels. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou became convinced that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. Mr. Kou wrote a short pamphlet in which he expressed some of his veiws, and Mr. Torrance later wrote his book, "The First Missionaries To China," in which he elaborately states his belief and his proofs. The research of Mr. Torrance and of Mr. Kou P'in-shan became subjective rather than objective, a seeking for facts to prove a theory, and Mr. Torrance's book is the finest example that the writer has ever seen of the results of subjective research in the interpretation of the life and customs of a somewhat primitive people. Facts have seemed to fit into theories when they really do not, resemblances have been exaggerated, and differences overlooked. The Ch'iang are a likeable people with some good characteristics and Mr. Torrance is to be commended for his sympathy and love for them, but that they are Hebrews is most unlikely, and the key to an understanding of their psychology, life, customs, and religion is a knowledge of the psychology of primitive people.

The following facts are worthy of note:—

[176] 1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. In most localities they have at least seventeen gods that are considered to be Ch'iang, and it is certain that there is no place where there is not at least five. It is likely that the seventeen gods are known and worshipped all over the Ch'iang region. This does not include numerous Chinese gods that are worshipped almost everywhere.

[144] 2. There is not a single physical characteristic that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are Hebrews.

[171] 3. Their sacred ceremonies are not primarily for the forgiveness of sins, as is asserted in "The First Missionaries to China," although that is included.

[177] 4. The sacred cane shown opposite page 98 in "The First Missionaries To China," is a Mt. Omei pilgrim's walking-stick with the dragon head knocked off. Nowhere else in West China are such

when I noticed that my questions seemed suspicious to the Fantzu, 186
and take up the thread another time or with another person. In 771
many respects I might have penetrated more deeply into a /43/ 124
knowledge of the religious thinking of the nomads if I had questioned
a lama, and perhaps I would have been better informed. But in that
case I could not have avoided getting the viewpoint of the priest, and
would not have learned what were the most important things in the re-
ligious life of the laymen.

Chinese and Tibetan folk religions are very closely related. In 771
both cases religious thinking centers around a belief in spirits, nature
demons and the souls of the dead. Therefore the most important re-
ligious acts consist in propitiating these spirits which are everywhere,
and in warding off the misfortune they might cause. This belief in
spirits and the rituals accompanying it are, in both folk religions,
combined with a very primitive belief in magic and with many other
superstitions.

The Mewu-Fantzu distinguish between actual evil spirits (Tibetan: 776
djäxe-dan or djir-dan) and the spirits of the dead which correspond to 753
the Chinese kuei (Tibetan: dzeo). The evil spirits cause sickness of
man and beast, and sometimes loss of money or war, against which
in the folk religion the sorcerer (böm-bu, see below) must intervene
(he corresponds to the Chinese exorcist), or the lama in the religion of
Lamaism.

The kuei can bring the same kind of misfortune. Above all are
feared the spirits of those who were killed in war or who met with
some other violent form of death. The Mewu-Fantzu also believe
in the existence of headless spirits which are particularly feared. As
among the Chinese, there are people who believe they can see ghosts.

If a kuei brings on an illness, the victim is possessed by the kuei,
and the böm-bu must /44/ drive him out. If the sorcerer has driven
him out but has been unable to destroy him, the kuei likes to station
himself at crossroads. Hence people avoid them, especially at night,
and prefer to make a detour. The souls of the dead which enter into
the body of an animal, according to the Buddhistic belief in the
transmigration of souls, are also feared, especially, as we have said,
if they have died a violent death.

There is also a lively belief in nature demons, - mountain spirits,
earth spirits and water spirits. Earth spirits are everywhere, and
correspond to the t'u-ti-shen of the Chinese. The earth spirit is
called "sa-tja"; like t'u-ti, he has a wife. He lives in the valley,
usually along water. If one offends earth spirits, they can revenge

776 themselves by bringing sickness. If someone is suddenly seized with
753 violent internal pains, it is feared above all that the earth spirits have been offended. You can offend them by scratching up the earth, a belief which is strongly reminiscent of Chinese conceptions regarding feng-shui (geomancy).

778 I did not hear anything among the Mewu-Fantzu about water spirits, but in Labrang there is a sacred spring. Once as I was riding by, I saw four lamas slowly encircle this spring, amid song and drumbeat, a ceremony which is performed when the weather is unfavorable, particularly when it is too wet or too dry.

776 There is also a cult of tree spirits among the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu who live below the timber line.

Of the earth spirits in the narrower sense, we must distinguish mountain spirits. In Tibet, as in China, there are mountains whose spirits or gods are the objects of special veneration. The most notable among these is the Amne Machin range in the northeastern reaches of Tibet, about which little is known. /45/ In the large lamasery of He-tso which lies between Labrang and the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu, a friendly lama, one of the lamasery artists, made for me a beautiful picture of Amne Ma chin as a mounted male god surrounded by numerous other gods. (The picture was unfortunately lost in the chaos of war.)

In the more restricted area of the Mewu-Fantzu the mountain spirits known as "ami" who are pictured as living in the "obo," (1)

1. In re "obo" and "ami" see Rockhill, page 734. "obo" is a Mongolian word.

are the most venerated. It took me a long time and required many conversations before I was able to understand the whole complex of ideas surrounding the obo and its ami.

778 Every mountain on which there stands an obo (Tibetan: lab-dza) is particularly sacred. The obo of the nomadic Mewu-Fantzu consists of a wooden structure into which, year by year, sacrificial wooden darts are stuck, so that the obo looks like a bundle or bouquet of darts often more than two meters high. Twigs of bushes are also stuck into this bundle of darts. The darts vary in size, and may be a meter or more long. Every Fantzu visits the obo at least once a year and takes with him a wooden dart or the branch of a shrub as an offering. The t'ou-mu (chieftain) has the privilege of giving especially long darts. Tufts of sheep wool and khadaks are also
stuck into the obo.

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent. 776

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest number of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size. 776

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest. 778

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are covered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism: 777 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the 776

Mewu

177 178 obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

796 The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of 177 fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship 178 between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, 796 i. e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought 796 of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

353 Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the en- 796 tire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

Mewu

corner of the /48/ tent, which is the home of Yu-la. The fur of all 353
kinds of domestic animals is used, and a tuft of hair is plucked out 776
of each animal for this purpose before it is sold or slaughtered. Thus the bundle constantly increases in size. After a meal, tea, butter, and milk are smeared on the bundle of hair for the house god.

On the altar which is found in every tent stand small statues made of bronze or brass of the Lamaistic deities. The god that seems to be most popular here is called Dzam-la. He corresponds, allegedly, to Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth (2) of the Chinese popular re-

2. Compare Wadell, page 370.

ligion; in accordance with Lamaistic custom, water is regularly offered to this god. Another god much venerated is one that is thought of as dwelling in hell and judging the souls of the dead. He corresponds to the Chinese Yen-lo-wang. The "horse god" (Chinese: Ma-wang-yeh, Tibetan: dam-dzen) who is also worshiped in the Lamaistic temples is offered sacrifices by the sorcerers, especially when there is threat of war. He has three heads and is represented in union with its Cakti (female principle). Ts'ai-shen and Chia-shen are worshiped by men and women alike.

I did not learn anything about a worship of the heavens among 787
the Fantzu, nor of the sun, moon and stars.

After death the soul of the deceased can turn into an evil spirit. 775
It can descend into hell (Tibetan: nal-wa), where it is adjudicated by the judge of hell (Yen-lo-wang, Yama). But just as in China, there is a parallel belief in Buddhistic transmigration of souls, and no one is aware of any inconsistency. If a person has led a good life, he can be reborn as an incarnation (fu-yeh), if he has been bad, he becomes a woman or an animal (bovine, horse, ox, sheep). Here the belief in the transmigration of souls is sometimes confused with the belief in evil spirits into which the souls of persons who have died a violent death are transformed.

/49/ A characteristic incident had just occurred among the 682
Mewu-Fantzu: 775

The t'ou-mu of the Mewu-Fantzu had a younger brother with whom he had quarreled seven or eight years before about the rule of a group of Fantzu. He had had the brother treacherously killed one day when the latter was riding across the steppes. A short time afterwards, groundhogs dug a passage behind the t'ou-mu's house with an opening inside the enclosure of his property. This was a surprising

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

• 776 The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They believe that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

776 accordance with their appearance, they may be the images we see in a dream, the shape of a particular thing, or without any shape at all. The corner of the clothes, the dirt on the human body, the air we exhale, insects, fallen leaves, any animal, or any man-made article can all represent gods. In a word, the Ch'iang beliefs remain in the stage of animsim and fetishism. Some say that the Ch'iang beliefs have reached the stage of monotheism. (1) This

1. T. Torrance, "The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Ch'iang," (Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1924). In this article, the author considers the Ch'iang as a monotheistic people like the Jews and denies that the Ch'iang have animism.

view is not correct. Moreover, the fact that the Ch'iang have sorcerers and sorcery fits into this kind of beliefs. If there were no such beliefs, the Ch'iang sorcerers and sorcery would have no reason for their existence. The so-called witchcraft religion is the general term for this kind of beliefs and sorcery. There are numerous examples like this among primitive peoples of the world.

1. The White Stone God and the Sacred Forest

[212] The Ch'iang tribesmen have only a spoken language but no
776 written one. Therefore, so far as their past is concerned, we have
773 to search for it among their folk songs, stories, and legends. The origin of the beliefs in the White Stone God and the Sacred Forest can also be found in their legends and folk songs. According to legends, the Ch'iang once had a great migration, in which they were scattered in all directions. A group of them, after having settled down, met a rival tribe called "Ko-jen" (2) who were dumb but

2. "Ko" is a phonetic transcription. The Ch'iang's victory over the Ko-jen was a crucial event in their national regeneration. So, up to now, the Ch'iang are still very happy to talk about it. It is said that the physiological traits of the Ko tribesmen are: big and hard bones; high eyebrow bones; a high forehead; teeth as big as a thumb; a very thick skull; a very short neck; hairs as

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dark and thick as a horse's mane; eyes always looking up and unable to look horizontally which can be done only by bowing the head; vertical eyes; and a tail which indicates the approaching of death by its gradual withering. From the social and cultural point of view, the Ko tribesmen raised no cattle; knew how to sow but were not good at reaping; ate fruits, grass and roots; took rain and dew for drink; did not know how to make fire by striking stones (they tried to learn it from the Ch'iang but failed); had no spirit of cooperation; lived in caves; and, after death, were buried in bottomless stone coffins. It is difficult to determine what race the Ko were. We can only preserve their legends and wait for the investigation later by scholars.

strong. The Ch'iang were afraid of them and were thinking of running away from them. Fortunately, in their dreams, the Ch'iang received from a god a revelation which showed them how to fight the war. The Ch'iang followed the god's direction and annihilated the Ko tribe. The method revealed by the god to defeat the Ko was quite simple, that is, first using hard clubs and then white stones. The Ko tribe was annihilated and the Ch'iang were then able to live happily in peace. So the people gave cheers such as "We are fine, we are happy, we are strong..." The leader of the Ch'iang was afraid that the people might fall into the abyss of "dying of peace and pleasure" and suggested to repay the god for his blessings so as to show their gratitude to the source of their happiness and also to warn the people of their danger. However, the people knew only that their ancestors received a revelation from the god. /11/ They did not know what god it was, nor did they know how the god looked like. So they said, "We call the god but the god cannot answer. What should we call the god?" Their leader asked, "What weapons did our ancestors use to defeat the Ko?" The people answered, "With hard clubs and white stones we beat the Ko." The leader said, "Since we beat the Ko with white stones, we should return our thanks to the white stones." All the people agreed and each brought back a white stone. The leader then said, "The white stone is our god. From now on whenever you have troubles or difficulties, you may pray to

776 the White Stone God. The god, to whom the Ch'iang wanted to
773 give thanks, was the one who directed them to defeat the Ko. Since the god had no concrete appearance, they used the white stone as a symbol. After all, the white stone was the weapon with which they defeated the enemies at the god's direction. Here we see that the Ch'iang worship of the white stone has a profound meaning and an historical basis.

776 The Ch'iang people now use the term "White Stone God," or rho-pi-tzé. It seems as if they regard the white stone as god. Actually, the white stone is only a symbol of god, and not a god by itself. What we should like to find out is what god it was who helped the Ch'iang defeat the Ko. The legends give no explanation of such a god. As the Ch'iang people, having met the god only in dreams, did not know while awake who the god was, so they said, "He is the protector; but who is he?" And they also said, "He is God." Here we see the people actually did not know what god he was. However, there is no doubt that the Ch'iang tribesmen have always regarded this god as their guardian deity ever since their victory over the Ko. (3) /The figure 3 for Note 3 is missing in the text. I presume this is

3. Now in Li-fan hsien, at Hou-yu-k'u-shang-san-li, among the nine gods on the roof of the Ch'iang, one is the god of directing war called Ta-la. According to what is said, this is the god who directed the victorious war against the Ko. This saying, this writer suspects, is a later addition, for different gods are worshiped on the roofs in different places but there is only one legend of the Ch'iang like this.

the logical place for it. -- translator's note. /

According to legends, the Ch'iang once abandoned their worship of the white stones. This was the period when "men did not worship gods and gods did not care for men." The Ch'iang then returned to their worship of the Forest God, or mei-be-tzé. (It is said that before they worshiped the White Stone God, the Ch'iang worshiped this god.)
[782] There was a definite code of ceremony--sacrificing a lamb, spreading its blood, but prohibiting the eating of its flesh which was either burned to ashes or thrown away in the wilderness. They also composed a standard version of benediction. Sacrifice was held in the Sacred Forest regardless of the weather. Later they built a public temple called wa-gi.

776 The Ch'iang legends consider this Forest God extremely potent. He must be worshiped with a lamb and a sacrificial service. He could make barren those lands where he was not worshiped, and he could make people sick. Therefore the Ch'iang everywhere worshipped the Forest God. Once he told the Ch'iang in a dream, explaining to them his position among gods. He said, "I am not the only god. Besides me, there is the God of Heaven, mei-da-be." People asked, "Who is the God of Heaven and where to worship him?" He answered, "The white stone you worshiped at the top of your house represents the God of Heaven." People asked, "We have known that the white stone represents the God of Heaven. But where should be the place of the white stone in the Sacred Grove?" He answered, "Behind the highest temple, erect a white stone on a stone seat to represent the God of Heaven. Inside the temple, in a niche in the wall, place a white stone to represent the God of Earth. (Different names are used in different places.) Behind the stove in the temple, erect a white stone to represent the God of Fire, mūn-kuei-tzé. During the service day, branches of cypress must be burned and a piece of fir wood is planted behind the God of Heaven....." This dialogue has now become the code of ceremony of the Ch'iang. At the same time, the passage explains that white stones may represent different kinds of gods. But the white stone at the top of the house represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang's perplexity about this white stone is now clarified.

From the aforesaid, we can see the meaning of the white stone in the Ch'iang beliefs. What the Ch'iang worship, however, are not the white stones themselves but the Gods of Heaven, Earth, Forest, and Fire. The Ch'iang perhaps have had this kind of belief for a considerably long period of time. One of the Ch'iang's ancient folk songs says: (4)

539 4. Words of the entire song are as follows:
"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
Next to them is the Sacred Forest;
Wild beasts beating stones on the cliff,
Fir trees and birch trees,
Grasses flourishing, lakes deep,
Mountains high, the land big,
Remember, remember! "
This is one of the songs sung by the Ch'iang at Shang-shui-li in Wen-ch'uan after sacrificing a

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

•776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

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1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsǔ-rǔ-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bo-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-là	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

legends, who first understood and represented the will of God to lead the Ch'iang to victory.

9) Hä-hä-be — God of Winter Preservation or God of the Completion of Four Seasons.

In some places, there are only three or four white stones on the roof, which of course, mean that there are only three or four gods. From the Ch'iang legends, we know the most important god on the roof is probably the white stone which represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang nowadays all recognize that the place to offer public sacrifice to the White Stone God is in the Sacred Forest and that the place for private sacrifice is on the roof. According to the aforesaid origin of the white stone cult, the white stones both on the roof and in the Sacred Forest represent the God of Heaven. Others occupy perhaps only secondary positions. Therefore, people in different villages may freely increase or reduce their number.

Inside their houses, the Ch'iang probably everywhere worship a total of twelve gods. But there are quite some differences in the names of those gods in different places as well as in the pronunciation of those names. For instance, according to the Great Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan, they are:

1) Bo-jé — The Ancestor of Mankind.
2) Yei-tzé — God of Fortune
3) Hi-tu-tzé — God of Sheep.
/13/ 4) Htié-to — God of Showing the Way to Heaven (or God of Revelation.)
5) Tchŭ-tso-péi-tchei — God of Eliminating Poison in the Water Jar.
6) Mó-kuei-tzé — God of Fire (Mo-kuei-tze, Wei-tze or Parents' Souls, and Lei-tze or God of Fuel are the three Gods who occupy a triangular position which is originally the simplest stove built with three

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stones by the Ch'iang. Besides, there is a god called Ko-tchei-tze, or God of Shading the Fire, which means the wooden board above the stove used for shading the flame.)

7) Ü-mŭ — Ancestors (ancestors of the family.)

8) Tsee-tze — God of Mountains (guaranteeing against collapse or fall.)

9) Ngi-yu — God of the Central Pillar.

10) Lŭ-ngä — Door God.

11) Wei-ko-tzé — God of Cattle (God of the Ranch).

12) Rŭ-gee-tzé — God of Farm Boundary.

The Ch'iang in Wen-ch'uan also worship twelve gods. But at Lo-pu-chai there are, among the twelve gods, Yu-mo-tze, or God of Granary; H chu tchi, or God of Controlling Ghosts; Mie, a God Ruling over Men; and Si, a God Ruling over Women. (At Ts'u-t'u-chai in Wen-ch'uan, the God of Men is called Ti-pre and the God of Women, Mia-wei.) There are no Gods of Mountains, Farm Boundary, Cattle, and Eliminating Poison in the Water Jar. A few other points also deserve our attention. In many places where there is no God of Sheep, there is often a Buddha of the King of Cows. The housewife is in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. The Door God is believed to be Chiang Tzu-ya (just like Lord Kuan on the roof). In some places (such as western Mao-hsien) they have forgotten the twelve gods except the Ancestors, the Kitchen God, the Land God, the God of Fortune, and Lord Heaven. Those who are more Sinicized will place the spirit tablets of Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Parents and Teachers right inside the front door. The twelve gods in the house seem to represent the traditional beliefs of the Ch'iang particularly on the following four points:

(1) Apart from the family ancestors, there are ancestors of mankind.
(2) The God of Fire and those gods associated with him.
(3) The God of Men and the God of Women. (This may be transformed from either the guardian god of individuals or the sexual totem.)

•776 (4) Women in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. (This may be considered as a custom derived from women's association with agriculture.)

3. Local Gods

We have mentioned before that in the old times each clan of the Ch'iang tribesmen lived in a village of their own. Nowadays a Ch'iang village is not necessarily confined to a clan. However, in each locality there are local gods, sorcerers and ceremonies. It is to be noted that the local gods can be classified into male and female deities, or good and evil spirits. Because of the threats and blessings of those gods, sorcerers become an indispensable profession. Based upon our survey, we select among the good and evil gods of different localities the following examples so as to give a general picture of them.

/14/ Examples of good gods:

La-hua-chai	Be-mée-tzé	God of the Master /of the House/.
Hua-peng-chai	Wa-ba-tzé	God of City Wall.
Wen-shan-chai	Ü-nga-tzé	God of Peacock.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Shi-gu-tzé	God of Iron Mountain.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai	Lü-wa-tzé	God of Communication.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Sha-bo-tzé	God of Piled Stones (stones piled together).
Jo-ta-chai	Mu-be-tzé	God of Pine Trees. (sacrifices held jointly with Chia-shan-chai and Hsi-shan-chai.)
Shui-t'ien-chai	H-kuei-dee-tze	God of the Carried-back Cock. (Joint sacrifice with Ch'i-li-chai.)
Kan-ch'i-chai	Ru-bou-tze	God of Deep Cliff.

776 Each local god has a legend of his origin. Take the following
723 examples:

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Shui-t'ien-chai and Ch'i-li-chai--A man from Shui-t'ien-chai and another from Ch'i-li-chai worked together as carriers. One day, passing Yu-ch'i (the Ch'iang call Yu-ch'i "Hunsh"), on their way home, the two felt their burden very heavy. As they were grumbling, they heard suddenly

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the crowing of a cock. They turned their heads and saw a white cock. But as they walked back to look at it closely, they found that it was a white stone. So they left it alone and went away. They did not get far before they heard again the crowing. So they turned back again, and again saw the white stone. Thus they walked back and forth several times. Finally, they prayed to the white stone, "White stone, if you are a god, please lighten our burden. We are willing to carry you back home." Then they carried the stone back and felt their burden very light indeed. When they reached the suspension rope /bridge/ at T'ung-hua-ch'ang (the Ch'iang call it Wa dee), they tried in vain several times to tie the stone on the rope. Suddenly, they saw the white stone turn into a cock that flew and alighted on the slope at Shui-t'ien-chai, and there became again a white stone. But, still it looked like a cock from a distance. The two told their fellow villagers about it. They were all surprised and so worshiped it as a god.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God at Chia-shan, Jo-ta, and Hsi-shan--In ancient times, in the land of "gi-da", there lived six or seven clans (rŭglŭlŭgo; rorobe; wȧgo, now Chia-shan; jio-da, now Jo-ta; yar-ba-da; thĭ-ru-be; i-zu̧-wȧ-be) in close neighborhood. Pine trees flourished there and people chopped down their branches at random. Therefore, the God of Pine Trees told the villagers in their dreams, "I am the God of Pine Trees. If you chop down pine trees carelessly, I will punish you." Having had this dream, the people found themselves in a predicament. They asked among themselves where their source of income would be if they did not chop down trees. There were so many pine trees, and they had no way to know which trees belonged to the God. Therefore, those who did not believe in the God still went to the mountains to chop down trees. But from time to time, unfortunate accidents happened to them. One year after the fall harvest, an old man was seen walking to and fro in the forest and then suddenly disappeared. People believed that the God of Trees had come. So they made a vow and asked the tuan-kung /priest/ to offer sacrifice in the temple of the Sacred Forest. During the sacrificial ceremony, while the programs were going on, a participant of the ceremony was suddenly seized with a frenzy and declared, "I am working for God. You do not know where the God's tree is, but I know it." Then he took a large flag and climbed up a big tree. He reached the top of the tree, planted the flag on the top, and came down safely to the ground. He also declared that from now on sacrifice to the God of Trees should be held every year so that their land

776 773 would be safe and peaceful. Not long afterwards, the man's frenzy /15/ disappeared and he was himself again. People were in sympathy with him and gave him a lamb's kidney and a bottle of oil used in the sacrifice.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Kan-ch'i--Kan-ch'i-chai originally had a temple of the King of Chickens (Yu-i-nga). It was destroyed by mountain torrents and not restored because of the lack of funds. The Chicken King was therefore moved to the backyard of the Temple of King Yu at Wen-shan-chai in T'ung-hua. People in Kan-ch'i still went there to pray and sacrifice every year, but they felt that the Chicken King was no longer efficacious. A patient who also felt that the Chicken King no longer had protective power suggested that the sacrifice be stopped. However, a devoted worshiper insisted that the Chicken King was still effective. He went alone to the God of the Chicken King at Wen-shan and prayed for the above mentioned patient, saying: "You are our original local god. The patient in our village hopes that you will still protect him!" The night after his return from praying he and the patient received a revelation from the God of the Chicken King in their dreams. The god said, "I am now no longer your god. I can protect you temporarily. The name of your god is ru-bou-tze. He will arrive here on the mountain in the eighth month of the next year. Under a rock there is water. He will come out of the water." The next morning the two told each other of their dreams and went together to find the spot which evidently was there. Later, the patient recovered. The harvest that year was very rich. The two could not forget what the god had revealed to them in the dreams and often walked to and fro beside the water even before the coming of the eighth month in the hope of seeing the arrival of the god. For a long time they did not see anything. One day they again heard the god say to them in a dream, "Ru-bou-tze, your god, has been drifting on the water for half a month!" Waking up, they asked a waterside wood-cutter about it. The wood-cutter said, "There has been indeed a piece of wood floating on the water for a long time and I could not catch it." The next day the two got a piece of wood beside the river and suspected that it was the god. But the wood was rotten. Some spectators suggested to have it cut and burned, but the two said that since they had dreamed about it, it should not be treated carelessly. That night they got another dream from the god. The god said, "I am in the wood. Peel off the rotten wood outside and you will see my body." They did so the next day and got an image of the god. Now people in Kan-ch'i substitute this god for the Sacred Forest, and they no longer erect a white stone.

Examples of Evil Gods:

776 Hsing-shang-na-wa ts'un	Li-zé-sié	God of Strange Vines in the Corners of a Farm.
Ah-t'i-hua	Kabre-po-sié	God of Bushes under the Rock.
Hua-peng and La-heh chai's	La-ge-po-sié	God of Strange Forests in the Corners of the Land.
Li-mu-chi and Chi-erh-wa chai's	Yǐ-ta-sié	God of a Strange Stone Resembling a Chicken Pecking Food.
Ma-peng-chai	Ba-ta-sié	Strange God above the Dam.
Mu-erh-ta	Dse-tche-ba-sié	God of Thorny Dam.
Chai-liu-chai	Hngi-gee-po-sié	God of Old Red Trees.
Mu-kung-chai	Dza-gee-kua-sié	Strange God of Broken House Foundation.
Chiu-tza-chai	Man-dio-sié	God of Cliff.
Li-fan (Pao-hsien)	Tsai-zé-tcha-tǐ sié	God of Drinking Wine and Eating Meat.
T'ung-hua	Tso-ge-po sié	God of Gleditschia Sinensis.
K'ung-ti-p'ing	Tcha-se ra-kǔ-cha sié	God of Stone Bridge and Rugged Cliff.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Sagta-lagbo sié	God of the Slope at the End of the Outpost.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai /16/	Tsa-tshi-po sié	God of Thorns.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Ko-bo-tsi-bo sié	God of Stone Piles and Forests.
Chu-erh-shan-chai	Dsǘ-be-dá sié	God under a Mud Pit.

776 796 Every year, from the middle of the first month to the end of the second month, the Ch'iang tribesmen asked the tuan-kung to exorcise the evil gods on the four days of the boar, dog, dragon, and horse. Mixing the flour of buckwheat or oats with the water used for washing the faces of the whole family, they make a plateful of images of ghosts and devils. Then mixing wheat flour with clean water, they make another plateful of sacrificial offerings to good gods. Wearing a monkey-skin hat, striking a spade, burning pine branches, and chanting the liturgies, the tuan-kung calls on good and bad spirits as he performs his exorcism. (Based upon the oral statements of Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai.)

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is hung a little flag made of fir wood. At the same time, disciples of other tuan-kung also participate in the performance. But they need only thrust the flag, not the knife /into the mouth/. Only the tuan-kung who has performed the teacher-honoring ceremony is qualified to wear the monkey-skin hat. 791

What is mentioned above gives a general idea of the origin of the tuan-kung, his attirements and instruments, and his magic power and instruction. As to the various functions of the Ch'iang tuan-kung, there are many and it takes a long time to enumerate them all. I shall discuss briefly a few cases in the following chapter dealing with examples of the Ch'iang practices, while a discussion of the details must wait until some other time.

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices

The Ch'iang tribesmen believe in ghosts and gods. They are sometimes lenient and sometimes severe. All diseases, poverty, famine, and other misfortunes have something to do with the attitude of those ghosts and gods. Whenever people meet such crises, they ask the tuan-kung for help. The tuan-kung is a person who, on the one hand, deals with ghosts and gods and, on the other hand, promotes the well-being of the people. He has the magic to cure diseases, to exorcise evil spirits, to eliminate plagues, to increase fecundity, and to do many other things. All the Ch'iang believe in such magic. The tuan-kung may also participate in capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. However, there are also many other important programs which have nothing to do with the tuan-kung. For instance, the act of praying for rain, which, it seems, ought to be a favorite job of the tuan-kung, is however entirely a practice of the people among the Ch'iang tribesmen. 776 791

Curing Diseases--People who believe in ghosts and gods consider all diseases as caused by their evil workings. Frazer, an English anthropologist, calls the disease which is caused by the evil influence of ghosts and gods "devil-disease." Even today in China there remains the habit of calling all diseases "devil-diseases." This is undoubtedly a custom handed down from ancient times. The Dyak people of Oceania say that diseases are caused by devils that possess the human body, by the attack of evil spirits, or by the capture of one's soul by the devil. The Savara people of India regard all diseases as the evil workings of their ancestors or other ghosts and gods. /19/ Besides, the Winnebago people of America, the 753

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

774 account for the destruction of statuary not only in this region but in other places also.

825 774 Lu Da was also the scene of an alleged encounter with wolves, during the spring of 1937. A farmer working on the mountain side found a young wolf cub, and putting it in his sack brought it home as a pet. That night he was awakened by a pounding on the street gate, and when he rose to see who it was, found two wolves, a male and a female, leaping up at the gate. He realised that they had come to seek their cub, and fearing that they would jump the wall, he climbed to the top of the gate and spoke to them, saying, "Wolves, I know why you have come here, and I confess that I did wrong to steal your child. Now, if you will go off a little way so that I may safely open the gate, I will let your cub go, and you may depart in peace." When the wolves heard this, they drew off some way down the street, but remained in sight, watching. The farmer then let out the wolf cub through a crack of the gate, and the reunited wolf family at once made off to the mountain. This story was generally believed as true in all particulars, and created a great deal of interest in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps because they are not a hunting people animals play rather a small part in Min Chia superstition. It has already been remarked that they do not share the Chinese belief in were-foxes, although they agree with the Chinese in considering it to be unlucky to kill wild geese. Swallows, as with most peoples, are also protected by a similar belief. [147] The Min Chia say that anyone who kills a swallow will go bald. This is curious, as the Min Chia hardly ever suffer from this disfigurement, and in fact have no word for baldness in • 777 the language. They have like other peoples a number of superstitions not connected with any definite system of beliefs. For example it is considered unlucky to point at a rainbow. If one wishes to draw the attention of others to a

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rainbow you must not indicate where it is with a gesture, but merely say "there is a fine rainbow in the east", or the in the south, as the case may be.

In spite, or perhaps, because of, the complexity of their religious system and the number of overlapping deities whom they worship, the Min Chia cannot be called a really religious people. In their culture religion plays a secondary part. Lacking any unified and defined system of beliefs their religion has never been the dominating and co-ordinating force which Islam has been to the Moslems, or as Christianity was to the Christian nations of the west. Very rarely, except in a ceremony, will one hear the names of the gods on the lips of a Min Chia. Religion has never given common expletives to the language, and is seldom a subject for conversation. It is characteristic of their attitude that difference in religion is not felt to be so significant as difference in descent. To the Min Chia a Moslem is not primarily a fellow-countryman with a peculiar religion, he is a member of another race. A man asked to distinguish between two muleteers, one of which was a Moslem and the other a Yunnanese, said, "this one is the Chinese, that is the Hui Tze". "*Han jên*," the word used for Chinese, means Chinese by race and speech, "*Hui Tze*" a Yunnanese slang term for a Moslem, is derived from the name Hui Hui, an old Chinese name for the Uigur tribe of Tartars, who were among the first Moslems to be known to the Chinese. Yet these Moslems, although of alien origin, have been settled in Yunnan for six centuries and are entirely Chinese in appearance, dress, and speech.

The same attitude exists towards the Christians. Even well educated Min Chia and Yunnanese are unable to understand or believe that the Christian missionaries have come to the country merely to convert people to a new religion. Such an aim seems to them meaningless. The idea

755 liturgies, take the straw man and a sheep to the cross roads. He kills the sheep, spreads its blood on the straw man and the flag, and then burns them. This means that the straw man, representing the devil of illness, is sent away and that the sheep has died in the place of the patient. Everything in the belly of the sheep is thrown away. The tuan-kung takes the sheep's head, its hind legs, and its skin.

People do not invite a tuan-kung for a Poison Devil disease which is not very serious. They treat it only with the night-watching method called muzee-kue dze. The treatment begins by washing the patient's wound with water. Then, mix flour with that water to make a human figure. Cut a corner off the patient's clothes, take a head scarf and some hairs, and put them all on a plate. Build a fire outdoors and put the plate beside the fire. Also ask a hunter to wait behind the house to shoot the animal that happens to approach the fire. Even a valuable domesticated animal is not to be spared. An animal that has been shot must be traced and brought back, and must not be left to die in front of some other person's house. If no animal comes after long waiting, shooting the flour man or a whirlwind can also be effective.

783 Expelling Bad Luck--When the Ch'iang of Li-fan have bad luck
777 and do not know what to do, they invite a tuan-kung to perform magic for them so as to expel the bad luck. This method is called "pil-wara" in the Ch'iang language. It begins with the host preparing two pints of buckwheat flour. The tuan-kung first mixes the flour with water to make various images of gods, which are kept at home; he then makes five mountains with flour and three double-leaf flags with paper. He takes the host's hat, a belt and a sun cake, and puts them into a basket. /21/ Besides, he also takes the host's accounting book, farming tools, and other important things, and with his helpers, moves them several miles away from the house. Finding a proper place where he can see mountains and streams, the tuan-kung sits cross-legged on the ground. He takes the flour mountains out of the basket and arranges them in a row on a paper. Then he builds a fire, burning pine branches. He now starts his magic performance, chanting liturgies, beating the drum, ringing the bell, inviting his old Master, calling the names of the gods of the five mountains, and reading aloud the host's age, name, and misfortunes. If the magic is effective, the weather will change at this moment, -- the wind may blow or a rain may fall. The tuan-kung watches the paper on which the five flour mountains are placed to see what (besides living things) has fallen on it. No matter whether it be an

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inanimate fallen leaf or some dust gathering there, he takes it, wraps it up, and puts it into the host's hat. He also picks some stones or mud from that place to fill up the host's belt. Beating the drum, the tuan-kung returns home. As he reaches the door, the host purposely closes it and refuses to let him in. The tuan-kung will ask, "I am the richest and most honored. Now I have come. Why don't you open the door?" Inside the house, an eloquent person, who is called pil-kuai-tchuai, has been chosen and he will converse with the tuan-kung through a hole in the door. He will ask, "The host is in need of a certain thing. Have you brought that with you?" The tuan-kung will answer, "Yes, I have it here. Moreover, I have brought even better ones." Thus they ask and answer dozens of times. Each time when a certain thing is mentioned, it is handed in through the hole. At last, the tuan-kung will ask, "Have you finished?" The person inside will say, "Yes." Then the tuan-kung enters the door and, chanting liturgies, bows to all the gods inside the house. Later he burns a pine branch before the altar of the Old Master. He takes out four wool threads. First, he has them smoked over the burning pine branches; then he rings the host's neck with three threads, which means that, from now on, the host will be no longer at a loss to make up his mind. The remaining thread is bound on the host's left wrist, which means that, from now on, the host's limbs will be steady and will not fumble. When the service is done, relatives and neighbors will send gifts to congratulate the host who will entertain them with the gifts. For three days, the host will not spend anything of his own. (Everything comes in and nothing goes out.) And the tuan-kung stays three days with him.

Things like difficulties in breeding pigs, trouble in raising chickens, poor taste of the home-brewed wine, poor flavor of the preserved vegetable, fallen ears of grains, and frequent robbery and burglary are regarded as the bad luck of women. The tuan-kung can also be invited to expel such bad luck. In the Ch'iang language this is called i-dé-wara. (I-dé means the food in storage under women's care; wara means calling.) The rites are the same as for men, only that the tuan-kung will not go up to the mountain to perform the rites but stay in the farm. On his return, he delivers things to the store-room. Women often object to the performance of such rites because they consider it a disgrace to them. (6) /The number

6. Various relationships between women and agriculture can be seen from this rite. We will analyze it later when we discuss the social system of the Ch'iang.

783 is missing in the text. I presume this is the appropriate place for
777 Note 6. --translator's note. /

Exorcism and Fecundity Rites-- These two rites are held continuously. The term "fecundity rites" is not current in Chinese usage, and is adapted by this writer from the French term "Les rites de fécondité." For example, in India the Farming Festival during the spring
783 (7) is a fecundity rite of the agricultural people. The Intichiuma in

7. See Briffault, Sex in Religion.

Australia is a fecundity rite of the hunting tribes. (8) The Ch'iang

8. See R. Kréglinger, L'evolution religieuse de l'humanité, 1926, p. 59-60.

have a similar rite, which is called yu-si (redeeming the chicken's vow) in the Ch'iang language. It is held once every three years. The major part of the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow is also the ceremony of private sacrifice to the White Stone God in every family. As to the rites of exorcism, they are regarded as a preparation for the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow, that is, before the ceremony starts, the house must first be cleaned and unlucky things in the family removed. This rite which the Ch'iang call yü-li bü-de, also has its basis in theology. (9)

9. This kind of rite is called "Les rites preliminaires." (See R. Bastide, Elements de sociologie religieuse, Collection Armond Colin, pp. 85-90.)

These two ceremonies are both conducted by the tuan-kung. Exorcism is held any day after the 15th day of the eighth month. On that day the tuan-kung prepares a sheet of white paper, several sheets of five-colored paper, and a pint of buckwheat. He also makes a big piece of bread, binds a bunch of grass (representing the ancestral ghosts capable of making trouble), carves a piece of wood, and puts all of them on the food. While the tuan-kung is chanting liturgies, the host fries the buckwheat, kills a sheep, spreads its blood on the bunch of grass, /22/ cooks the mutton on the stove and invites his relatives to come to eat and drink with him. Having finished his chanting, the tuan-kung, carrying a drum, goes up the roof. He is followed by his clansmen, each carrying a weapon (rifle, gun, stone, thorn stick, etc.) The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants exorcising liturgies called mä-nä. At

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776 time manifests himself in the shape of a short snake. It is stated that Gu Lao thus appears when stormy weather is expected, and is found on one of the boats, never on 'and. The boatmen then immediately sacrifice a chicken or even a pig, but only the head of the victim is offered to Gu Lao, who thereupon dives overboard, and the weather improves. The boatmen will not sail unless this rite has been performed if Gu Lao has been seen on a ship. Unfortunately his appearances are rare and I was never able to witness the rite, or to catch a glimpse of Gu Lao in his snake shape. It is, however, a fact that the people of the eastern shore never call a snake by the usual word, but always call it "Gu Lao". One may observe that in other parts of China also the snake is regarded as a dragon in disguise, or what one might call in "undress uniform". Eels are common in the lake and there are also water snakes, the chance discovery of these in the bilge of a boat or close by in the shallows is probably the foundation of the Gu Lao legend.

776 Apart from these named and personified deities there
778 exist a large number of "*ser*" that is, spirits, who are associated with various places or ancient monuments. Thus the god of the roads is worshipped at numerous cross roads by simply burning a stick of incense at the foot of a tree or a stone. Wells and springs, especially the very hot spring of sulphurous water near Erh Yuan city north of Ta Li, are often regarded as under the care of a *ser*, who is worshipped in the usual way, by burning incense. The hottest spring near Erh Yuan is in fact regarded as sacred and no evaporation of sulphur is carried on there, instead it is surrounded with incense sticks and paper flags, a form of worship which may perhaps owe something to imitation of Tibetan prayer flags. Certain large rocks scattered over the lower slopes of T'sang Shan, some of which have in past times had Buddhas engraved on them, are now regarded as sacred,

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usually acting as shrines to the Mountain God, whose name 776
is sometimes chiselled on a smooth face. The enormous 778
evergreen trees called by the Chinese *tung ching shu*, "Winter Green Tree", a kind of ilex (*ilex pedunculosa*), which are planted near temples and in villages, also come in for a share of incense burning, though no one can positively say whether the tree is itself sacred, or merely the home of another spirit such as the Road God.

Another sacred spot, associated with sacrifices for re- 776
covery from illness, is the tomb of the Mongol soldiers of 778
Kublai Khan outside the West Gate, near one of the Nan 755
Chao pagodas. The tomb, the common grave of all who fell at the capture of Ta Li by Kublai, is a large mound surmounted by a more modern stone tablet which records its history. At this place persons who are sick, or who are acting on behalf of a sick relative, burn incense, and sacrifice a fowl, which is then cooked and eaten on the spot. Part of the rite is to break a pottery bowl on the stone base of the tablet erected by the Ming Emperor Hung Wu, which records his conquest of Yunnan from the Mongol Yüan dynasty a century later. This tablet stands close to the Mongol tomb, and is now surrounded by a large mound of broken potsherds, testimony to the antiquity of this rite. No one can give any reason for the association of these two monuments with the healing of sickness, nor do any precise ideas of the agency invoked exist. No god is connected with the two places, and there seems to be no reason why the spirits of Mongol soldiers and their Ming successors should be supposed to have healing powers.

Not very far from the Mongol Tomb and Ming Tablet there is another monument of Kublai Khan, the great stone tablet on a stone tortoise which records at length his conquest and pacification of Yunnan. This monument is well known and its character is familiar to every educated per-

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

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000 the Israelites themselves up to the time of the captivity. If opinion does differ somewhat as to the exact character it assumed, whether among the Canaanites or the Israelites, the fact remains that they both did worship the Deity or deities in such sanctuaries.

The Canaanites had their mountain groves or high-places with a stone pillar or pillars in each, a tree or sacred pole, an altar and carved images of their gods. This is borne out from the command of Moses to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 12; 3: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place." Then in Deuteronomy 16; 21 a further command is given: "thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image; which the Lord thy God hateth." The Israelites to begin with obeyed these commands, but worship in high places persisted. The prophet Samuel sacrificed there. The sanctuary at Gibeon, where Solomon once offered a thousand offerings, was called a high place. And the godly King Jehoshaphat, who turned not aside from what was right in the eyes of the Lord, yet did not hinder the people from burning incense in the high places. The Israelites, however, in times of religious relapse so restored the Canaanitish manner of worship that Ashera, the Hebrew term for grove, came to represent as well the images and pillars introduced therein.

● 778 171 The Chiang make no representation, carved or hewn, of Deity but they publicly worship Him in a sacred grove high up on a mountain side or a mountain top. In the grove there is a sacrificial altar built of unhewn stones. Behind the altar grows a sacred tree which is an essential part of the sanctuary. Between the tree and the altar, or on the altar, stands a white stone of glistening purity, generally of quartz. Such a grove it will be noted is more elaborate in its contents than that recognised by the orthodox Israelites, yet has nothing of the corruption of that of the Canaanites. Essentially, this mode of worship, it will not be denied, suggests oneness of origin with both Canaanite and Hebrew, and brings down to us, does it not, a primitive form of Semitic worship in the dress of hoary antiquity? Doubtless the Canaanites did not originally have the corruptions that later characterised their groves and called forth the divine displeasure. Their cult, apparently, was a mixture of Semitic observance and Sumerian superstition.

776 The Chiang, more honourable than the Canaanites, have maintained their monotheism comparatively unsullied, and have given us an example of religious constancy to be found, apart from the Jews, in no other people.

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778 The use of a sacred White Stone is a leading feature of Chiang worship. It is set up both in the groves and on the roofs of their houses. In the grove it stands above the altar of sacrifice; on the roof it is placed ever the middle of the battlement above the back wall. The Deity is not supposed to reside therein and it is not, therefore, worshipped. The Stone is sacred, in the first place, because of its whiteness. Whiteness betokens goodness in contrast to blackness, which betokens evil. Its colour thus symbolises the holiness of God who hates evil and loves good. It is sacred, secondly, because it reminds men that he is the natural Rock or Mount of their strength. That God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, and that he is the Rock Source of all good and blessing, constitute the twin fundamental tenets of their belief.

778 The Stone requires to be conical or mount-like in shape and set up as found in its natural or unchissled state. Occasionally small white stones are placed around its base but these have no religious meaning. The signifiance of the Stone itself is the continual intimation it makes that God may only be approached by the way of holiness, and is only found when men respond to this demand of his character. As a monument on the house top it bears an unambiguous witness that those who dwell under it are a people who recognise the God of Heaven as their God, and are willing to serve him according to the immemorial customs of their fathers.

776 It will be seen from this that the religion of the Chiang is not one of stone-worship. To speak of it as such is to talk at random and gives a misleading impression. Some who want to believe that it is, because the affirmation sounds sensational, are the worst offenders. They prate about the White Stone worship but they have nothing to support the assertion except ignorant hear-say, or wilful misrepresentation. The Chiang are not animists. They know whom they worship and they do not worship him ignorantly. This requires to be said because already it has been stated far and wide that the Chiang worship the White Stone. A foreign journal once announced that the tribes people worshipped a white stone. The news was sensational; that was the effect desired. Truth, therefore, went by the board. Now, litholatry is a big word. It has a scientific or learned sound. The mere use of it is supposed to be ample proof that the Chiang are litholatrists, and the proving of this is necessary to be able to say they are animists—another big word. The Israelites had two sacred stones in their Holy of holies. Were they litholatrists? They lifted up their eyes unto the hills from whence came their help. Did they worship the hills? Did they not expressly state at the same time that their help came from Jehovah who made the Heaven and the earth? Let us be as just to the Chiang as we are to the Israelites.

It is useless to say that one was told by the Chinese that the Chiang worshipped the White Stone. The Chiang themselves deny

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that they do. This should be enough. At the same time some of the ignorant among them may say that the White Stone is their "Pu-sa." Yet the same man tells you that he worships God and none other. In his mind there is no contradiction. The fault is yours if you fail to understand him. Certain words to him have a different meaning than to you. He speaks Chinese as a secondary language. Then he is talking down to you. He is pitying your ignorance and with his imperfect Chinese gives a wrong impression to the listener who has not wit enough to understand this. For instance, a tribesman may call his photograph his "pu-sa." But he knows enough that it is only a likeness. Though he uses this name for it that would not justify any one saying he worshipped himself, i.e. his own likeness, and is therefore, to be scientifically classed as an animist.

Sacred stones in primitive times were very comman. They were used in many different places in many different ways. In some instances they appear to have been worshipped. Few doubt that the Canaanites did. But no *true* Israelites did. The interest to us of the Chiang use of the White Stone is in the reflex light it throws on the use of memorial and covenant stones by the Hebrews. Jacob set up the stone that served as his pillow to mark the site where Jehovah appeared to him in promise and blessing. There he made his vow and from there he started on his journey with the assurance that the all-seeing eye of a gracious Providence watched over him for good. The stone was a mark, a memorial and a sign of his vow. For to him Heaven had opened in that place, and it was given him to see there a ladder of intercourse between earth and Heaven, very dreadful but very reassuring. We shall yet see that the Chiang hold almost identical views regarding their Stone which brings into fine relief those of the patriarchs.

Jacob, in his dying blessing to Joseph spoke of the Mighty One of Jacob who caused his bow to abide in strength and made his arms strong when he was grieved and shot at by his persecutors. The God of his father "from whence came the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, should help him and bless him with the blessing of Heaven above and of the deep that croucheth beneath." Obviously in Jacob's mind the Shepherd of Israel and Stone at Israel were one. In his own case he speaks of this Shepherd and Stone as the Angel who redeemed him from all evil. It was he who spoke to him in Paran; He, who as a man, wrestled with him at the Jabbok and by whom he uttered his parting blessings on his sons. The Chiang do not explicitely speak of their Stone as Shepherd or Angel but they do speak of an Angel or God-sent man who acts for them in their approach to God at the altar where the Stone stands. The Chiang and Hebrew concepts are so closely allied that they may be called alike in everything but the terminology.

It was on, Sinai, the Mount of cloud and fire that Jehovah revealed himself to the Israelites and made known his Voice to

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171/ 778 them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed he people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

778 824 The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is especially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

778 782 824 On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

000 Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

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778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship. 171 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man.* Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship 782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee" or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove and as The Agent who mediates between them and God.

At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the sacrifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang, as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

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or ch'i means god. Literally it means sky god. This idea is closely related to that of T'ien 天, meaning sky, God of the Sky or Heaven, of the Chou dynasty Chinese, and it must be remembered that the Ch'iang lived close enough to the Chou about 1121 B. C. to unite with them in the conquest of the Shangs.[1] At present many of the Ch'iang identify Mu Bya Sei with Yu Huang Shang Ti 玉皇上帝, the highest god of the Taoists, and also with the Christian God. Mu Bya Sei is the greatest of all gods, is righteous and pure, controls everything everywhere in heaven and on earth, requires righteousness among men, protects men and domestic animals, gives rain and good crops, and helps people secure children and a numerous posterity. 776

The supreme god is worshipped near sacred white quartz stones, called in different localities lu sha, lu ts'a, lo p i etc. Its whiteness symbolizes the purity and righteousness of the god. The white stone is sacred and holy, and near it communion with the god is natural and easy. Not every white quartz stone is sacred. It must be the right shape, somewhat pointed at the top and with a wide base on which it can stand upright. The sacred white stone has superhuman power, and for this reason it is placed on top of graves, and on walls in front of doors to keep demons from entering the house. Generally the sacred white stone is not identified with Mu Bya Sei, but we have met some individuals who have affirmed that the white stone is Mu Bya Sei. The use of sacred white stones is widespread in Si K'ang, eastern Tibet, and among the tribespeople of western Szechwan. 778 776 823

The sacred white stone is used as a place of worship on the top of every house, at the rear and in the center, on the highest point of the back wall. Below it is a small platform and a hole for burning incense. Here Mu Bya Sei is worshipped by the men of the household. Another sacred white stone is found in the temple in or near the sacred grove, and still another on the shrine near the sacred tree or trees in the sacred grove.

A second god is Abba Mula(a· ba· ma la·), mo lo sei (mo· lo· sei) or abba mo lo sei. Near Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, and Mu Shang Chai he is sometimes called Ndjei Tsu or Nyei Su. No priest is without this god, for without it he would be powerless. It is his patron or guardian deity and instructor. This god consists of the skull of a goldenhaired monkey wrapped into a round bundle in sheets of white paper. Inside are also dried pieces of a golden- 776

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5. He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

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778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

534 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side
778 only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired
778 monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan Kung*.

[177] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

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11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has 778
a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug 755
into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised.

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's 778
ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons.

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are 796
performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be [562]
impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies.

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widesprsad practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrifical animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign fevor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 782 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep then from ente ring the house.

796 776 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves three times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month, but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 778 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

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the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died. 796 778

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most 174 114

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 352
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ 342
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

776 themselves by bringing sickness. If someone is suddenly seized with
753 violent internal pains, it is feared above all that the earth spirits have been offended. You can offend them by scratching up the earth, a belief which is strongly reminiscent of Chinese conceptions regarding feng-shui (geomancy).

778 I did not hear anything among the Mewu-Fantzu about water spirits, but in Labrang there is a sacred spring. Once as I was riding by, I saw four lamas slowly encircle this spring, amid song and drumbeat, a ceremony which is performed when the weather is unfavorable, particularly when it is too wet or too dry.

776 There is also a cult of tree spirits among the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu who live below the timber line.

Of the earth spirits in the narrower sense, we must distinguish mountain spirits. In Tibet, as in China, there are mountains whose spirits or gods are the objects of special veneration. The most notable among these is the Amne Machin range in the northeastern reaches of Tibet, about which little is known. /45/ In the large lamasery of He-tso which lies between Labrang and the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu, a friendly lama, one of the lamasery artists, made for me a beautiful picture of Amne Ma chin as a mounted male god surrounded by numerous other gods. (The picture was unfortunately lost in the chaos of war.)

In the more restricted area of the Mewu-Fantzu the mountain spirits known as "ami" who are pictured as living in the "obo," (1)

1. In re "obo" and "ami" see Rockhill, page 734. "obo" is a Mongolian word.

are the most venerated. It took me a long time and required many conversations before I was able to understand the whole complex of ideas surrounding the obo and its ami.

778 Every mountain on which there stands an obo (Tibetan: lab-dza) is particularly sacred. The obo of the nomadic Mewu-Fantzu consists of a wooden structure into which, year by year, sacrificial wooden darts are stuck, so that the obo looks like a bundle or bouquet of darts often more than two meters high. Twigs of bushes are also stuck into this bundle of darts. The darts vary in size, and may be a meter or more long. Every Fantzu visits the obo at least once a year and takes with him a wooden dart or the branch of a shrub as an offering. The t'ou-mu (chieftain) has the privilege of giving especially long darts. Tufts of sheep wool and khadaks are also stuck into the obo.

mewu

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 776
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 777
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewu

obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, i.e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the entire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
777 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
● 778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every 776 roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be •[778] different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-rǔ-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bo-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-là	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

791 773 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tǎ), worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat; from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shǎr (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second ●778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one 791 more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or sěr-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made of iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

with a flowery cloth or animal hair. It has the same function as the sacred wand. 778

The tuan-kung has another kind of magic instrument called sze-ge-rá in the Ch'iang language. Using an animal's horn as trunk, it has many things hanging around it such as the wild beasts' bones, paws, and teeth, and old coins. It is used in sacrifice to chase away dirty things. It is also used in summoning souls. Similar to this are two other magic instruments. One is what the Ch'iang call wa-shar, which strings together all the paws, teeth, and bones of the birds and beasts on a leather belt and is used in exorcism and curing diseases. The other is a bundle of twenty to thirty copper plates carved with the devils' images and hung on an animal horn. It is used by the tuan-kung to cure insanity. Finally, the tuan-kung has another instrument called je-tchu-ka-pi, meaning holy water vase, which looks like a dragon's head and is used to hold water. The tuan-kung uses it for curing diseases. 791

The tuan-kung may be called the spiritual leader of the Ch'-iang tribesmen. He remembers the Ch'iang history. He can communicate with ghosts and gods. He can control nature, summoning wind and rain, and multiplying cattle and grains. He is the physician who can cure all diseases. He also has the power to change even the vicissititudes of fortune. Such a person must have divine power. However, according to what is said, the tuan-kung nowadays is not as powerful as in the old days. Fifty to sixty years ago, the tuan-kung was still able to fly. Tying two wine cups on both sides of his chest, the tuan-kung could leap into the cloud and all his magic instruments would follow him and fly. It is said that once a tuan-kung forgot to take out his instruments in a flight. After his taking off, his sheepskin drum made big noises in the box. His home folks opened it, and out jumped the drum. As it did so, it knocked down a person and killed him. The drum and all the other instruments followed the tuan-kung to the destination. After the service, all the instruments flew back home except the drum. The tuan-kung knew there must have been some reason. He hurried back and investigated and found that an unfortunate accident had indeed happened. A strange thing like this is hard to believe when you first hear it. However, this is quite common in primitive theology. Didn't the Yukat people, who believed in sorcery, think that the sacred drum was the shaman's horse and that he could ride it to heaven? 791

The tuan-kung is a kind of magician. All magicians can

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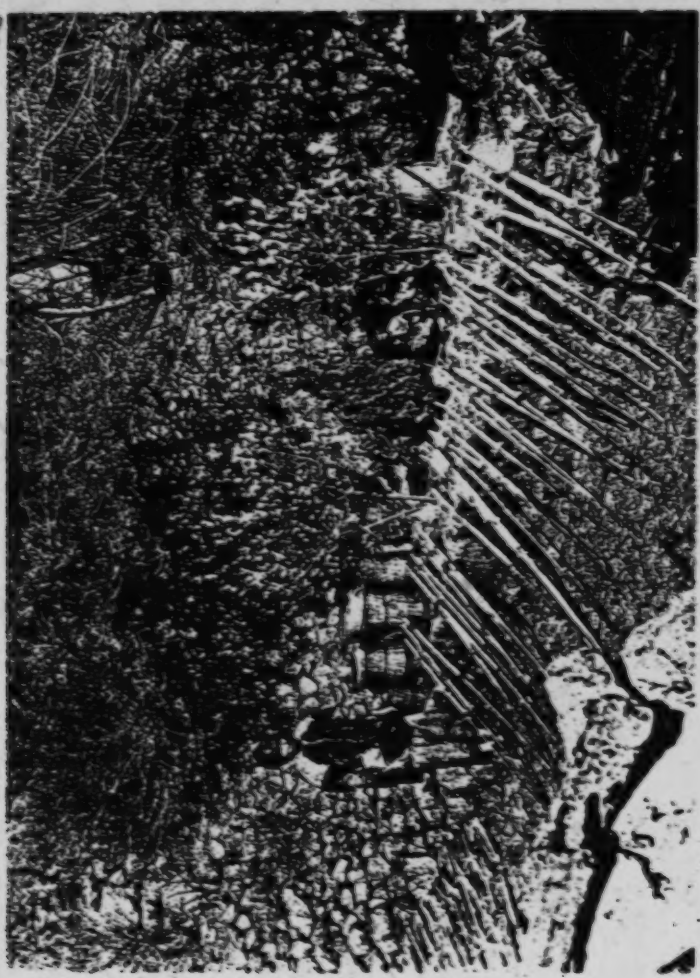

PLATE 65. — A NA-KHI MUAN-BPÖ D'A

納西木崩埠

Each clan, designated by a family name, has its own altar, at which to propitiate Heaven. On the altar are three treelets, from left to right: an oak representing Heaven, a Juniper representing the Emperor and an oak representing Earth. In the foreground large incense sticks ready to be lighted and put into the ground.

[p. 140 A]

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PLATE 135. — THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BBĚR-P'ĚR-DTĚR

北地靈泉

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *h'o-byu* on which are painted various *Lü-man* or Nāgs, serpent spirits, whom the dto-mbo propitiate.

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PLATE 140. — THE SACRED GROTTO SHI-LO NE-K'O

多巴聞經窟洞

It is the wish of every Na-khi Dto-mba to visit, at least once, this sacred grotto where their teacher used to dwell. Two dto-mbas are performing a religious rite.

[p. 244 D]

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of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

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The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 771

S ST 346 778

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪布 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] [illegible]

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos=enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling [illegible]). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 乜溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 乜溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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527 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the
769 district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in
788 every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in
779 fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

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valid, would equally dispose of the claims of the ancestral spirits, seems to escape the notice of those who use it. 769 779

In view of the general ignorance of Buddhist theolog and the manner in which Buddhist beliefs have becom incorporated into systems originally distinct, it is not possible to discuss Buddhism among the Min Chia on a theoretical basis. The practice can be observed, but if any attempt is made to fit it into the theory of Buddhism as expounded by scholarly writers, a false systematisation would be the only result. The Boddhisatvas are recognised as deities, with certain powers, and are served with traditional rites on festivals. These ideas may be bad Buddhism, but they are the working practice of the Min Chia, and as such the subject of the next chapter. Nor will it be profitable, in the absence of records, to discuss whether Buddhism was formerly practised in a purer form by the inhabitants of Ta Li. The Kings of Nan Chao certainly erected the magnificent pagodas which still adorn the city, but no evidence exists to show whether the peasants of that distant age understood the religion of their rulers any better than they do to-day.

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CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 779 796 FOR the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 779 This temple is a large building, or rather series of buildings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

The only shrine which has what might be called a set service is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

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(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight variations. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs derisively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

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735 Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious
842 custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival.
796 Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the
779 whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

796 Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly
779 Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

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burned there also, although it is dedicated to Yu Huang, the Jade Emperor, supreme deity of official Taoism, and not to the Mountain God. A well-kept shrine to the Mountain God is maintained just outside the limits of this temple, possibly as an inducement to the worshippers who might not otherwise make the effort to climb so high. This is one more instance of the characteristic Min Chia indifference to theology and the essential unity of the so-called "three religions."

The dates chosen for these festivals, almost all either in the spring or autumn, the two seasons when the weather is best, indicate the practical ends in view. In summer when the rains are heavy, few people could be induced to risk a long climb up the mist-wrapped mountain. Equally the winter, a season of high winds, which make boating unpleasant and dangerous, would be unpopular for the festival of the Lake Dragon, when boating expeditions are one of the attractions. This festival is therefore held on the 8th of the 8th month, about the twelfth of September, when the rains are almost over and the winter winds not yet begun. The local Chinese call this the Dragon Boat Festival, after the famous Chinese holiday which falls on the 5th of the 5th month, but in fact it has nothing to do with the Chinese celebration in honour of the poet and statesman, Chü Yuan-Ming who was drowned in the Mi Lo river in Hunan in the second century B.C. A certain similarity in the ritual has been either copied from the Chinese, or more probably arisen from the nature of any water holiday. The real Dragon Boat Holiday, in the 5th Month, is not celebrated at all by the Min Chia, although many of the Chinese shops shut for the day and the schools close. In Ta Li it is only a secular holiday observed by Chinese institutions, without religious significance.

The temple of Lur Wa, the Dragon King, is on the shore

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796 of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by
779 the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great
346 earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The
779 great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an
796 artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed
779 rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin
796 temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

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one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of 779
releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously 796
as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of 527
the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the 796
temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th 796

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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771 openly hostile to the old religious system. If people will take trouble and spend money on a religion disestablished and scorned by their rulers, it can only be because they believe in it.

The explanation of this paradox lies in a misunderstanding of the Chinese (and Min Chia) approach to a religious rite, and the nature of the idea of what is sacred to the European, and to the Chinese. To the West, whether Christian, Moslem or Hebrew, and one may add Hindu, the Church or other place of worship is itself sacred, the house of God, where men meet only to worship the deity in a communal rite. This idea is wholly absent from the Far East. To these peoples religion is essentially not a communal, but a personal, or at most a family affair. The most important rites take place, not in any public temple but in the privacy of the home. The temples of the gods are monuments of piety,
793 built to please, not to house, the deities. Thus the Buddhist
791 "priest" is wrongly described, for he is is not the father of a flock, nor a sacred person knowing more about the gods and how to serve them than a layman. He is at best a monk self-vowed to a life of abstention in order that he may be reborn nearer to Nirvana, and he is also a technician who can be called upon to perform wearisome rites for which the layman has neither time nor inclination. At a funeral, or in sickness, the Buddhist monks are called in to chant sutras, for a fee, just as the doctor is called in to prescribe.

771 There is no communal worship at a temple by the laity.
782 Men and women go to the festivals to burn incense and offer a cash at the shrines of the gods, individually, to acquire merit, avoid ill fortune, or in fulfilment of a vow given in time of sickness. At other times, if they visit a temple, they do not feel called upon to behave in any but the ordinary way.

771 As a practical working system the religion of the Min Chia

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

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one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief 782
is universal, and great precautions are taken when travel- 753
ling to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are un- [789]
aware of its existence. A description of rites such as the 787
making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

171 them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is 998 described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed he people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

998 The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion 824 of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is especially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

998 On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here 782 special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two 824 others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

000 Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship.
171 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man*. Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship
782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee". or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign fevor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 782 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep then from ente ring the house.

796 776 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves three times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month, but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 778 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are / 56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by bŏm-bu [782] •
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1. Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
782 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

> In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393. 224

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a böm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
179 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same 782
formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers.

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the 764
strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery 177
there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately /61/ following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

776 the White Stone God. The god, to whom the Ch'iang wanted to
773 give thanks, was the one who directed them to defeat the Ko. Since the god had no concrete appearance, they used the white stone as a symbol. After all, the white stone was the weapon with which they defeated the enemies at the god's direction. Here we see that the Ch'iang worship of the white stone has a profound meaning and an historical basis.

776 The Ch'iang people now use the term "White Stone God," or rho-pi-tzé. It seems as if they regard the white stone as god. Actually, the white stone is only a symbol of god, and not a god by itself. What we should like to find out is what god it was who helped the Ch'iang defeat the Ko. The legends give no explanation of such a god. As the Ch'iang people, having met the god only in dreams, did not know while awake who the god was, so they said, "He is the protector; but who is he?" And they also said, "He is God." Here we see the people actually did not know what god he was. However, there is no doubt that the Ch'iang tribesmen have always regarded this god as their guardian deity ever since their victory over the Ko. (3) /The figure 3 for Note 3 is missing in the text. I presume this is

3. Now in Li-fan hsien, at Hou-yu-k'u-shang-san-li, among the nine gods on the roof of the Ch'iang, one is the god of directing war called Ta-la. According to what is said, this is the god who directed the victorious war against the Ko. This saying, this writer suspects, is a later addition, for different gods are worshiped on the roofs in different places but there is only one legend of the Ch'iang like this.

the logical place for it. -- translator's note. /

According to legends, the Ch'iang once abandoned their worship of the white stones. This was the period when "men did not worship gods and gods did not care for men." The Ch'iang then returned to their worship of the Forest God, or mei-be-tzé. (It is said that before they worshiped the White Stone God, the Ch'iang worshiped this god.)
• [782] There was a definite code of ceremony--sacrificing a lamb, spreading its blood, but prohibiting the eating of its flesh which was either burned to ashes or thrown away in the wilderness. They also composed a standard version of benediction. Sacrifice was held in the Sacred Forest regardless of the weather. Later they built a public temple called wa-gi.

764 10. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 142.

person's death is caused by the attack of an evil spirit, the source of his disease can be found by dissecting and examining the corpse (11)

11. Levy-Brühl, Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, p. 184.

Anthropologists call this practice "autopsia." Some other places in Africa, such as Libreville, Pahonius and Ngounie, have similar practices. (12) These tribes, however, directly dissect the corpse while

12. "Un enterrement chez les Ishagos," p. 138-9 (Bulletin de la société de recherches Congolaise, No. 8, 1928.)

the Ch'iang substitute the goat for the corpse. Whether the substitution of the goat for the corpse has a specific meaning or not will be discussed in the conclusion.

• 782 Praying for Rain-- The Ch'iang live in mountains where geographical environment is perilous and difficult. In ancient times a traveler once said, "It worries even birds to pass through them. How can men do it!" Farms are along both sides of the stream or on slopes. Farming under such circumstances, as we can imagine, relies heavily upon rainfall. A summer without rain often makes the harvest hopeless. So praying for rain becomes a very serious business. It would take too much space to describe the various legends and stories about the drought and the rites of praying for rain in all places. Here we will introduce to our readers only one or two programs related to religious beliefs. The Ch'iang custom of praying for rain along the Tsa-ku-nao River in Li-fan is most interesting. For instance, whenever they have a long period of dry weather, the Ch'iang at Hsing-shang-liu-chai, Tseng-t'ou-san-chai and Chu-erh-san-chai as well as those at Niu-shan, Lo-shan, Kan-ch'i, Wen-shan, Chia-shan, Jo-ta and Hsi-shan must go to search the mountains, which they call ho-mu-mo-gee-sar-lir-rahge. The so-called "mountain search" is to prohibit the digging of medical herbs and the trapping of animals. The Ch'iang believe that the digging of angelica and other medical herbs destroys the treasure of the land and violates the law of regeneration. As to the prohibition of trapping animals, it is because the Fork God or horn-mo-tze (the God of Hunting symbolized by a fork) worshiped by hunters is a symbol of slaughter. He should be excluded during the days of difficulties so as to follow the will of Heaven. Once the order of "mountain searching" is published, each village will send several persons to

782 join in the search. If a man is found violating the prohibition, he will be beaten, according to the rules, until he is bleeding because they believe otherwise there will be no rain. This psychology is very similar to the psychology of the Australian aborigines. (13)

13. Besson, Le totémisme.

/26/ If, after searching the mountains, there is still no rain, a praying-for-rain organization of a larger scale will be formed. The people at Hsia-san-chai /three lower villages/ in Hsing-shang would ask the people at Shang-san-chai /three upper villages/ to pray for rain. The Shang-san-chai people would then send a delegation to the Ch'iang's Sheng-shan /Holy Mountain/ called be-ko-ga. (14)

14. This mountain is located at Shang-san-chai of Hsing-shang-liu-chai on the northern bank of the Tsa-ku-nao River. The place is very high and extremely cold even in summer. The valley casts forth clouds and fogs in the evening. The peaks of the mountains are above the clouds and fogs. Wandering and resting among them is like being a fairy. A temple has now been built to worship three holy stones, pai-ang-ang, pai-lan-lan, and pai-hsi-hsi.

There they would vow to the god and ask for permission to take a carved tablet to call together the people. This carved tablet is kept in a cave at San-chien-shan (the Ch'iang call it tchi-rŭ-ga), four li from the Holy Mountain. Having taken the carved tablet and returned to the Holy Mountain, they leave one half of the tally before the god (as a talisman) and take the other half down the mountain to be carried from village to village. Wherever the tablet goes, every family must send someone to participate in the reception. Otherwise, the family will not only be blamed by all but also punished. Participants are usually married women, and only in very few cases, men and boys. The number of people grows as they go from one village to another. (However, aside from the delegation, no one from Shang-san-chai in Hsing-shang participates.) Each village brings a jar of wine which is used for honoring the god. On arriving at the peak of the Holy Mountain, all bow to the god, complain about the horror of drought, burn incense, and honor the god with libation. The delegation of Shang-san-chai returns one half of the carved tablet, puts it together with the other half, and then says, "All people are here. The drought is true. You may enjoy the incense. You must make the people prosperous. Your talisman is here..." Then a newly

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

• • • • •

Praying-for-rain Song

782 539 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which is as follows:

Man's _____ often looks for woman's_____ very hungry, very thirsty!
Playing_____, ku-ku-ku; playing_____ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 533 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

782 533 two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

771 774 In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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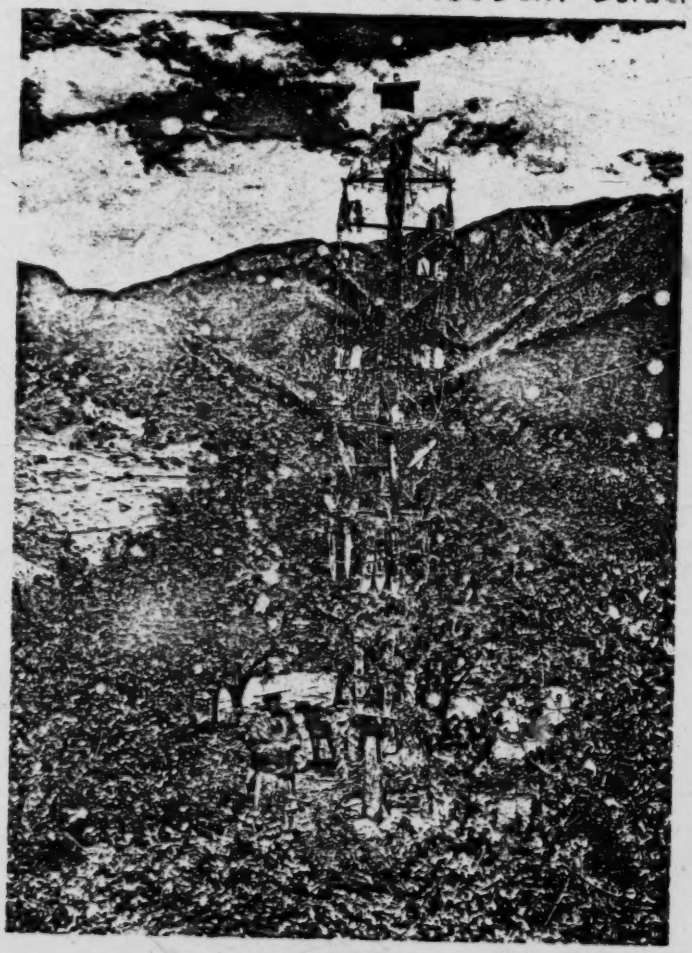

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 223.—A HA-PA CONTRAPTION TO PREVENT HAILSTORMS

本寺已絕迹區域電桿具雨

This structure is called Nya-ta and is erected once every three or four years by the ancient sect of sorcerers called Ha-pa who have survived in Yung-ning and in Mu-li. The Nya-ta is built of wood and is surrounded with a network of string known as Na-k'wai by the Na-khi Dto-mbas. It is erected in the first moon, first in a valley, and in the second moon is moved to a hillside where it is left until a new one is needed.

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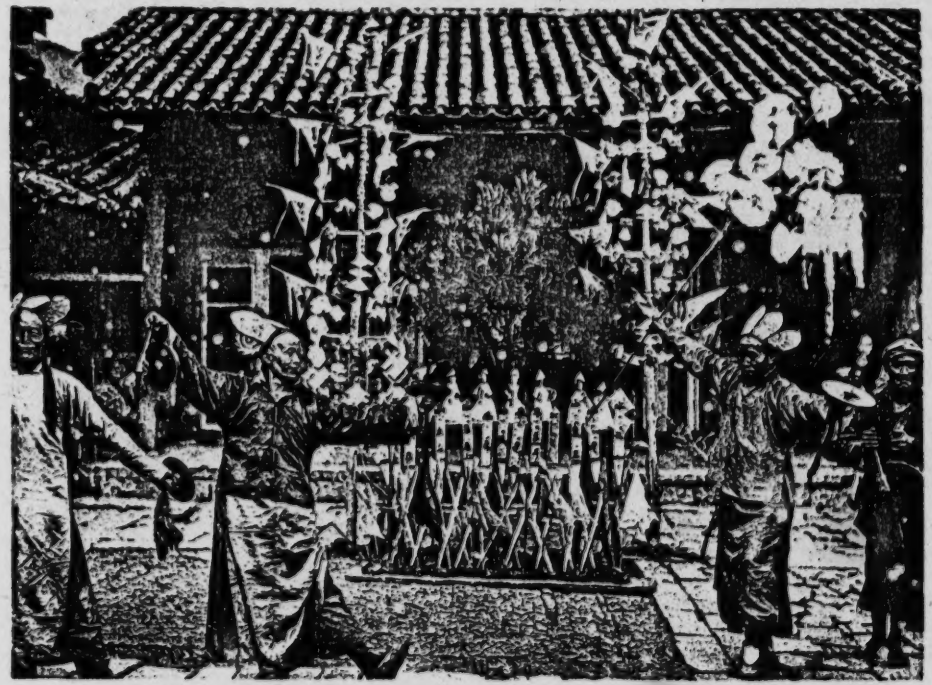

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 229.—NA-KHI DTO-MBAS PERFORMING THE HÄR-LA-LLÜ CEREMONY

麼些多巴(教)執行的哈拉呂儀

The ceremony, lasting from three to five days, is to propitiate the spirits of suicides causing harm to the family to which they belonged. Many promiscuous love affairs end in double suicide.

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775 enabled it to be cast out bodily and rendered harmless. The peach in China and the Far East generally is a fairy fruit, and charms are made of peach wood or peach stones. It is also an ancient belief in China that peach wood is a defence against evil spirits. The modern "gate gods" are simply pictures pasted on the gate to keep out demons, but they were originally painted on peach wood boards hung upon the gate.

The Min Chia also believe in poltergeists, a belief shared by their Yunnanese neighbours of all tribes. During the time I was in Ta Li I was not able to hear of a local poltergeist, although I was told that some years before one had been active in a certain village not far from the city. But in 1937 the city of Li Chiang, just beyond the Min Chia country to the north, was the scene of poltergeist manifestations which attained a considerable local celebrity. The home of a rich family of merchants of that city was almost entirely ruined by these long continued destructive attacks. The family, forced to abandon the house in which mysterious fires would break out in unlikely places, or stones coming flying through the air, left a few faithful members to guard against robbers and attempt to detect the "ghost" in the act, if it should [783] prove to be after all a human enemy. The priests of all local religions, Lama Buddhists, Taoists and others, were invited in to exorcise the ghost, and altars with their incense and offerings were placed in every room. The manifestations continued for more than eight months, and when I visited the house late in 1937 it was virtually ruinous. Much of the woodwork was burned or charred, even under the eaves and high up on the walls, where the fire can only have been applied by a torch. The doors and window lattices were smashed and scarred by stones, and these lay in heaps in the courtyard. It was said that one fire had broken out the previous night, and we were shown the spot, under the roof ridge, which was indeed charred and still smoking slightly.

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776 makes the Christian reflect again how Christ's teaching of God as the Heavenly Father is the beauty and the strength of Christianity. The Chiang idea of God makes a wonderful forerunner to that greater one, which Christ gave to men.

God, in his nature, is thought of as spotless in holiness or purity, and in his character as the righteous governor of the universe. He searcheth the hearts of men. He finds out if they are white or black, i.e. good or evil. To the repentant suppliant he extendeth sacrificial mercy; to the evil doer retribution according to his iniquity.

The White Stone and the altar provide tangible evidence of these conceptions. Since God is holy, the sinner may not approach
783 him before he is ceremoniously cleansed. A sin-bearer is, therefore, necessary to remove his sin. On it falls the divine judgement. A spotless bullock, or lamb or fowl is the victim. When its blood has been shed the way is open for prayer and supplication.

The origin of this crucial ceremony no Chiang can give. It has been observed, all say, from time immemorial. They regard it as an all-important divine requirement. Aged priests, deep in the religious lore of their race, which is handed down from generation to generation, unanimously maintain this. The whole purpose of sacrifice, they say, is the removal of sin to secure the divine blessing. Its substitutionary character is never questioned but strenuously maintained. Without the shedding of blood there can be no remission of sin, and apart from that even the priests dare not presume to pray.

It is useless for any one to try to discount this belief of theirs. Some who, from prejudice, would fain read out of it this substitutionary meaning charge us with reading into it preconceived ideas of sacrifice taken from the Old Testament. But love of the truth must state exactly what the facts are. And it is not fiction but fact that the Chiang do thus interpret the meaning of their sacrifices. God, they believe, meets them at the altar, and no where else, because there sin is cleansed away.

That salvation by substitution happens to be an Old Testament and a New Testament doctrine only enhances the interest of the Christian in the Chiang ritual. Yet the interest or the wonder does not end here. There is something more wonderful still, so
776 wonderful, that at first, one can hardly believe his ears when he is
783 told of it. They solemnly assert that their sacrifices are only provisional: they are but the semblances of a supreme sacrifice yet to come. How can the critic account for this? Let who will question the asseveration, the proof again is overwhelming.

A divine agent is to come from Heaven to be The Great Sin-Bearer. When he appears the reality of their sacrifices will be accomplished. This future Sin-Bearer even now comes as an unseen Presence to the Grove to put through their petitions for

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them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove and as The Agent who mediates between them and God.

At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the sacrifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang, as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

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down to coincidence, of course, but its designation can hardly be that. It is known as Abba Malah. Abba means Father: here, the Father in Heaven. Malah is not known other than as a name. They do not seem to be able to define or explain the term, But the pronunciation is very precise. The "lah" is spoken with a definite click, so much so that it is virtually Malak, the Hebrew word for Angel. Have we not in this another strong indication of the Semitic origin of the Chiang religious beliefs?

In connection with this Sacred Roll and angel-Sin-Bearer or Redeemer the student of scripture inevitably recalls the many instances in the Old Testament of the mysterious angel-visitant appearing as God in human form to patriarchs, prophets and saints in times of stress and difficulty. By Isaiah he is called "the Angel of His Presence who saved them ":" in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them, and carried them all they days of old. (Isaiah, 62; 9). In Malachi, 3; 1, "He is called the Lord whom ye seek, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."

This delight of the Israelites for their Malak or Messenger of the covenant has a remarkable parallel in the fondness of the Chiang for their Abba Malah or Je-Dsu. They speak of Him in the possessive sense. The prefix of "ga-gee" goes with His name: "Ga-gee Je-Dsu" they say. The sentiment is that of the Christian hymn, "My Jesus I love thee, I know thou art mine."

Among Chiang Christians when the hymn "Jesus loves me" is sung the use of their own name "Je-Dsu" in place of the Chinese "Ye-Su" adds great zest to the singing. Every face then shines —every face is, as it were, a glistening white Stone.

At festival times the sacred roll is carried by the priest to the grove on a platter, where its base is embedded or planted in seed wheat. The emphasis is on the seed. The interpretation is not far to find when taken with the use to which this seed wheat is put. It is that death forms the prelude to life, a belief which the Chiang firmly hold. This will become plain as we proceed.

In some places the seed-wheat is carried separately to the grove, but at the grove the sacred roll is placed in it.

Where strict orthodoxy prevails there are three religious festivals in the year. The first occurs at their old New Year time, which falls on the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese calendar. The second comes in the Summer and the third in the Autumn. But the dates vary according to the locality and even may be changed a little, as exigencies of weather and social conditions indicate.

In numerous places now only one religious festival is held in the year; in other places two. Uniformity has lapsed. Even in exact ritual procedure it is not found. One district has preserved customs and conceptions that another has let go or forgotten.

For private sacrifices there is naturally no set time. These

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783 arise with the need or the occasion or the mood of the person offering. But in public or private worship there are extraordinary times when both are conducted on an extended or greater scale.

Public worship takes place in the sacred grove, and each village or set of villages has one of its own. Private worship begins on the house top with sacrifice and is continued in the home below.

783 783 In all worship a priest invariably officiates. He is essential to its proper conduct. An ordinary individual dare not take the honour on himself of presenting the blood of sacrifice: that is the prerogative of the priest set apart for the purpose. He it is who superintends the whole ritual, checking error, enforcing decorum, explaining its necessity and significance, and leading in the prayers made after the sacrifice.

The office is generally handed down from father to son. One generation initiates another. When the pupil is proficient in the knowledge of the nature and significance of the various rites he will be called on to perform, he undergoes a careful ordination. But he must be able to get married, and the marriage ceremony may be the closing act in the ordination. Single men cannot act as priests, lest taint or auspicion should rest on any one performing this holy office.

The ordination takes place in the grove. For the ceremony all the priests in the neighbourhood assemble. In company with any laity who desire to attend they form a procession that starts up the hillside as dusk draws on. Along the route fowls are sacrificed one after another to ensure a continuous dripping of blood from the start to the finish. Immediately the blood ceases to drip from one fowl it is thrown aside and another killed to maintain the cleansing of the path of the novitiates. It is a strange performance doubtless, only it sets forth in no uncertain way the emphasis that is laid on blood, and hence calculated to make men think of its necessary meaning even while it serves as a shock or challenge to man's aesthetic sense. Which same thing also the Jewish ritual continually did.

On the mountain the probationer bathes in a stream to rid himself of all bodily defilement and dresses himself in cleansed garments. A lamb on the altar is sacrificed in the usual way. The blood is sprinkled on the White Stone, the Sacred Tree, The Altar and all around. Oil or fat is put on the new priests head and the night-long chantings, prayers and drum beatings varied by intervals of rest proceed.

Next day each new priest has a lamb sacrificed on his housetop in front of the Whits Stone and Sacred Branch. At the conclusion of the accompanying prayers he may don the priestly garments and wear the priest's hat. He is now officially recognised as competent to undertake all sacerdotal duties connected with his office, whether in public or in private offerings.

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783 As a priest there is one thing he must not do: he must not change the intention of the sacrifice. Sacrifice may only be made for the one express and divinely ordained purpose of the remission of sin. It can not be turned aside to any other or made to any one but God. His duty is to maintain and enforce this original end, or otherwise he renders himself liable to the penalty of death.

We confess that the first time a priest voluntarily gave us this information we were surprised to the point of wonder, yea, and of admiration. For it revealed to us the intensity of their great central belief that their sacrifices of propitiation were not man-invented but God-born.

Everywhere the same insistence is made on the due order. Their chantings and prayers include an avowal of faithfulness in this respect. God is invoked to remember that the blood of the sacrifice is presented by his set command as made known to their fathers. Simultaneously the ancient priests are cited as witnesses that they have been stedfast to the rule of faith handed down by them.

Once at a High-place sacrifice, friction which arose among the worshippers led to certain irregularities and lack of reverence in the making of the offering, That same year, men noticed that death claimed the majority of the wanton offenders. This may have been a coincidence, of course, but the reason believed was because they sinned with a high hand.

But the surprise created by the staunchness of the Chiang to the faith of their fathers leads to a distinct shock when it is seen that the priests have allowed strange accretions and realistic amplifications to creep into parts of their ritual and profession which degrade its pristine purity. For instance the skull in the sacred roll obviously is an innovation to give it a dramatic presentation. [793] The horned skin cap of the priest is declared to have replaced by a plain shaped felt one with a circular brim. And a number of priests, not all, have copied some of the customs of the Chinese exorcist. Worst of all, spiritism, in some parts with its customary admixture of real phenomenae and base trickery, has crept in. The investigator, even while he laments these excesses, has to take note of them. All is not pure gold that glitters. There may an alloy in it or it may be a base metal of the same colour. One has to distinguish and care is needed at every turn. Patience and caution are often necessary to disentangle the real from the simulation and what constitutes the old true-Chiang religion from its present day admixture of spurious elements.

177 It has to be remembered that during the reign of the Emperor Chien Long, A. D. 1736-1796 the Chiang suffered complete loss of political liberty. Then idolatry was forced on them at the point of the sword. Temples, never before seen on their mountain sides and plateaus, were wantonly built all through their territory. Since then a slow decadence has been noted in their worship. The

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that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

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casual visitors or curious spying. None are supposed to approach the holy place except sharers in the sacrificial offering.

The procession towards the grove begins about nine or ten o'clock at night. The white clad participants carry torches or lanterns. One carries the sacred roll reverently on a basin or platter of wheat seed. This, at least, is the custom in some parts. In others the wheat seed is taken separately in the priest's pouch to the grove and then poured around the sacred roll on the basin or platter. A halt is made before arrival to re-sanctify the lamb. Water is now, curiously, poured into or over its ears, over its back and legs as a sort of baptismal ceremony. Note is taken whether the animal, under the douching, shakes itself or not. If it does, that is taken as a sign of its fitness; if not, it is unhesitatingly rejected. Naturally a healthy lamb does shake itself and the ritual goes on. A third cleansing or sanctification of the lamb is gone through on its arrival at the grove.

The rule in every observance is, "holiness unto Abba Chee." Worshippers, vessels, utensils must be cleansed. The lamb requires to be perfect. God is a God of purity. Nothing evil or unclean can come before him. Heaven is a pure land. They who seek life there and the divine blessing here cannot obtain such apart from sacrificial purification. These repeated cleansings leading up to it all signify this ultimate purpose in the Chiang worship.

A white banner with a miniature bow and arrow on it is raised on the altar. The white roll is placed directly before the White Stone. A large cake of unleavened bread and a jar of wine are placed beside it. The priest takes his station. A fire is lit in the centre of the open space. These preliminaries over, the ritual begins.

Its opening is announced by the discharge of a small three chambered gun, used only for this purpose. The gun originally was of brass. The writer has part of an ancient one in his possession. Now they are made of iron.

The worshippers now kneel together as the priest begins his chants and prayers. He keeps time with a small drum. Je-Dsu, the angel overseer of all that is done, looks down to see that the hearts of those present are sincere. If not, the reputed punishment is liability to transfixion by a "brazen" arrow from heaven. A special awe, therefore, rests on every worshipper.

At the conclusion of the initatory chants a remarkable ceremony takes place. The priest or "Be-bo" burns incense of cypress twigs and enshrouds the White Stone in a cloud of fiery smoke. The background established, he, removes the rope from the lamb. The rope is wound around the vessel that to receive the blood. He and the elders now kneel and place their hands on the head of the victim. Afterwards all who have specially prepared themselves do the same.

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796 783 After this solemn act of the transference of their sin to the lamb he recites an intercessory prayer. It begins with a triple ascription to God and goes on to invoke him to see and hear that they have assembled to offer sacrifice. He pleads that, "The offering of a lamb has been perpetuated from of old and the paying of vows from former generations. To offer sacrifice is not our invention, it was established in ancient times. This altar of the Most High opens the gate of heaven and the way of sacrifice. It leads men to pay their vows. The leader of the lamb has brought it thither. One hundred and ninety-two pairs of white banners show forth the purity of the altar, and signify that God is pleased to accept the offering. "O ye our ancient priests witness that our offering is very pure, and that it is not our own instituting, but has been from of old. In paying our vows we have eaten nothing offensive for three days, nor gone to any unclean place. We have come to the sacred grove; we have placed in position the vessel for the blood; we have led the lamb thither; we have untied the rope and bound it around the basin; the arrow of the bow we now unloose; we slay the lamb on this floor; O God of heaven come down, come down as we offer it to thee. Thou Yather of Spirit come to our grove. If our garments were not clean we would not dare to wear them; if our shoes were not clean we would not dare to put them on; if our hats were not clean we would not dare to use them; if our backs were not clean we would not dare to bear the drum; if our hearts were not sincere we would not dare to pay these vows or pray these prayers. The grass is in the blood basin; the bread and wine we have brought to our God; Oh, regard the slayer of the lamb and the priest as without sin and undo the sin of all present. We sprinkle the blood to atone for our iniquities; O God accept our sacrifice."

The arrow is now removed from the bow on the White Banner and the lamb slain.

The original practice was to kill the lamb by a brazen arrow, this being the symbol of judgment. But now a knife, the property of the priest, is used. On the handle glitters a white stone or a white bone ornament. The priest hands the knife to the leader of the lamb. The lamb's head is drawn against some one's knee. Another grasps its legs firmly. One thrust of the knife is made and the blood flows into a basin. With a wisp of grass it is sprinkled on the altar with its bread and wine and through the cloud on the White Stone and White Banner and on all sides.

The White Banner with its arrow spent is immediately removed and inserted beside the White Stone because the White Stone is the emblem of the divine holiness.

The action denotes that this is an offering in righteousness. That which their Abba Chee desires is presented before Him. Their plea for mercy is the spent arrow. For in its discharge sin was judged. Since punishment has been meted out to sin, as evidenced

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796 by the blood they sprinkle before him, they now ask for the remission of iniquity and transgression, which the goodness of God directed them to seek.

A paring from the hoof, the ears and the genital parts of the victim are burned on the altar, apparently as an act of consecration. The undivided horns are presented, but afterwards taken home. An ear is placed on the point of a staff and set up. The head, heart, liver and kidneys, with the flesh of the animal are consumed by fire.

The priest at sacrifices, other than the New Year sacrifice, which is the greatest of all, receives the shoulder or foreleg and breast and skin. Then the worshippers divide up the flesh among themselves. No stranger may eat of it for it is holy. The intestines are cleansed, minced, cooked and eaten with unleavened bread. It is their sacrament. Each worshipper drinks a small cup of wine.

The procedure varies somewhat according to locality. There is no exact uniformity found in the details of procedure. Each district has something of its own in the way of observance. But in the main the order follows a general line which is the same everywhere. Nowhere is sacrifice spoken of as the propitiation of Heaven or of God by man. It is necessary to draw attention to this point. The Chiang know nothing of this heathen doctrine. According to their belief God does not require to be placated. They regard sacrifice as divine and celebrate it as such. The celebration they call "the paying of vows," for this represents their concern in it. For in paying their vows they pledge themselves to God's will and service, which is what God requires of man. He provides the sacrifice; they accept it by vowing to him their fidelity.

The remarkable thing is that bands of these men in the stillness and darkness of midnight meet to worship God in this way, and have done so for over two thousand years in West China. They believe they meet God here. He comes near to them in the person of their angel Je-Dsu. The light of the sacrificial fire, reflected in the glistening whiteness of their White Stone, symbolises His glory. It is their Shechinah. They cannot interpret this with the precision that we should wish, but they are under no two opinions that this sacrificial light represents to them the shining of the divine effulgence.

000 Here we Christians feel that we stand with them on holy ground and would willingly remove the shoes from our feet. Very solemn and awful is the floor on which they thus worship. Who dare call this litholatry? The man who would is utterly devoid of soul—a hopeless Canaanite in heart and mind.

St. John in his vision of things in Heaven was carried away in spirit to a great and high mountain, where he was shown the holy Jerusalem descending out of Heaven from God and having the glory of God. Her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. The city had no need of

755 liturgies, take the straw man and a sheep to the cross roads. He kills the sheep, spreads its blood on the straw man and the flag, and then burns them. This means that the straw man, representing the devil of illness, is sent away and that the sheep has died in the place of the patient. Everything in the belly of the sheep is thrown away. The tuan-kung takes the sheep's head, its hind legs, and its skin.

People do not invite a tuan-kung for a Poison Devil disease which is not very serious. They treat it only with the night-watching method called muzee-kue dze. The treatment begins by washing the patient's wound with water. Then, mix flour with that water to make a human figure. Cut a corner off the patient's clothes, take a head scarf and some hairs, and put them all on a plate. Build a fire outdoors and put the plate beside the fire. Also ask a hunter to wait behind the house to shoot the animal that happens to approach the fire. Even a valuable domesticated animal is not to be spared. An animal that has been shot must be traced and brought back, and must not be left to die in front of some other person's house. If no animal comes after long waiting, shooting the flour man or a whirlwind can also be effective.

•783 777 Expelling Bad Luck--When the Ch'iang of Li-fan have bad luck and do not know what to do, they invite a tuan-kung to perform magic for them so as to expel the bad luck. This method is called "pil-wara" in the Ch'iang language. It begins with the host preparing two pints of buckwheat flour. The tuan-kung first mixes the flour with water to make various images of gods, which are kept at home; he then makes five mountains with flour and three double-leaf flags with paper. He takes the host's hat, a belt and a sun cake, and puts them into a basket. /21/ Besides, he also takes the host's accounting book, farming tools, and other important things, and with his helpers, moves them several miles away from the house. Finding a proper place where he can see mountains and streams, the tuan-kung sits cross-legged on the ground. He takes the flour mountains out of the basket and arranges them in a row on a paper. Then he builds a fire, burning pine branches. He now starts his magic performance, chanting liturgies, beating the drum, ringing the bell, inviting his old Master, calling the names of the gods of the five mountains, and reading aloud the host's age, name, and misfortunes. If the magic is effective, the weather will change at this moment, -- the wind may blow or a rain may fall. The tuan-kung watches the paper on which the five flour mountains are placed to see what (besides living things) has fallen on it. No matter whether it be an

783 777 inanimate fallen leaf or some dust gathering there, he takes it, wraps it up, and puts it into the host's hat. He also picks some stones or mud from that place to fill up the host's belt. Beating the drum, the tuan-kung returns home. As he reaches the door, the host purposely closes it and refuses to let him in. The tuan-kung will ask, "I am the richest and most honored. Now I have come. Why don't you open the door?" Inside the house, an eloquent person, who is called pil-kuai-tchuai, has been chosen and he will converse with the tuan-kung through a hole in the door. He will ask, "The host is in need of a certain thing. Have you brought that with you?" The tuan-kung will answer, "Yes, I have it here. Moreover, I have brought even better ones." Thus they ask and answer dozens of times. Each time when a certain thing is mentioned, it is handed in through the hole. At last, the tuan-kung will ask, "Have you finished?" The person inside will say, "Yes." Then the tuan-kung enters the door and, chanting liturgies, bows to all the gods inside the house. Later he burns a pine branch before the altar of the Old Master. He takes out four wool threads. First, he has them smoked over the burning pine branches; then he rings the host's neck with three threads, which means that, from now on, the host will be no longer at a loss to make up his mind. The remaining thread is bound on the host's left wrist, which means that, from now on, the host's limbs will be steady and will not fumble. When the service is done, relatives and neighbors will send gifts to congratulate the host who will entertain them with the gifts. For three days, the host will not spend anything of his own. (Everything comes in and nothing goes out.) And the tuan-kung stays three days with him.

Things like difficulties in breeding pigs, trouble in raising chickens, poor taste of the home-brewed wine, poor flavor of the preserved vegetable, fallen ears of grains, and frequent robbery and burglary are regarded as the bad luck of women. The tuan-kung can also be invited to expel such bad luck. In the Ch'iang language this is called i-dé-wara. (I-dé means the food in storage under women's care; wara means calling.) The rites are the same as for men, only that the tuan-kung will not go up to the mountain to perform the rites but stay in the farm. On his return, he delivers things to the store-room. Women often object to the performance of such rites because they consider it a disgrace to them. (6) /The number

6. Various relationships between women and agriculture can be seen from this rite. We will analyze it later when we discuss the social system of the Ch'iang.

783 is missing in the text. I presume this is the appropriate place for
777 Note 6. --translator's note. /

Exorcism and Fecundity Rites-- These two rites are held continuously. The term "fecundity rites" is not current in Chinese usage, and is adapted by this writer from the French term "Les rites de fécondité." For example, in India the Farming Festival during the spring
783 (7) is a fecundity rite of the agricultural people. The Intichiuma in

7. See Briffault, Sex in Religion.

Australia is a fecundity rite of the hunting tribes. (8) The Ch'iang

8. See R. Kréglinger, L'evolution religieuse de l'humanité, 1926, p. 59-60.

have a similar rite, which is called yu-si (redeeming the chicken's vow) in the Ch'iang language. It is held once every three years. The major part of the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow is also the ceremony of private sacrifice to the White Stone God in every family. As to the rites of exorcism, they are regarded as a preparation for the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow, that is, before the ceremony starts, the house must first be cleaned and unlucky things in the family removed. This rite which the Ch'iang call yü-li bü-de, also has its basis in theology. (9)

9. This kind of rite is called "Les rites preliminaires." (See R. Bastide, Elemen[illegible]ciologie religieu[illegible] Collection Armond Co[illegible]5-90.)

These two ceremonies are [illegible]ducted by the tuan-kung. Exorcism is held any day after the 15th day of the eighth month. On that day the tuan-kung prepares a sheet of white paper, several sheets of five-colored pap[illegible] and a pint of buckwheat. He also makes a big piece of bread, binds a bunch of grass (representing the ancestral ghosts capable of making trouble), carves a piece of wood, and puts all of them on the food. While the tuan-kung is chanting liturgies, the host fries the buckwheat, kills a sheep, spreads its blood on the bunch of grass, /22/ cooks the mutton on the stove and invites his relatives to come to eat and drink with him. Having finished his chanting, the tuan-kung, carrying a drum, goes up the roof. He is followed by his clansmen, each carrying a weapon (rifle, gun, stone, thorn stick, etc.) The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants exorcising liturgies called mä-nä. At

783 the end of each passage of the liturgies, he shoots once with the gun. Having finished chanting, he dances down the roof. All the people strike aimlessly with their weapons and yell as they come down the roof. When the tuan-kung passes by the cattle ranch, he chants the ranch code (dǎ-ti). Then beating the drum and ringing the bell, he reaches the cremation ground. He piles together the bunch of grass stained with the sheep's blood, the piece of wood and the fried buckwheat, and burns them. He cuts one half of the bread and scatters it in different places to feed hungry ghosts. Returning home, everyone washes his hands with clean water before the door. The tuan-kung pacifies all the gods (All the Ch'iang gods must be invited) and begins to drink. He orders that from now on, unclean persons (those include the returning sons, persons who have a child died or born recently in their families, etc.) will not be allowed to go up the roof and he fixes the date for redeeming the chicken's vow.

One day before the date for redeeming the vow, the tuan-kung comes to the house of the host to select a chicken for sacrifice and has paper, bamboo, fir wood and so on ready. In the afternoon, he climbs up the roof to plant the fir wood, sets up a sacred table, arranges the offerings, and puts four cups in front of the table. One cup is for worshiping the monkey-headed Old Master. Of the remaining three, one filled with sheep's dung represents cattle-raising; one filled with dust from eaves represents an old house; and one filled with clean water represents cleanness. As the tuan-kung is beating the drum and chanting the liturgies, one man shakes eze-ge ra and, in turn, overturns the clean water, the eave dust, the sheep's dung, the meat, and the bread. When he is overturning the meat and the bread, the people present all throw out the grains they have been holding in their hands. Then they divide the bread among themselves and eat it. After eating, they follow the tuan-kung and take a young female sheep up to the roof. The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants liturgies. Then, using a burning pine branch, he burns part of the wool off the sheep's head, tail, and back. After that, the tuan-kung prays, "From now on men will prosper and so will cattle. One produces ten and ten a hundred." The sheep is renamed hitu-tze-mu. And then both men and sheep come down from the roof. When they get outdoors, the tuan-kung, beating the drum and chanting the liturgies, cuts the skin of a sheep's ear and spreads the blood on a prepared bunch of grass and flags. He plants the flags on both sides of the door; the bunch of grass is also planted beside the door. The sheep is not to be killed, sold, or made a sacrifice, but to enjoy a natural

death. Having completed the ceremony and returned home, the tuan-kung washes his hands outdoors. Then he enters the house, sits beside the fireplace, and has his meal. After the meal, he begins 783
to make flags and cuts paper flowers. Flags are planted on a bushel. The monkey head and offerings are put in place. Chanting liturgies, the tuan-kung takes the flags and plants them in front of a straw mattress. He wraps the chicken's feather in paper and hangs it on the top of a flag; on the top of another flag, he also hangs the chicken's feather, the bow, arrows, and other things. Having done all these, the tuan-kung, chanting prayers, begins to offer sacrifice for redeeming the vow. All people gather and drink. Then they make offerings to the God of Wealth, the Sheep God, the Door God, and the ancestors. The chicken offered to the Door God can be killed and its blood is spread on the flag. The chicken offered to the God of Wealth and the Sheep God must be crushed to death. Before dawn, the host carrying the chickens, incense, candles, etc., follows the tuan-kung as he dances from the fireplace up to the roof. Up on the roof, first a gun-shot is fired. Then the host strangles the chickens. After finishing his chanting of prayers, the tuan-kung gets ready the offerings to the White Stone God, hangs a flag on a piece of fir wood, and pastes the chicken feathers on the wood. After three days, the wood is moved and planted on a good farm. The chicken feathers used in the sacrifice are thrown on the farm.

The above-mentioned practice has probably had a long history. 539
The Ch'iang have an old folk song as follows:

"The Ch'iang people worship god, and to make the sheep and
chicken vows, they hire a tuan-kung;
The sheep vow to clean the house, the chicken vow to clean
the house and the cattle ranch.
As dirt is cleaned out, all is purified and the water is clean;
The God of Heaven, the God of Earth, come all to enjoy!"

/23/ Divination-- The Ch'iang practice divination with sheep's 787
thigh-bone, egg, or white dog. First, the sheep's thigh-bone divination:

Foretelling with the sheep's thigh-bone is called tchi-pü-sze in the Ch'iang language. Very few tuan-kung know the method of divination. Nowadays only the tuan-kung around P'u-ch'i-kou in Li-fan can still teach it. However, only one out of four or five disciples may have the opportunity to be instructed. All the magic words will not be taught even to the most reliable disciple until he holds his

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the belief that drowned persons have been claimed by the 766
Dragon of the Lake, the recovered corpses of those who lose their life in this way are buried on the foreshore, among the willows which line the water. They are given elaborate tombs if they were fathers of a family, just as if death had not been due to drowning, but they are never buried with the family on the mountain slopes. Graves are always orientated 787
in accordance with the instructions of a geomancer, but 766
they invariably face the lake at some angle, and are never faced towards the mountain. The orientation of graves is believed to be intimately connected with the repose of the dead, and if misfortune falls upon a family, or the ghost of the deceased is believed to walk, it is attributed to wrong orientation of the grave, and the monument is reconstructed accordingly.

In all parts of China the Lunar New Year, which falls early 527
in February, is the principal holiday in the calendar, and is celebrated by feasting and festivity. It is usual for shops to close, formerly for as long as two weeks, and even now very little business is done in the first half of the First Month. The 15th of the 1st Month, the last day of the Feast of Lanterns, was the old official end of the holiday season, a period which very much resembles the Christmas holidays of western Europe. In just the same way the New Year holiday is a time for family reunions, a festival in which the religious background is not so prominent as the secular feasting and holiday making. In Ta Li the Min Chia celebrate the New Year with rites, which though they may be affected by Chinese practice in the past, are now strange to Chinese visitors from the eastern provinces. These rites are performed privately in the home and are therefore akin to the Shu Pao ceremonies of Ancestor Worship described above. It is characteristic of Min Chia practice, however, to find Buddhist elements incorporated in the ceremony.

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one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief 782
is universal, and great precautions are taken when travel- 753
ling to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are un- [789]
aware of its existence. A description of rites such as the 787
making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

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787 other hand they have various rites of a magical character designed to exorcise spirits and drive out ghosts from a haunted room or house. The Sai Dser who exorcise the spirits of disease by dancing the Tiao Gur rite have already been described, but there are as well geomancers who can be consulted on the placing of graves, a function often fulfilled by the rare Taoist monks of the district or by wandering Taoists from Ssu Ch'uan. They charge a fee of from two to three dollars nickel for such advice. They are also consulted to fix lucky days for weddings and funerals, which they do by considering the horoscope of the persons concerned and the conjunctions of the stars on the appropriate day. Books of astrology, known all over China, serve as a guide for these predictions.

Fortune tellers, whose Min Chia name, "*Sua Mier Ni*," is clearly a corruption of the Chinese "*Suan ming ti*", and are, therefore, probably a product of contact with Chinese culture, are consulted for advice on sickness, and to interpret dreams. They are often blind men who earn a meagre living by this means, for the fees charged are as low as those earned by the geomancers. The interpretation of dreams is done by traditional rules, one of which is that to dream of evil is a good sign, and to dream of the death of some person is a sign of indigestion! It would seem that the interpretation follows the converse of the plain meaning of the dream. The belief that dreams are caused by ghosts or the spirits of other persons is not known among the Min Chia. Neither the geomancers nor the fortune tellers can be properly described as magicians, for apart from the Sai Dser, the Min Chia do not depend on specialised aid in exorcising ghosts. If a ghost is thought to have been seen in a room, or in some part of the house, incense is burned at the door of the room for a day or longer. The fact that a ghost has walked is taken as a sign that the spirit of the dead

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person is not at peace about some matter, and if the 787
manifestations continued the geomancers would be called upon to re-orientate the grave.

In common with many other peoples the Min Chia 775
believe that dogs can see ghosts at all times, and the howling of a dog is taken as a sure indication that ghosts are about. It is also believed that cross-eyed people can see ghosts, though whether those afflicted in this way substantiate this opinion I cannot say, as I never had an opportunity to talk to a cross-eyed Min Chia. If a ghost is seen in a public place, such as a street, the residents subscribe to maintain a street shrine with chanting of sutras and music for a day or two, as it is considered unlucky and ill-omened. In 1938 the ghost of a certain old woman, who had been the gate keeper of the Protestant Mission and who had died suddenly, was seen in broad daylight not far from the Mission, or so at least it was alleged. The residents of that part of the main street of Ta Li where the ghost was seen then set up a street shrine, to the considerable inconvenience of wayfarers and muleteers passing through the town.

The Min Chia also believe in possession by evil spirits, or more strictly, by malign ghosts. There is a standard rite for exorcising such ghosts, and though I was never able to witness this, it was described to me by a Min Chia who had seen it performed. A miniature suit of clothes, coat and trousers, is made from coloured paper, and brought into the room where the possessed person is confined. The doors are then shut, and fresh peaches thrown about the room in all directions, whereupon the paper suit is thrown out of the window, and promptly burned by persons waiting outside for this purpose. The rite is performed by a member of the family, no outside person, priest or Sa Dser being called in. It was explained that the act of throwing peaches about drove the ghost to take refuge in the paper suit, and thus

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553 As a consequence of Min Chia and Chinese ideas about
787 Ancestor Worship, the name of a deceased forbear or other relative is never employed a second time. A name is something absolutely personal to the individual, and in former times at least, it was believed that the character of the name influenced the character of the child. The moment of birth is still carefully recorded for the purpose of drawing the horoscope, which in turn decides such questions as the suitability of the character of the name, and the eligibility of the boy's bride in future years. For if the horoscopes of two children are not in agreement no marriage between them would be regarded as possible. While the avoidance of the name of an ancestor or relative is probably based on ancient beliefs about the influence of the name on the individual, it is now attributed to the necessity of avoiding confusion in the pedigree and in the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship such as the Shu Pao where the names of the dead are read out. European practice sufficiently proves that this is not a really valid objection.

553 The name is usually chosen by the grandparents, sometimes after consulting an astrologer, and consists either of one word or two in combination. If one word is employed all the children of that generation will be given names which are written with characters having a similar component, so that in future it will be possible to recognise at a glance the generation of these relatives. Names of two characters are more usual, though some families employ the device of alternating one character and two character names in succeeding generations, so that the father has a single character name, the son two, and the grandson one again. When two characters are used the first word is a constant, repeated in the name of every child of that generation, the second is different and serves as the distinguishing sign. Any two words which can be written with Chinese characters

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refusal is not expected, and approval is not asked. A primary consideration is the value of the girl or woman as a worker to the family of the groom. For this reason wives are often older than their husbands. The writer heard of one boy who at twelve was married to a woman of twenty-six. She was a fine worker. To carry through an engagement and a marriage generally costs over a thousand dollars, and often the groom's family has to borrow. Naturally every man wants a wife and every woman wants a husband, so every person gets married sooner or later. 584 [581]

In 1933 the writer was told that the custom near Tung Men Wai and Mu Shang Chai was that the groom's family should give the family of the bride a pig's head, a couple of small jugs of wine, some pork, shoes, stockings, etc. At Ts'a To in 1941 he was told that the gift to the bride's parents should be a piece of pork, three jugs of about thirty-five catties of wine, two large pieces of white bread, incense, candles, etc. At Ta Ho P'in Chai near Wen Ch'uan he was told that the groom's family should give eight rolls of cloth, black or blue but not white, twenty-four catties of pork two large wheat biscuits, three jars of wine, one large wheat cake called in Chinese a Ko kw'ei, one pair of earrings, ten feet of brass wire, and one pair of puttees. There is variation in the different localities and the objects, the amount, and the value varies with every family according to the ability of the groom's family to give

The horoscope is sometimes but not always used If it indicates that the marriage would be unlucky, the engagement is not consummated. [787]

3. Marriage.

A lucky day is chosen for the wedding. Near Mu Shang Chai and Lung Ch'i Chai in 1933 the writer was told that sometimes the "flowery chair" or bridal sedan chair was used to take the bride to the groom's home, but if not she rode a horse, that on arrival two persons helped the bride out of the chair into the house, and that the bride and the groom kowtowed to the housegod, to the go-betweens, and to the friends. 585

At Ta Ho P'in Chai in 1941 it was stated that the bride rides in a sedan chair (not in a "flowery" or decorated sedan chair as formerly), escorted by her brothers and sisters but not by her

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated. 796

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5 He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

corner of the /48/ tent, which is the home of Yu-la. The fur of all 353
kinds of domestic animals is used, and a tuft of hair is plucked out 776
of each animal for this purpose before it is sold or slaughtered. Thus the bundle constantly increases in size. After a meal, tea, butter, and milk are smeared on the bundle of hair for the house god.

On the altar which is found in every tent stand small statues made of bronze or brass of the Lamaistic deities. The god that seems to be most popular here is called Dzam-la. He corresponds, allegedly, to Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth (2) of the Chinese popular re-

2. Compare Wadell, page 370.

ligion; in accordance with Lamaistic custom, water is regularly offered to this god. Another god much venerated is one that is thought of as dwelling in hell and judging the souls of the dead. He corresponds to the Chinese Yen-lo-wang. The "horse god" (Chinese: Ma-wang-yeh, Tibetan: dam-dzen) who is also worshiped in the Lamaistic temples is offered sacrifices by the sorcerers, especially when there is threat of war. He has three heads and is represented in union with its Cakti (female principle). Ts'ai-shen and Chia-shen are worshiped by men and women alike.

I did not learn anything about a worship of the heavens among 787 ●
the Fantzu, nor of the sun, moon and stars.

After death the soul of the deceased can turn into an evil spirit. 775
It can descend into hell (Tibetan: nal-wa), where it is adjudicated by the judge of hell (Yen-lo-wang, Yama). But just as in China, there is a parallel belief in Buddhistic transmigration of souls, and no one is aware of any inconsistency. If a person has led a good life, he can be reborn as an incarnation (fu-yeh), if he has been bad, he becomes a woman or an animal (bovine, horse, ox, sheep). Here the belief in the transmigration of souls is sometimes confused with the belief in evil spirits into which the souls of persons who have died a violent death are transformed.

/49/ A characteristic incident had just occurred among the 682
Mewu-Fantzu: 775

The t'ou-mu of the Mewu-Fantzu had a younger brother with whom he had quarreled seven or eight years before about the rule of a group of Fantzu. He had had the brother treacherously killed one day when the latter was riding across the steppes. A short time afterwards, groundhogs dug a passage behind the t'ou-mu's house with an opening inside the enclosure of his property. This was a surprising

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are / 56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787 ●
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by böm-bu [782]
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1. Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

> In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782 224

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a böm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
777 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

death. Having completed the ceremony and returned home, the tuan-kung washes his hands outdoors. Then he enters the house, sits beside the fireplace, and has his meal. After the meal, he begins 783
to make flags and cuts paper flowers. Flags are planted on a bushel. The monkey head and offerings are put in place. Chanting liturgies, the tuan-kung takes the flags and plants them in front of a straw mattress. He wraps the chicken's feather in paper and hangs it on the top of a flag; on the top of another flag, he also hangs the chicken's feather, the bow, arrows, and other things. Having done all these, the tuan-kung, chanting prayers, begins to offer sacrifice for redeeming the vow. All people gather and drink. Then they make offerings to the God of Wealth, the Sheep God, the Door God, and the ancestors. The chicken offered to the Door God can be killed and its blood is spread on the flag. The chicken offered to the God of Wealth and the Sheep God must be crushed to death. Before dawn, the host carrying the chickens, incense, candles, etc., follows the tuan-kung as he dances from the fireplace up to the roof. Up on the roof, first a gun-shot is fired. Then the host strangles the chickens. After finishing his chanting of prayers, the tuan-kung gets ready the offerings to the White Stone God, hangs a flag on a piece of fir wood, and pastes the chicken feathers on the wood. After three days, the wood is moved and planted on a good farm. The chicken feathers used in the sacrifice are thrown on the farm.

The above-mentioned practice has probably had a long history. 539
The Ch'iang have an old folk song as follows:

"The Ch'iang people worship god, and to make the sheep and chicken vows, they hire a tuan-kung;
The sheep vow to clean the house, the chicken vow to clean the house and the cattle ranch.
As dirt is cleaned out, all is purified and the water is clean;
The God of Heaven, the God of Earth, come all to enjoy!"

/23/ Divination-- The Ch'iang practice divination with sheep's 787
thigh-bone, egg, or white dog. First, the sheep's thigh-bone divination:

Foretelling with the sheep's thigh-bone is called tchi-pü-sze in the Ch'iang language. Very few tuan-kung know the method of divination. Nowadays only the tuan-kung around P'u-ch'i-kou in Li-fan can still teach it. However, only one out of four or five disciples may have the opportunity to be instructed. All the magic words will not be taught even to the most reliable disciple until he holds his

787 teacher-honoring ceremony. The sheep's thigh-bone used in divination must come from the sheep sacrificed to the Sacred Forest in the tuan-kung's own territory or from the sheep privately sacrificed to the White Stone God by his fellow clansmen. There is a definite time to take the bone. The proper time is after the sheep has been used as a sacrifice but before it is put into a pot to cook. After the thigh-bone is taken out, it is then wrapped up and carried away by the tuan-kung to be placed beside his god. The mutton is then cooked to treat guests for the sake of publicity.

The sheep's thigh-bone can be used to divine the cause of a disease, to predict fortunes, or to reveal a traveler's well-being and whereabouts. The one who requests divination holds a bunch of oats in his hand. If it is for discovering the cause of a disease, the patient is asked to blow at the oats. (If it is for a traveler, one of his parents is to do the blowing on his behalf.) He burns pine branches before the God of Fire. After praying, he goes to the home of the tuan-kung and explains to the tuan-kung the purpose of his visit. Having received the visitor, the tuan-kung first burns pine branches before his god. Then he asks his client to put his oats on the pine branches and burn them. Murmuring prayers, the tuan-kung takes a wormwood leaf (be-ru), nips it into small pieces, and burns them on the sheep's thigh-bone. The number of the wormwood pieces is fixed at three, five, seven, or nine. After they are burned into lines and marks, the tuan-kung investigates the pattern and he will learn from it the cause of the disease as well as fortunes or misfortunes in the future. He can also decide immediately whether or not treatment or supplication is needed.

Divination with egg is called, in the Ch'iang language, yué-te-tzee-tiè (opening the egg and see). This method is also performed by the tuan-kung to discover the cause of diseases. The patient first takes a raw egg, blows on it once, and puts it into his pocket for a while. Later, he boils it and blows on it once more. Then he states his birth time and says, "My disease will show in the egg." (If the patient is seriously ill and has to delegate someone to do it on his behalf, his delegate will speak in his own words.) Next, the egg is buried in ashes before the Fire God. After a while, it is taken out and sent to the tuan-kung, to whom the patient's condition and birth time are described. Chanting prayers, the tuan-kung takes a bowl of clean water and with three fingers, puts the egg into water. He turns the egg and watches its movement to get a general idea of the cause of the disease. Then he takes out the egg, shells it, and using

a long hair, cuts it open. By the color and shape of the egg and the amount of water in it, the cause of the disease is determined. The tuan-kung also decides how to cure the disease. 787.

Divination with wool threads-- This method has nothing to do with the tuan-kung. It is done by another kind of sorcerer called tzee-pa-me-ru (old diviner). He has another set of witchcraft and magic words. The most important instruments are wool threads and a leather bag. The wool threads are made of lamb's wool, more than a foot long, eighty-eight in all and tied together in a bundle. Hanging under them are strips of colored cloth called be-lee-getu. The leather of the leather bag, ki-tso-wa, must be taken from the skin of the cow used in the rites of redeeming a vow. It was even stricter in old days when it had to come from Pai-k'ung-ke, the holy land of the Ch'iang. After the death of the cow used as a sacrifice to the God of Liberation in the rites of redeeming a vow, its skin is used for making a leather bag into which many things are put: grains, animal teeth and bones, carved farming tools of the Ch'iang, broken pieces of bowls, bracelets, woodcuts, wood ruler, woman's thread board, etc., each of which has a special name. Both diseases and fortunes can be divined. There is no definite time for people who ask about their diseases. The preliminary steps in this kind of divination are the same as those in the sheep's thigh-bone divination. But there is a definite time for fortune-telling. Usually it is done between the middle of the first month and the second month, and often for the whole family. Therefore, they used to invite the old diviner to their homes to do it. At the beginning, he chants loudly his magic words on the stove and displays his gods (White Stone God, Fortress God, /24/ bronze Tibetan buddha, etc.). Having set up a sacred table and having honored the gods with wine, he pours the miscellaneous articles from his leather bag into a sieve. Making knots with wool threads, he keeps on murmuring magic words. Then he unties the knots and examines the shape of the wool threads. Afterwards, he studies the relative positions of the miscellaneous articles piling upon one another or lying side by side in the sieve in order to determine the fortune or misfortune.

Hanging a White Dog to Foretell Harvest-- At Jen-ts'un in Yun-tseng-kou, along the eastern route of Mao-hsien, the custom of hanging a white dog to foretell harvest is still preserved. It is held every year during the first ten days of the first month. This is originally a part of the festival at the Tu-hsiung Temple in memory of the tribal hero of the Ch'iang in eastern Mao-hsien. People often use their

787 earnings from the festival to buy a white dog and go to the Tu-hsiung Temple at Jen-ts'un to hold a dog-hanging meeting. The dog is hanged upside down on a branch of a tree in front of the temple. Food is placed below the dog's head but the dog cannot reach it because of the distance. The dog is left to die like that. If it does not die after seven days, a rich harvest is predicted, otherwise, a poor crop.

Special Programs in the Ch'iang Capping Ceremony and Funeral Ceremony--Practices concerning the Ch'iang capping and funeral ceremonies are very complicated. However, analysis shows that they include probably only two kinds of material: one is the material related to social systems and another to religious beliefs. I will mention here only a few important points in the programs of the capping and funeral ceremonies that have religious significance. This may help us understand more clearly the entire Ch'iang beliefs.

885 Capping ceremony (or adulthood ceremony) is called ye-boo-dei-sawoo in the Ch'iang language. This is a large-scale celebration. A tuan-kung is invited as early as the eighth month to cleanse the house and expel misfortunes so as to prepare for the capping ceremony which is to be held in the tenth month or as late as the twelfth month. The length of time from beginning to end is not shorter than the capping ceremony of the Australian aborigines. When the time for the ceremony comes, there are other complicated preparations to make. All sacrifices have to go through purification. We have no time to describe those details here, but one important program of the ceremony must be described. With his relatives sitting around a fire, the one to be capped always wears new clothes. A tuan-kung kneels and holds in his hand a fir stick, on the top of which is a paper image of the ancestor of mankind. The one to be capped kneels before the ancestor of mankind as another tuan-kung, holding some mo-ngi (white he-goat wool threads strung with stripes of colored cloth) which represent gifts from the ancestor of mankind, circles it around his neck. Then, the tuan-kung all kneel down and pray, saying briefly, "Since the very beginning of the earth, there has been the ancestor who created all things and men. Although his age is unknown, he is forever existing like the big fir trees on the rock beyond the reach of axes. His descendants should also receive his protection and live as long as heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, and enjoy good fortune, longevity, and peace..."

After the praying, gifts of the ancestor are distributed among the children of all the relatives present, regardless of sex, each receiving a gift. All are happy and the capping ceremony then begins. On the one hand, the clan chief tells the history of their ancestors. On the

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771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769 353 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table, which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being 769 thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morn- 788 ing and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

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tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the 769
morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes 788
the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten.

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead 769
with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well- 796
being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement.

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor
527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure
788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are
[764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

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769 and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there.
527 Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of
188 reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

769 The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn,
527 for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

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527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

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of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* (prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ancestral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family.

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their goodwill and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

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527 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the
769 district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in
788 every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in
779 fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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788 779 before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

796 779 The only shrine which has what might be called a set service is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

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791 the classificatory particle is "*ni*" thus a "fairy" is "*Sai a ni*"—whereas the Min Chia for "an exorcist" would be "*Sai dser a ni*"; the term *Sai Dser*, possibly meaning Fairy Man, would be one compound word.

The Sai Dser are in ordinary life peasants like their neighbours, owning land and cultivating it. They only perform their exorcist functions on occasion, when called upon, but they hand their arts down from father to son, and it is said that they do not ever recruit outsiders. In this way they differ from the Shamans of the Northern Steppes who are in part recruited from children of suitable temperament or neurotic individuals unrelated to the existing Shamans. The Sai Dser are called upon in cases of sickness, when the patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit or a demon of disease. In some cases they merely advise the family to sacrifice a fowl at the shrine of the Mountain God, or at that of some other local deity whom the family have neglected. In all cases this is the first advice given, the Sai Dser only performing their special rites when sacrifice has failed to alleviate the patient's distress.

788 791 The rite performed by the Sai Dser is called "*Tiao Gur*", meaning to "dance (out) the ghost". "*Gur*" is a word commonly used for malevolent ghosts of deceased persons, but also used for demons, which are in fact scarcely distinguished from them. The Min Chia do not attribute all sickness to the action of malevolent spirits, but have no hard and fast line between the kind of disease which is regarded as caught by infection or contagion such as leprosy, and those less easily diagnosed which are believed to be caused by possession. The name used by the Sai Dser for their rite clearly expressed the belief that its purpose is to dance out the ghost which has possessed the patient.

This dance is performed by two Sai Dser at a time, and closely resembles the dancing at the Gwer Sa La, except for

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the fact that one Sai Dser, though a man, is dressed unmistakably as a woman. The Sai Dser dance round the patient, reeling and swaying, chanting in a high pitched blurred voice so that the words they use cannot be distinguished by those present, for these chants, though I believe partly impromptu, are secret formulas which give control over the ghosts. Min Chia witnesses of the rite at which I was also present, afterwards told me that some of the words used were obscene, but that they could not catch the sense of the context. As at the Gwer Sa La the costumes of the Sai Dser were fantastic, and worn in a disordered fashion. The whole rite thus bore a striking similarity to the dances performed by a pair of participants in the Gwer Sa La.

When it was suggested that the dancers in that festival were Sai Dser, Min Chia informants evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no one knew who the Sai Dser were, or that they were unacquainted with the identity of the dancers at the Gwer Sa La. Informants were embarrassed at these questions and appeared to be somewhat ashamed of the Sai Dser and their activities. In fact the Sai Dser are surrounded with a good deal of mystification. It was a long time before I could hear of them, and still longer before it was possible to witness their rite. This is very rarely performed in the city, and I believe this is because the authorities are hostile to such rites. The same hostility towards the Gwer Sa La ceremony is explained by the Chinese as due to its lewd character, which is certainly not very conspicuous, but the Chinese declare that formerly it was accompanied by indecent behaviour and sexual licence. This is not the case at present, and Min Chia informants, while not directly denying that this may have been so, say they never heard of it. The identity of the dancers in the Gwer Sa La with the Sai Dser cannot be established, but one may observe that if any young man can perform in the Gwer Sa

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788 La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to
791 see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

796 The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

515 remnants of butter on their fingers, they rub it into their faces, and it forms a protection against the strong mountain sun.

Ornaments and Weapons

301 Men and women lay much more stress on ornament than on bodily hygiene. The men wear one earring (1), either on the right or the

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 6.

left ear. It is made of silver and is usually set with a large red coral. The tent nomads also /15/ occasionally wear a large, ring-shaped ornament of silver set with corals, above one ear. This is not, however, characteristic of their costume, but belongs to the sedentary Fantzu who live farther south in the region of Labrang. Less frequently the men wear simple silver finger rings as earrings. A rosary is 788 301 usually worn around the neck as a chain. It is made of thick black disks of fragrant wood, or, what is simpler and cheaper, of small wooden beads. Sometimes they also wear their rosary (2) at their

2. Rockhill 1), Plates 35, 36.

belt or on the rope around their hips. The black chain around their necks is called tsä-nga in Tibetan, or su-chu in Chinese. On this chain hangs in front either a round disk resembling a Chinese chess figure or a large round amber or lacquered ball. On their thin rosaries they wear a square or circular silver box containing some kind of sacred relics, mostly pieces of cloth, amulets and often a Buddha picture, usually that of the Dalai-Lama or the Panchan-Lama. (3). The front of this box is always decorated with a coral

3. Rockhill 1), Plate 5.

in the center. The length of the sides or the diameter of this small amulet box can vary a great deal, but averages about 6 to 9 centimeters and 4 to 6 centimeters respectively. It is about 1 to 2 centimeters deep.

411 Apart from these actual ornaments, however, the men set great store by the decoration of their weapons. They always carry their weapons with them when they go any distance from their tents, even in peaceful times. Their weapons consist of a gun, a sword and a dagger. Until recently old-fashioned guns (1) were generally used,

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 23.

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a 352
couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent 778
roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall 353
of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter 352
above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils 234
needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden 462
tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose 342
staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which 231
the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or 788
two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. 343
Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/
placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two 342
meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are / 56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by böm-bu [782]
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1, Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
782 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ST 142 in physique to the Lo-los. They are very big men, much bigger than the average of any nation of Europe, with straight noses and reddish complexions. This is the prevailing type in the part of eastern Tibet in which we travelled, though mixed up with them, one also finds men, and especially women, of rounder and more Mongolian features. Also somewhat smaller and darker men are to be met with sometimes. The race, like nearly every other S 609 race, is doubtless a mixed one.

Descending 4000 feet from the monastery of San-ko-ya we found ourselves for the third time on the banks of the Ya-lung. The ferry-boat was on the other side of the river, and unfortunately the ferrymen also lived on the further bank. We began the usual shouting to attract their attention, and were met with an absolute refusal to bring the boat across.

"We don't know who you are. For all we know you may be coming to attack us, and at all events we cannot ferry you across without orders from the head-man," was the answer they shouted. Here then was our first experience of Tibetan ways. The size and strength of current of the river precluded all idea of swimming across to get the boat. In fact as long as they chose to stay on the other side, the game was clearly in their hands.

Finding argument and persuasion wasted on the ferry-S men, my interpreter and I climbed 3,500 feet again to see ST the head-man who lived near the monastery. When we got there we found he was away, so we tried the lamas who • 788 had seemed fairly civil in the morning. They were at the 609 moment engaged in their devotions which they performed to the accompaniment of loud bangings of drums and blowings of horns. Occasionally what appeared to be cakes of dough were brought out by attendants and put out of doors, probably as a work of merit, for the crows and other birds to eat.

S In half an hour or so the ceremony was over, but our 609 time had been wasted. The lamas said they had nothing to do with the affairs of the world and had no authority over the ferrymen. Doubtless if they had liked to send orders, they would have been obeyed at once, but seeing they did not intend to help us we descended again to

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one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief 782
is universal, and great precautions are taken when travel- 753
ling to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are un- [789]
aware of its existence. A description of rites such as the 787
making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

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to a crossroads and the jar is buried upside down. The jar is covered by paper, and priests have told the writer that the paper moves because the demon is jumping about inside. During cremation, in some villages, two wooden birds are placed on the coffin. They are rescued and carried away to the homes of the rescuers. 766 775

When a person dies there is present a poisonous breath called *sa ch'i* 煞氣. To offset its effects and to keep away demons a cockerel is sometimes killed and its blood sprinkled on the door-posts.

V. *Religion.*

1. The Future Life.

The Ch'iang have not a very definite idea of the future life. Some say that hades is below and that it is a dark and shadowy place. They have heard the Christian teaching about heaven and hell, and that of the Buddhists and Taoists about hell and Western Paradice. Their idea of the soul does not seem to be very clear. There are few if any memorial customs excepting those that were influenced by the Chinese. They say that they love and revere their ancestors, living and dead. Said one, "If we offer food or burn spirit money, what good does it do? If we offer food or wine, they cannot eat or drink it. Spirit money when burnt turns into smoke." Some believe in reincarnation. Many commemorate their ancestors on the fifth day of the fifth moon or the fifteenth day of the seventh moon. Some worship their ancestors in their homes on the first, fifteenth, and thirtieth of each lunar month. 775

2. The World View.

These people live on the sides and tops of high mountains, or in narrow valleys. The climate is cool and comparatively dry. Near them live the powerful Jia Rung, the Wa Ssu, the Hsi Fan, and the fierce Heh Shui, Luh Hua, and Bolotzu. Wild animals live in the forests and attack human beings, the crops, and the domestic animals. There are floods and droughts. People fall over the cliffs or drown in the streams. Lightning strikes trees and houses, and sometimes kills people or animals. Earthquakes shake down houses, rolling stones kill or injure people, and pestilences sweep the country killing men and domestic animals. The Ch'iang are not 789

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789 educated or scientifically trained, and they assume that they see in these events the working of mysterious forces that may do good or harm. The priests, the gods, the ceremonies and the sacred implements are surcharged with mysterious power with which he seeks to control events, warding off calamities and enabling him to enjoy a successful and satisfying life, in which the basal needs of food, sex, clothing to protect from the cold, shelter from the forces of nature and protection from enemies, numerous descendants etc. are satisfied, and one can enjoy a successful and happy life.

3. The Gods.

776 The Ch'iang are not monotheists, and there is no certain evidence that they ever have been. The priest at Mu Shang Chai, who is a relative of the deceased Christian pastor Kou P'in-shan, stated that in his ceremonies he worshipped besides the greatest god twelve other gods. At Lung Ch'i Chai we saw two different shrines on housetops where the large white stone was surrounded by twelve smaller stones. In the sacred grove at Lung Ch'i Chai there are four different shrines to four different gods. By persistent enquiry we learned that in some of the villages the Ch'iang have five major gods and twelve minor gods, not counting a goodly number of Chinese gods that are found in Ch'iang homes, in wayside shrines, and in Chinese temples. In addition to making enquiries in several different localities, we have translated, as well as possible considering our very limited knowledge of the language, enough of the chants of two different priests to assure ourselves that they worship a number of gods. In one of the chants the different gods are named in order as we will give them below, and called upon to come and assist the priest. While we must make allowance for variations in different localities, we can be sure that they are not monotheists and worship more than one deity.

[177] The supreme god is called Mu Byei Sei (mv bjei sei), Mu Bya Sei, M Ta Bei, M Bya, Sei, Ma Byei Ch'i, and at least at Jung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai and Mu Shang Chai where Christian influence has been strong he is often called Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei. Abba means father and it may be applied to any god. On the other hand a number of Ch'iang have asserted that Abba Ch'i or Abba Sei is properly used only to designate Chinese gods in Chinese temples. The first two syllables, Ma bei, mu bya, or m bya, mean sky and sei

held, I gathered from the Mewu-Fantzu that the magic power of a böm-bu is considered greater than that of the lama, although he does not enjoy special social privileges. In cases of illness, the nomads as a rule first consult a lama who can determine which spirit has caused the illness. They are sometimes in doubt whether in a certain case exorcism by a böm-bu or a lama would be more successful. The result is that, oddly enough, a lama is first consulted, and they let him decide, by throwing dice, which exorcism would be more effective, that of the lama or the böm-bu. This is a noteworthy indication of the tolerance Lamaism has for popular religion, and it also shows that the lamas for their part do not doubt the magic power of the böm-bu. Thus I was told that in cases of serious illness, the böm-bu is generally preferred because the people believe he has greater magic power, and that he is nevertheless no more expensive than a lama.

/51/ The most common task of the böm-bu is to heal sickness with magic. The cause of the illness is assumed to be an offense against the spirits or possession by an evil spirit, and above all, enchantment by an enemy. However, sickness is not regarded as a punishment for sins. In our discussion of earth spirits, we pointed out that the Mewu-Fantzu believe that sudden illness can arise if one scratches up the ground and thus offends the earth spirits. In this case barley roasted in a kettle is sacrificed. Half of it is roasted until it is black, the other half is less thoroughly done. Both halves are then mixed and strewn on the ground. At the same time cypress wood is burned, and sacred writings are read aloud. The reading aloud of sacred writings is an essential part of the ritual of exorcism, just as it is among Chinese exorcists. The böm-bu can read the sacred writings in the tent of the sick person, but he also reads them in his own tent, on the one hand, in order to learn them, and on the other, to bring good luck to other people who have delegated him to do the reading. For a three-day treatment of an illness the böm-bu is given a sheep or $3 - $4. For reading sacred writings in his own tent throughout a forenoon, he gets about 20 cents. A lama receives the same amount for treating sickness with prayer.

As an exorcist, the böm-bu's duty is to drive out evil spirits and if possible destroy them. He can catch the evil spirits. To do this he reads the sacred writings aloud and uses a whip made of yak leather. A man stands in front of the böm-bu and holds open a bag of yak leather into which the böm-bu charms the evil spirit. A great many people stand behind the bag, threatening the evil spirit

791 with all kinds of weapons - muskets, bows and arrows, swords and
755 knives - and driving the spirit into the bag. When the spirit is
789 captured, the bag is carried outside, opened up over a fire of /52/ yak dung and symbolically emptied. The escaping evil spirit is threatened with the weapons carried by the men who accompany the bag, and this is supposed to drive the spirit into the fire where he is consumed. This burning of the spirit always takes place at a crossroad, which is why crossroads are avoided in the evening, since one never knows whether or not the burning has been successful. This type of exorcism is practiced only in cases of illness.

791 In special cases exorcistic rites are carried on simultaneously
789 by a considerable number of böm-bu. Thus before a war 10 to 20 böm-bu gather in order to curse the enemy and ask for good luck. In this case the böm-bu invoke a special god, the horse god (Ma-wang-yeh). They can also, like the lamas, invoke the mountain spirits which bring luck.

791 The böm-bu surpass the lamas in their exclusive ability to
754 practice black magic. However, they must be paid more for this than for ordinary exorcism. A böm-bu can be induced to bring sickness or a cattle epidemic down upon an enemy, but for this he must be paid with a yak or a horse, whether or not he is successful.

When black magic is practiced with the help of a böm-bu, a dog is killed and its blood used. The name of the person to be bewitched is written on a slip of paper, along with a magic formula. Then the paper is dipped in the blood of the dog and buried near the person who is being bewitched. (1) Meanwhile /53/ the böm-bu is reading aloud from the sacred books in his tent. It is not possible, however, by means of magic to turn men into animals and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

1. In China we also find that cursed objects intended to bring ill luck through black magic are buried. For example, if a woman does not wish her neighbor well, she tries to gain possession of a few of her neighbor's hairs which she brings to an old woman versed in black magic and making a business of it. With the help of incantations, the old woman can make the hairs work an evil spell, for example, produce trachoma or boils. However, in order to be effective, the hairs must be secretly placed under the chamber pot (ma-t'ung) of the victim.

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a few weeks late. No Min Chia regards the rite as designed 796
to seek rain.

The use of lewd or suggestive remarks by the dancers, the fact that their dancing imitates drunkenness or perhaps ecstasy, the disarray of their clothing and the similarity of some of the costumes to those of women, suggest another origin for the festival. It is said that in former times, apparently within the lifetime of living men, the girls of the villages where the dances are held surrounded the dancers and sang songs, and it must be remembered that the dancers came from another group of villages. The general use of charms in the shape of human beings, especially by women and girls must also be noticed. These charms are of two kinds, those made of coloured wool in human shape which are hung round the neck, and small stick-on round labels, the size of a shilling, which are pasted on to the side of the forehead. Some of these are decorated with the Eight Diagrams (Pa Kua) well known throughout China, others with a crescent moon.

No Min Chia was able to explain just who the dancers 791
were, how they were chosen, or what qualifications they must possess, but it is perhaps possible to throw some light on this point by considering the character and behaviour of a class of exorcists among the Min Chia, called Sai Dser, about whom much secrecy is observed. The name "Sai Dser" in Min Chia might well mean "Western people" or "Temple folk" or "Fairy people" for as the Min Chia language is not written, a certain ambiguity always exists about proper names formed of words with two or more uses. Actually no Min Chia with whom I spoke was able, or willing, to say definitely which of the above meanings was correct. It would seem that the last was the most probable, but if that is correct it involves a grammatical irregularity, since the word for a fairy is "*sai*" and

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791 the classificatory particle is "*ni*" thus a "fairy" is "*Sai a ni*"—whereas the Min Chia for "an exorcist" would be "*Sai dser a ni*"; the term *Sai Dser*, possibly meaning Fairy Man, would be one compound word.

The Sai Dser are in ordinary life peasants like their neighbours, owning land and cultivating it. They only perform their exorcist functions on occasion, when called upon, but they hand their arts down from father to son, and it is said that they do not ever recruit outsiders. In this way they differ from the Shamans of the Northern Steppes who are in part recruited from children of suitable temperament or neurotic individuals unrelated to the existing Shamans. The Sai Dser are called upon in cases of sickness, when the patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit or a demon of disease. In some cases they merely advise the family to sacrifice a fowl at the shrine of the Mountain God, or at that of some other local deity whom the family have neglected. In all cases this is the first advice given, the Sai Dser only performing their special rites when sacrifice has failed to alleviate the patient's distress.

788 The rite performed by the Sai Dser is called "*Tiao Gur*",
791 meaning to "dance (out) the ghost". "*Gur*" is a word commonly used for malevolent ghosts of deceased persons, but also used for demons, which are in fact scarcely distinguished from them. The Min Chia do not attribute all sickness to the action of malevolent spirits, but have no hard and fast line between the kind of disease which is regarded as caught by infection or contagion such as leprosy, and those less easily diagnosed which are believed to be caused by possession. The name used by the Sai Dser for their rite clearly expressed the belief that its purpose is to dance out the ghost which has possessed the patient.

This dance is performed by two Sai Dser at a time, and closely resembles the dancing at the Gwer Sa La, except for

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the fact that one Sai Dser, though a man, is dressed unmistakably as a woman. The Sai Dser dance round the patient, reeling and swaying, chanting in a high pitched blurred voice so that the words they use cannot be distinguished by those present, for these chants, though I believe partly impromptu, are secret formulas which give control over the ghosts. Min Chia witnesses of the rite at which I was also present, afterwards told me that some of the words used were obscene, but that they could not catch the sense of the context. As at the Gwer Sa La the costumes of the Sai Dser were fantastic, and worn in a disordered fashion. The whole rite thus bore a striking similarity to the dances performed by a pair of participants in the Gwer Sa La.

When it was suggested that the dancers in that festival were Sai Dser, Min Chia informants evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no one knew who the Sai Dser were, or that they were unacquainted with the identity of the dancers at the Gwer Sa La. Informants were embarrassed at these questions and appeared to be somewhat ashamed of the Sai Dser and their activities. In fact the Sai Dser are surrounded with a good deal of mystification. It was a long time before I could hear of them, and still longer before it was possible to witness their rite. This is very rarely performed in the city, and I believe this is because the authorities are hostile to such rites. The same hostility towards the Gwer Sa La ceremony is explained by the Chinese as due to its lewd character, which is certainly not very conspicuous, but the Chinese declare that formerly it was accompanied by indecent behaviour and sexual licence. This is not the case at present, and Min Chia informants, while not directly denying that this may have been so, say they never heard of it. The identity of the dancers in the Gwer Sa La with the Sai Dser cannot be established, but one may observe that if any young man can perform in the Gwer Sa

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La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神會, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 796

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 796

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one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localities six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

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I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

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II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

682 and unusual thing, considering the shy nature of groundhogs. The
775 chief immediately feared that his brother might be among these groundhogs, and proclaimed a general law against groundhog hunting. This law was still enforced, although the sale of groundhog pelts brings in quite a bit of money. It probably means that the Fantzu shared or at least understood the fear of their chieftain. On the other hand, according to primitive ideas of justice, the assassination was in no way avenged, since this would have been exclusively a matter that concerned the family of the victim.

769 Ancestor worship is different from that of the Chinese. There are no ancestral tablets. In the Mewu-Fantzu dialect the ancestors are called xŏŭ. After the father or mother has died, he or she is venerated by daily sacrifices in front of the tent. Later this sacrifice is made only on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of the month, and then it is gradually abandoned.

791 Just as Taoist and Buddhist priests take part in exorcism, the propitiation of offended spirits and the casting out of evil ones, so Tibetan sorcerers and lamas are enlisted for this purpose. The sorcerer corresponding to the Taoist (tao-shih) or exorcist (kan-kuei-hsien-sheng) of the Chinese popular religion is called no-hua by the Tibetans and "böm-bu" (local pronunciation) by the Chinese. Thus he is a priest of the Bon religion. He wears his hair /50/ long, and is adorned with a special head scarf. (1) There are no different kinds

1. Compare Hoffmann 9), page 137 (names), page 197 (relations to shamanism).

of böm-bu. Not every tent community has a böm-bu, and unfortunately there was none in the community I visited. The böm-bu is married and his profession - the art of carrying out exorcistic rites and writing incantations to ward off spirits - is handed down from father to son, but not to daughter or son-in-law. The altar in the tent of the böm-bu contains the customary small statues of gods and bowls for the sacrificial water, as well as a large Chinese brush with which he writes his incantations, and a long row of copper coins. He always has prayer books, although the laymen say that many böm-bu cannot read their prayerbooks, but only leaf through them. On the other hand, I was told that the böm-bu are able to understand the sacred writings of the lamas, but that, conversely, fewer educated lamas understand the sacred writings of the böm-bu. In spite of the high esteem in which the lamas are

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böm-bu is considered greater than that of the lama, although he does not enjoy special social privileges. In cases of illness, the nomads as a rule first consult a lama who can determine which spirit has caused the illness. They are sometimes in doubt whether in a certain case exorcism by a böm-bu or a lama would be more successful. The result is that, oddly enough, a lama is first consulted, and they let him decide, by throwing dice, which exorcism would be more effective, that of the lama or the böm-bu. This is a noteworthy indication of the tolerance Lamaism has for popular religion, and it also shows that the lamas for their part do not doubt the magic power of the böm-bu. Thus I was told that in cases of serious illness, the 791
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and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

Since the Ch'iang have not yet passed the stage of animism, they believe there are ghosts and gods everywhere. Apart from what has been mentioned before, there are mountain peak gods at the tops of mountains, (pi-rü-tzé); gods of masculine and feminine mountains, (sü-pé-tzé); fortress gods on fortresses, (po-tzé); and local gods in every outpost. Yei-bo is the devil that causes all diseases. The Poison Devil is called is-dụ. One who has the Poison Devil in him or her is called Devil Old Woman (dụ-ma) if she is an old woman, Devil Girl (dụ-tchi) if a young girl, and Devil Man (dụ-tze) if he is a man. Besides, all tribal heroes and those who have done virtuous and meritorious deeds for the people are worshiped as gods. 774

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer--Tuan-kung

One who has relations with all ghosts and gods is the tuan-kung. He himself has his special guardian god. All magic instruments of the tuan-kung have active powers. If we want to have a deep understanding of the beliefs of the Ch'iang, it is necessary to study the tuan-kung. 791.

According to their legends, the Ch'iang lost a considerable portion of their traditional culture during the period of exile. Even their original belief in the Sacred Forest was restored only after their victory over the Ko tribesmen. After the restoration of their belief in the Sacred Forest, sacrificial ceremonies were inaugurated by outstanding elders. Also, prayers were collected and edited. A committee of priests was organized with its members in charge of different aspects of the sacrifice. After many years, the rites of sacrifice were slightly changed, and the chief priest who read the prayer became tuan-kung. All religious services, exorcism, treatment of illness, delivery from poverty, as well as capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were done by the tuan-kung.

During the period when there were only priests, the clothing of the priests was the same as that of the common people. Since the advent of the tuan-kung, there were special attirement and various magic instruments. 791 292

The tuan-kung wears a white skirt (jar-pü), and his topcoat may be a sheep-skin vest or an ordinary garment. It is the same all over Wen-ch'uan and Li-fan. But in Mao-hsien, along Lo-ta-ku, Shui-mu-kou, Shen-ch'ien-san-kou, and, T'a-hua-san-chai, all tuan-kung wear leopard skin. Besides, in Li-fan there are some special clothes of other styles.

•791 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tä),
773 worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat: from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shär (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second
778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he
791 wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made or iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

with a flowery cloth or animal hair. It has the same function as the sacred wand. 778

The tuan-kung has another kind of magic instrument called sze-ge-rá in the Ch'iang language. Using an animal's horn as trunk, it has many things hanging around it such as the wild beasts' bones, paws, and teeth, and old coins. It is used in sacrifice to chase away dirty things. It is also used in summoning souls. Similar to this are two other magic instruments. One is what the Ch'iang call wa-shar, which strings together all the paws, teeth, and bones of the birds and beasts on a leather belt and is used in exorcism and curing diseases. The other is a bundle of twenty to thirty copper plates carved with the devils' images and hung on an animal horn. It is used by the tuan-kung to cure insanity. Finally, the tuan-kung has another instrument called je-tchu-ka-pi, meaning holy water vase, which looks like a dragon's head and is used to hold water. The tuan-kung uses it for curing diseases. 791

The tuan-kung may be called the spiritual leader of the Ch'iang tribesmen. He remembers the Ch'iang history. He can communicate with ghosts and gods. He can control nature, summoning wind and rain, and multiplying cattle and grains. He is the physician who can cure all diseases. He also has the power to change even the vicissititudes of fortune. Such a person must have divine power. However, according to what is said, the tuan-kung nowadays is not as powerful as in the old days. Fifty to sixty years ago, the tuan-kung was still able to fly. Tying two wine cups on both sides of his chest, the tuan-kung could leap into the cloud and all his magic instruments would follow him and fly. It is said that once a tuan-kung forgot to take out his instruments in a flight. After his taking off, his sheepskin drum made big noises in the box. His home folks opened it, and out jumped the drum. As it did so, it knocked down a person and killed him. The drum and all the other instruments followed the tuan-kung to the destination. After the service, all the instruments flew back home except the drum. The tuan-kung knew there must have been some reason. He hurried back and investigated and found that an unfortunate accident had indeed happened. A strange thing like this is hard to believe when you first hear it. However, this is quite common in primitive theology. Didn't the Yukat people, who believed in sorcery, think that the sacred drum was the shaman's horse and that he could ride it to heaven?

The tuan-kung is a kind of magician. All magicians can

791 perform magic to kill people. The tuan-kung also has the same power. As the story goes, once upon a time there was a tuan-kung who after finishing his service, always had some ghosts carrying him back home in a sedan. But his home folks did not believe it. Once the tuan-kung was out performing a service and did not return while it was quite late. /18/ His two sons were sent to bring him home. Before they reached their destination, they learned that the tuan-kung was on his way home. So they turned back. But, trying to scare their father, they took the route to the top of the hill and threw dust and sand at him. The father thought he had met devils. So he picked a blade of grass and killed them. Arriving home, he found out that they were his two sons. He hurried back to try to find the blade but in vain. He looked around and found his two sons were actually cut in half. Such magic is called imitative magic in primitive theology.

The tuan-kung is produced by a teacher-disciple system. An old tuan-kung teaches a disciple. Upon his graduation, a ceremony for thanking the teacher, which the Ch'iang call pi-ge-tsa, will be held. Two items in the ceremony deserve our attention. One is the rite to thank the King of Poison. In curing diseases, the tuan-kung must worship the King of Poison, whom the Ch'iang call tze-gar-be. Its external form is only a leather bag, which is filled with various kinds of birds' feathers and animals' hairs. The bag was originally hung on a tree at P'i-tzu-chai. Later, the tuan-kung of Tiao-hua-san-chai moved this King of Poison into the fortress at Tiao-hua-chai to be kept by Tuan-kung Yu. Afterwards, there was once an earthquake. The fortress collapsed and the King of Poison was in distress. However, up to now, it is still kept in Tuan-kung Yu's place. In inviting the King of Poison, there are often dozens of tuan-kung chanting liturgies together. At that time, an echo is heard from the leather bag. A tuan-kung carries the bag on his back and the others all dance. As they reach the place of the ceremony, the tuan-kung chant the liturgies, burn pine branches, call on the gods of the various Ch'iang tribes, and then start to drink. They ask the Poison King to drink first, putting a bamboo stick into the mouth of the bag of the Poison King that actually can drink. After the performance of the rite, the people themselves then start to drink together. Another item in the program is a special performance by the tuan-kung's disciple. The hero of the teacher-honoring ceremony must thrust a knife through his right cheek into his mouth between the upper and lower teeth. Then, he uses a needle to pierce into the left cheek. On the needle

is hung a little flag made of fir wood. At the same time, disciples of other tuan-kung also participate in the performance. But they need only thrust the flag, not the knife /into the mouth/. Only the tuan-kung who has performed the teacher-honoring ceremony is qualified to wear the monkey-skin hat. 791

What is mentioned above gives a general idea of the origin of the tuan-kung, his attirements and instruments, and his magic power and instruction. As to the various functions of the Ch'iang tuan-kung, there are many and it takes a long time to enumerate them all. I shall discuss briefly a few cases in the following chapter dealing with examples of the Ch'iang practices, while a discussion of the details must wait until some other time.

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices

The Ch'iang tribesmen believe in ghosts and gods. They are sometimes lenient and sometimes severe. All diseases, poverty, famine, and other misfortunes have something to do with the attitude of those ghosts and gods. Whenever people meet such crises, they ask the tuan-kung for help. The tuan-kung is a person who, on the one hand, deals with ghosts and gods and, on the other hand, promotes the well-being of the people. He has the magic to cure diseases, to exorcise evil spirits, to eliminate plagues, to increase fecundity, and to do many other things. All the Ch'iang believe in such magic. The tuan-kung may also participate in capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. However, there are also many other important programs which have nothing to do with the tuan-kung. For instance, the act of praying for rain, which, it seems, ought to be a favorite job of the tuan-kung, is however entirely a practice of the people among the Ch'iang tribesmen. 776 791

Curing Diseases--People who believe in ghosts and gods consider all diseases as caused by their evil workings. Frazer, an English anthropologist, calls the disease which is caused by the evil influence of ghosts and gods "devil-disease." Even today in China there remains the habit of calling all diseases "devil-diseases." This is undoubtedly a custom handed down from ancient times. The Dyak people of Oceania say that diseases are caused by devils that possess the human body, by the attack of evil spirits, or by the capture of one's soul by the devil. The Savara people of India regard all diseases as the evil workings of their ancestors or other ghosts and gods. /19/ Besides, the Winnebago people of America, the 753

753 Uganda people of Africa, and many other primitive peoples are all of the same opinion. Like these peoples, the Ch'iang think that diseases are due to the evil influences of ghosts and gods. Since the source of illness is the ghosts and gods, it will be cured only if they are pacified. Therefore, it is unnecessary to take medicines. Deniker, a French anthropologist, remarks that since the primitive peoples believed that illness came from ghosts and gods, sorcerers and others like them were the earliest physicians. Only they could capture the devil inside the patient. (5) This exactly can also be said for the

5. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 285.

[756] [791] Ch'iang. Whenever a Ch'iang is sick, he asks a tuan-kung to perform a magic cure for him. The Ch'iang themselves agree that the major difference between the Ch'iang and the Han /Chinese/ is that the former, while ill, take no medicine.

All ghosts and gods can cause diseases, but each disease caused by them has its peculiar symptom.

The Poison Devil carries poison with finger nails or eyes. The Ch'iang call it mu-mi-kue-dze ku. Diseases caused by the Poison Devil are swelling of the stomach or stomach-ache, indigestion, discomfort of the whole body, and overeating without gaining weight.

Diseases caused by offending the good gods at home are all diseases in the upper part of the body -- head, eye, ear, nose, mouth, chest, back, shoulder, arm, and hand. They can be cured only by inviting a tuan-kung or by making a vow to pacify the god by the patient himself. Diseases caused by offending the Earth God --Hégni --are all diseases in the lower part of the body, such as paralyzed foot, swollen leg, or lameness. Light illness will disappear by itself. But, for serious illness, a tuan-kung must be invited.

Diseases caused by offending the Forest God are headache, thirst, fever, and chill. The patient must avoid eating and must kill no living things. Those taboos must be observed by the patient's whole family. Even their neighbors are not allowed to make noise with gong and drum. In this way, they believe the patient will recover. If the disease spreads to all family members, the whole family is not allowed to go outside to communicate with others. If they die, beggars will be hired to move them away.

Diseases caused by bad spirits have symptoms like languor, bad dreams, abnormal behavior, aching waist, ulcer, and nameless swelling. When a tuan-kung is invited to cure diseases, he uses a red cock and goes to the local god to perform a one-day service. Diseases

771 This statement is right to the point. But the nature of ghosts and
774 gods is quite complicated. Deniker says that the so-called animism recognizes not only that a human being has a soul that can temporarily leave his body, but also that all animals, plants, minerals, and even artificial man-made products consist of two elements, the material and the spiritual. Things like dream, shadow, and imagination further strengthen the primitive people's belief in the existence of ghosts and gods. Furthermore they believe that ghosts and gods can be divided into the good and bad ones, and that sometimes they give blessing and other times trouble. (17) The variety and nature

17. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 269, 272.

of the gods worshiped by the Ch'iang, as discussed above, coincides exactly with Deniker's statement. There is no doubt that the Ch'iang beliefs belong to animism.

Souls do not necessarily have shapes, but all objects have souls. Therefore, it appears that to worship the soul is to worship the object. And so Deniker regards fetishism as a kind of animism. S. Reinarch says, "The object inhabited by a spirit or soul is a fetish. In the early period of the Roman Empire, there was fetishism but no idol. The earliest God of War is represented by a spear and the God of Heaven a piece of flint." (18) In the same way the Ch'iang use

18. Oeuvres, pp. 143-4.

white stones to represent the various gods, a leather bag to represent the Poison King, and a fork to represent the Hunting God. The Ch'iang have no idolatry. Although there are now some temples with idols, yet this is the result of the Chinese influence. For instance, on the top of the Holy Mountain, "pai-k'ung-ke," at Hsing-shang-chai there were originally only three holy stones. But now there is a sculptured image of god behind the three holy stones. Some Chinese monks also live in the temple. Another example is that the Ch'iang at P'u-ch'i-shih-chai even give up their old tradition of redeeming vows in the Sacred Forest and instead they come to redeem vows at the Sinicized Chiu-lung Temple where there are images of gods like the Mountain King, the Cow King, the Ancestor of River, and the Mother of Earth, but no longer any white stone.

771 We have mentioned above that the tuan-kung is a Ch'iang
791 sorcerer. This is a Chinese term whereas in the Ch'iang language the tuan-kung is called pi. There is no question about the fact that

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the tuan-kung is a sorcerer. However, there are several kinds of sorcerers. The ancient Slavic people called those in charge of sacrifice to the deity priests and those practicing incantation and witchcraft magicians. (19) However, the tuan-kung of the Ch'iang possesses

19. Ibid. p. 260.

the double personality of priest and magician. He is the one who offers sacrifice to gods; he is also the one who exorcises devils and evil spirits. This kind of person has the same status as the Shaman who is prevalent among the peoples in the Frigid and the Sub-frigid Zones of eastern Asia. Montandon says that the Shaman is both priest and sorcerer. (20) Shirokogoroff says that in the language of the

20. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 145.

Tungus, the word "Shaman" means the man or woman who can control ghosts and gods. He is the one who can utilize ghosts and gods to help himself and can, particularly, help those patients under the attack of devils. He has a way to communicate with devils and gods. (21)

21. Shirokogoroff, Psychomental complex of the Tungus, p. 269.

Such being the case, /29/ Shaman is not only a priest and magician, but he also possesses the qualification of a medicine man. However, since he is a magician, he is also automatically a medicine man because to cure diseases by magic is a general method among the primitive people. In ancient China, there was also the saying: "Sorcerer P'eng practises medicine." (22) Evidently, during the period of

22. Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu /Lü's Annals/.

sorcery, the medicine men must have also been sorcerers. This is probably an invariable principle. The Ch'iang practices only add another evidence to this principle. As to the observation that the Shaman possesses the double personality of priest and magician, the question is which personality, from the point of view of religious history, precedes the other? On this point Deniker says that as society progresses, magicians must also become priests. However, it often happens that after the priest class is born, the original sorcery remains.

(23) According to Deniker's theory, both the Ch'iang tuan-kung 771

23. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, pp.278-9. 791

and all the Shaman represent the last stage of sorcery and the first stage of priesthood.

In the aforesaid practices of the Ch'iang, we see that most of the magic rites performed by the Ch'iang tuan-kung is of the nature of imitative magic, which is based upon the mentality of the primitive people. Since the primitive people "regard similarity as reality," (24) Therefore they firmly believe in imitative magic and the

24. Ch. Blondel, La mentalite primitive, (Collection nouvelles culture).

effectiveness of incantation and gesture given by the magicians. All the practical activities of the primitive people often require the assistance of such magic as may be given to fishing, hunting and agriculture, to raising cattle, or to such human work as ship-building and house construction. (25) The Ch'iang rites of expelling

25. Thurnwald, Economics in Primitive Communities, p. 210.

bad luck are imitative magic extended to human work. They think, after such rites, the clumsy will become skillful and the poor rich. In the Ch'iang practice of praying for rain, the act of intercourse between the two sexes symbolizes clouds and rains in the sky, just like the agricultural festival in India which encourages promiscuity in the hope that the propagation behavior of human beings might influence the propagation of the grains in the field. The Bantus and the French Algerians in Africa, the Dayaks of northern British Bornea in Oceania, and the present Dutch and German farmers all have similar practices. The Ch'iang's killing white chickens and white dogs to pray for fine weather, their searching the mountains to pray for rain, the substitution of goats to die for men, as well as the tuan-kung's breaking a blade of grass to kill a person, all these practices also seek responsive influences through affinitive behaviors. They belong naturally to imitative magic.

The most important act in the Ch'iang rites of fecundity is the sprinkling of blood. The meaning of blood-spreading, according to the recent study by W. Schmidt, an Austrian anthropologist of the 771

28. Besson, Le totémisme.

This identification rite is an extremely important point in totemism. (29) Facts concerning this are quite abundant in the Ch'iang culture. 791

29. Besson, the French writer, says that a group of totemistic tribesmen gather together because of the belief that their ancestors came from a common totem. But, actually, totemism contains less sense of blood relationship than group relationship. The tottoos of Australian aborigines all imitate totemic animals. The American Indians do the same thing. The tortoise tribesmen of the Omahas cut their hair in the shape of a tortoise. When marrying, they rub the bodies of the bride and bridegroom with the skin of the totemic animal. In ancient Greece, during the bear service, all women in Athens wore bear-skin and called themselves female bears. Durkheim also says that the basic principle of totemism is consubstantiality.

In legends about their origin, the god of the Ch'iang revealed to them in a dream the way to defeat the Ko people by advising them to hang wool threads around their necks as marks when they met the Ko in the battlefield. When the battle was joined, the Ch'iang did as they were told and thus defeated the Ko to earn a position of "the survival of the fittest." The Ch'iang consider this war as a turning point in their regeneration. Even now, whenever they hold an important ceremony, they must tell this glorious history. In sacrifices to the gods, and in redeeming their vows, the tuan-kung would also read this history which is called bi-gu-ngew in the Ch'iang language. Before they defeated the Ko, the Ch'iang called themselves "dze-gai-be", meaning "people". After they defeated the Ko, they started to call themselves "rmee" (This is the dialect of the Hei-shui valley west of Mao-hsien. In the dialect of the Tsa-ku-nao-ho valley in Li-fan, it is pronounced as rmà.) The Ch'iang said that the Ko were an inhumane and beastlike race but the 'rmee' were shepherds who, more civilized than the Ko, were capable of speech, farming, and raising cattle, and who knew esprit de corps. The Ch'iang, being shepherds (30),

30. Tung Tso-pin says: "The word 'ch'iang' comes from the words 'sheep' and 'man', meaning therefore a shepherd. (Sometimes the Ch'iang carry strings, indicating the

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[31] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

mewu

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/ 439 796

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet. 796

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal. 871 212 792

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i. e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way. 797 804

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether 177 805 796

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
● 79 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I. 1. Do not go away.
   2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II. 1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
   2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
   3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China. 000

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bömbu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic. [792] 754 627

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1) 186

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
● 792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
782 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

new

In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift. 751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made 782

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393. 224

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter. 782 721

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1) 782

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a bŏm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and 787 792

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
777 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 764 177

In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-do-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some 792

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tso farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

• 792 Let us summarize what we have said about the function of the lamas in the everyday religious life of the nomads: the lamas exorcise the evil spirits, above all the wicked souls of the dead who bring sickness to man and beast. People come to the lamas to receive amulets as a protection against diseases of men and animals, and prayer flags to protect the tent. Lamas are also requested to exorcise unfavorable weather by reading prayers aloud. Only the lamas can judge feng-shui, i.e., the magical influence of the various aspects of landscape on the life of man. As far as I could ascertain, feng-shui does not count as much among the Fantzu as it does among the Chinese.

At festivals, some of which are celebrated by individual families in their tents, others in the lamaseries, the lamas must recite prayers; likewise on other occasions, for example, to fend off threats of war. The lamas are also consulted when a child is given a name one or two months after birth. But first and foremost the lamas are asked to help in sickness in order to determine by casting dice whether it would be more advantageous to have a lama or a böm-bu exorcise the evil spirit. They are paid a small sum of money for carrying out such exorcisms. If one wants to apprehend a criminal, a lama is asked to prophesy whether the crime can be discovered and when, and in what direction one must travel in order to capture the criminal. A lama is also consulted if it is believed that an illness was caused by magic. The lama prophesies who has cast the spell.

Aside from all these "religious" functions, a lama's aid is also sought in everyday life when /65/ on any occasion a layman's education is not adequate. Thus if a man closes an important business deal, he asks a lama to help him make out the bill. Most important of all, the scholarly lamas calculate the Chinese calendar for the people, and post it on the lamasery gate.

The incarnations have a special significance in the religious life of a lamasery. In Chinese they are known as Huo-fu (Living Buddha), in Kansu mostly fu-yeh, in Tibetan (Mewu-Fantzu) A-le-ha. (1) In Mewu-chiu-szu and Lao-do-ma there are two

1. Compare L. A. Wadell 7), page 229 ff. on incarnations.

fu-yeh, in Mewu-hsin-szu, one. The fu-yeh are sent from Labrang to these temples. They need not come originally from the region of the Mewu-Fantzu. My interpreter could not remember that there was ever a fu-yeh found among the Mewu-Fantzu. He

maintained that origin was not important in the selection of a fu-yeh, and that the fu-yeh were not predominantly chosen from the families of tribal chieftains or other influential families. In his opinion, the fu-yeh were honestly chosen. The common people have the following to say on the subject: Shortly before his death the fu-yeh tells his confidant (kuan-chia) in what region he will be reborn. If he does not mention a specific region or says that he will be reborn only after a few years, the kuan-chia consults the great incarnation at Labrang who figures out when and where the fu-yeh will be reborn. The kuan-chia takes the deceased fu-yeh's horse-whip and his wooden tsamba bowl edged with silver, and betakes himself into the region indicated by the deceased himself or by the incarnation in Labrang, in order to find the child in which the deceased is reborn. He gives the bowl and the whip to a number of children who he thinks may be the incarnation. If a child accepts the objects, it is the true incarnation who then is presented with khadaks (silk scarfs) and pulu (Tibetan woolen material) by the kuan-chia. The child is usually 4 to 8 years old. The kuan-chia then negotiates about the price to be paid the parents of the fu-yeh for /66/ the child. It amounts to several hundred dollars, a few horses and yaks. Often, however, the parents forgo compensation because they consider it an honor to have a fu-yeh in their family. The inhabitants of the region in which the fu-yeh was found form a cortege which accompanies him to the lamasery he is to enter, and the lamas from there come to meet him. A fu-yeh is never dismissed because he proves unsuitable. No one doubts the divinatory discovery of the fu-yeh.

The great importance of the fu-yeh for the lamasery itself as well as for the religious life of the layman is evident if we consider the fact mentioned above that each lamasery has a corresponding obo on a sacred mountain, and that the spirit (ami) dwelling in the obo is thought of as mystically connected with one of the lamasery incarnations who, in turn, corresponds to a Buddha or Bodhisattva.

The high esteem which the fu-yeh enjoys among the people gives him a special place in judicial matters: a convicted thief must pay a lama two or three times the indemnity that a layman can command, but a fu-yeh must be paid nine times the amount if he is robbed. At New Year, offerings are made to the ami at the obo, and on the fourth day of the year a festival is held at the lamaseries, which the laymen attend and at which fireworks are set off in honor of the former fu-yeh. The Tibetan regards it as a special reward for a sinless life to be reborn as a fu-yeh some day, although he

792 does not realize that this view contradicts the essential nature of an incarnation. As we said above, people like to give butter to the fu-yeh if he rides to the tent encampment personally to request food for the lamasery. We have also mentioned the fact that when death occurs in a family the fu-yeh must conduct a special rite in the tent of the deceased so that he will not be reborn as an animal but as a human being.

796 /67/ All festivals of the Tibetans, except weddings and part of the New Year's festival, are religious. There are four yearly festivals in the lamaseries: from the 1st to the 15th of the first month, from the 15th to the 25th of the fifth month, from the 1st to the 15th of the eighth month, and from the 15th to the 25th of the tenth month, according to the Chinese calendar. There are no other religious festivals, with the exception of the festival known as "speaking and sitting still." No religious festivals are celebrated in the tents. However, while the lamasery festivals are going on or shortly thereafter, people invite friends and relatives to their tent. The laymen bring meat, wine and money to the festivals as gifts for the lamasery; no gifts are brought when people are invited into the tents. The wine is drunk only by the laymen, never by lamas. At the New Year festival, which as a rule lasts a fortnight, feasts are usually prepared in the tents, but only on the first three days. This festival was formerly more simple among the Fantzu, but has been influenced by the Chinese. On the morning of New Year's day they burn cypress wood as a sacrifice to the mountain spirits. On the fourth day of the year everybody from the tents goes to the lamasery, where a large feast is given - consisting mostly of mo-mo and butter - and fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased fu-yeh. At the same time a festival is held on the obo mountain to invoke the ami. Butter, tea, mutton and cypress wood are offered. At the New Year's feasts in the tents, beef, mutton and pork are eaten - in fact, pork is eaten only at New Year - as well as butter, a kind of bread made of unroasted barley flour, pastry baked in oil and tsamba. In addition they buy bean-flour noodles, carrots and cabbage in Ho-chou, the nearest large Mohammedan commercial city north of Labrang. If the family is wealthy they also eat pao-tzu (tarts) filled with garlic, similar to Italian ravioli, which are popular all over North China as well. Noodles and mo-mo (Chinese bread) are also served exclusively at New Year and on other festive occasions. If possible, they drink wine.

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the 648
highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend
assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu
in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a
certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-
ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the
Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather
marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ang, south
of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude
of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang
Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the
Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government,
especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-
Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-
ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they col-
lect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - 792 ●
in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the adminis- 624
tration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu
lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The
territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a
higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads
are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between 643
He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different 624
from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in
each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with
them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest
son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the
right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the
t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor.
A definite number of families are under the administration of a
chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to
five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions with-
in the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must
see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances
pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has [563]
more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in
addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries.
They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task,
among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no
particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs

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openly hostile to the old religious system. If people will take trouble and spend money on a religion disestablished and scorned by their rulers, it can only be because they believe in it.

The explanation of this paradox lies in a misunderstanding of the Chinese (and Min Chia) approach to a religious rite, and the nature of the idea of what is sacred to the European, and to the Chinese. To the West, whether Christian, Moslem or Hebrew, and one may add Hindu, the Church or other place of worship is itself sacred, the house of God, where men meet only to worship the deity in a communal rite. This idea is wholly absent from the Far East. To these peoples religion is essentially not a communal, but a personal, or at most a family affair. The most important rites take place, not in any public temple but in the privacy of the home. The temples of the gods are monuments of piety, built to please, not to house, the deities. Thus the Buddhist "priest" is wrongly described, for he is is not the father of a flock, nor a sacred person knowing more about the gods and how to serve them than a layman. He is at best a monk self-vowed to a life of abstention in order that he may be reborn nearer to Nirvana, and he is also a technician who can be called upon to perform wearisome rites for which the layman has neither time nor inclination. At a funeral, or in sickness, the Buddhist monks are called in to chant sutras, for a fee, just as the doctor is called in to prescribe.

There is no communal worship at a temple by the laity. Men and women go to the festivals to burn incense and offer a cash at the shrines of the gods, individually, to acquire merit, avoid ill fortune, or in fulfilment of a vow given in time of sickness. At other times, if they visit a temple, they do not feel called upon to behave in any but the ordinary way.

As a practical working system the religion of the Min Chia

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783 arise with the need or the occasion or the mood of the person offering. But in public or private worship there are extraordinary times when both are conducted on an extended or greater scale.

Public worship takes place in the sacred grove, and each village or set of villages has one of its own. Private worship begins on the house top with sacrifice and is continued in the home below.

793 783 In all worship a priest invariably officiates. He is essential to its proper conduct. An ordinary individual dare not take the honour on himself of presenting the blood of sacrifice: that is the prerogative of the priest set apart for the purpose. He it is who superintends the whole ritual, checking error, enforcing decorum, explaining its necessity and significance, and leading in the prayers made after the sacrifice.

The office is generally handed down from father to son. One generation initiates another. When the pupil is proficient in the knowledge of the nature and significance of the various rites he will be called on to perform, he undergoes a careful ordination. But he must be able to get married, and the marriage ceremony may be the closing act in the ordination. Single men cannot act as priests, lest taint or auspicion should rest on any one performing this holy office.

The ordination takes place in the grove. For the ceremony all the priests in the neighbourhood assemble. In company with any laity who desire to attend they form a procession that starts up the hillside as dusk draws on. Along the route fowls are sacrificed one after another to ensure a continuous dripping of blood from the start to the finish. Immediately the blood ceases to drip from one fowl it is thrown aside and another killed to maintain the cleansing of the path of the novitiates. It is a strange performance doubtless, only it sets forth in no uncertain way the emphasis that is laid on blood, and hence calculated to make men think of its necessary meaning even while it serves as a shock or challenge to man's aesthetic sense. Which same thing also the Jewish ritual continually did.

On the mountain the probationer bathes in a stream to rid himself of all bodily defilement and dresses himself in cleansed garments. A lamb on the altar is sacrificed in the usual way. The blood is sprinkled on the White Stone, the Sacred Tree, The Altar and all around. Oil or fat is put on the new priests head and the night-long chantings, prayers and drum beatings varied by intervals of rest proceed.

Next day each new priest has a lamb sacrificed on his housetop in front of the Whits Stone and Sacred Branch. At the conclusion of the accompanying prayers he may don the priestly garments and wear the priest's hat. He is now officially recognised as competent to undertake all sacerdotal duties connected with his office, whether in public or in private offerings.

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783 As a priest there is one thing he must not do: he must not change the intention of the sacrifice. Sacrifice may only be made for the one express and divinely ordained purpose of the remission of sin. It can not be turned aside to any other or made to any one but God. His duty is to maintain and enforce this original end, or otherwise he renders himself liable to the penalty of death.

We confess that the first time a priest voluntarily gave us this information we were surprised to the point of wonder, yea, and of admiration. For it revealed to us the intensity of their great central belief that their sacrifices of propitiation were not man-invented but God-born.

Everywhere the same insistence is made on the due order. Their chantings and prayers include an avowal of faithfulness in this respect. God is invoked to remember that the blood of the sacrifice is presented by his set command as made known to their fathers. Simultaneously the ancient priests are cited as witnesses that they have been stedfast to the rule of faith handed down by them.

Once at a High-place sacrifice, friction which arose among the worshippers led to certain irregularities and lack of reverence in the making of the offering, That same year, men noticed that death claimed the majority of the wanton offenders. This may have been a coincidence, of course, but the reason believed was because they sinned with a high hand.

But the surprise created by the staunchness of the Chiang to the faith of their fathers leads to a distinct shock when it is seen that the priests have allowed strange accretions and realistic amplifications to creep into parts of their ritual and profession which degrade its pristine purity. For instance the skull in the sacred roll obviously is an innovation to give it a dramatic presentation. [793] The horned skin cap of the priest is declared to have replaced by a plain shaped felt one with a circular brim. And a number of priests, not all, have copied some of the customs of the Chinese 000 exorcist. Worst of all, spiritism, in some parts with its customary admixture of real phenomenae and base trickery, has crept in. The investigator, even while he laments these excesses, has to take note of them. All is not pure gold that glitters. There may an alloy in it or it may be a base metal of the same colour. One has to distinguish and care is needed at every turn. Patience and caution are often necessary to disentangle the real from the simulation and what constitutes the old true-Chiang religion from its present day admixture of spurious elements.

177 It has to be remembered that during the reign of the Emperor Chien Long, A. D. 1736-1796 the Chiang suffered complete loss of political liberty. Then idolatry was forced on them at the point of the sword. Temples, never before seen on their mountain sides and plateaus, were wantonly built all through their territory. Since then a slow decadence has been noted in their worship. The

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old zeal and fire have insensibly diminished. Even in the present generation we ourselves have watched this decline make definite progress. Old priests from whom we learnt much of what is here given have died off, and their successors, while performing the motions of the ritual, have not shown half the knowledge of its inner meaning their sires did. Their surroundings have not lent them the inspiration they required to maintain the old time brilliancy of their religion.

With regard to the spiritism adopted in some quarters, the young priests are alleged to pass through a trance at their initiation. A spirit then is supposed to possess them, taking complete possession for the time being of their faculties. After this possession is over they are physically limp or half-exhausted until their strength is regained.

On the other hand, it is alleged that this is not always the case. The possession by the spirit is not real but simulated. An old priest instructs them how to feign the usual phenomena so that their reputation should not come behind others in having authority over occult powers.

Such as do have real experience with spirits profess to be able to call up these unseen personalities at will. By ways known to themselves they secure their aid or release from harmful influences. After a death, if the priest be up to his job, the spirit can lead back the departed soul under leash to his old home for a visit in a manner similar to the way shown in street processions of the actors of the Buddhist temple of hell.

In one district the priests carry, hung from their girdles, a bunch of ludicrously weird objects called the *Te-sa-a-ga*. Anything that is curious or strange enough or suggestive may find a place in the collection. Together they make a rare rattle for the ignorant and the gullible. You may see an eagle's bill, a cock's foot, a wild boar's tusk, a goat's horn, a bit of bone, a cymbal, deer's teeth, a Chinese charm cash, or a rare shell. Each object proclaims the exorcist powers of its possessor. With these by his side no one can doubt his ability to recall the soul in sickness, undo demoniac powers and save you in general from the evil eye.

Incidentally they prove a god-send to the sensationalist wiseacre. With these to shake in front of his audience, who dare doubt now that the Chiang are litholatrists, animists and demon worshippers! Seeing is believing? His case is proven. And he struts around as pleased with himself as the man who wears the lot at his belt.

He, however, who knows something of the genius of the beautiful old Chiang religion groans within himself at the sight of such things. How have the best become the worst? The *Te-sa-a-ga*, once pure as the morning light, has fallen from its high estate. We believe we hold the key to its primitive significance but must meanwhile wait before giving its solution. Sufficient here to say

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that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

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4. Yi Mu Sei. She gives sons, protects women when they have conceived and during childbirth, and protects children. 776

5. Mya Wei Sei who protects men and boys.

6. Sti P'r Sei who protects women and girls in matters not connected with childbirth.

7. Do Dzu Sei a door god who is on the right side and keeps demons out of the homes.

8. Nu Nga Sei a door god on the left side who helps keep out demons.

9. Sbe Pri Sei, the god of the bin who controls the five grains after they have been harvested and are in the house or in the bin.

10. Mo Bo Sei or Mu Bo Sei, the fire god who controls the fire in the home lest it burn up the house.

11. Abba Sei, the male ancestor.

12. Ata Sei, The female ancestor.

These are regarded as so distinctly Ch'iang gods that they are put into a different category than the Chinese gods whose images are worshipped in shrines, in homes and in temples. The pronunciation of the names of the gods as given above is that which was given us at Ta Ho P'in Chai, near Wen Ch'uan.

The above Ch'iang gods have no images.

There may be other gods that are regarded as Ch'iang, but at present we can not affirm it with certainty. Many Chinese gods, however, are commonly worshipped by the Ch'iang. Among them are the Pearly Emperor, Ch'uan Chu 川主, the Lord of Szechwan, Wang yeh 王爺 who is elsewhere the god of boatmen. The housegod 天地君親師位 meaning Heaven, Earth, Rulers, Relatives, Scholars, the T'ai Shan Shih Kan Tang 泰山石敢當, the T'u Ti 土地, Kuanyin, and many others. They are regarded by the Ch'iang as real, living deities.

4. The Priesthood.

The Ch'iang are a very reverent and devout people, and their religious ceremonies and rituals are considered to be very important. They must be performed with exactness and fitting decorum. Some of them are long. Since they have no written language their chants or songs, which they regard as the equivalents of sacred 793 538

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books, are taught by word of mouth, memorized and passed down from generation to generation, from father to son or from teacher to pupil. In Tung Men Wai and at P'u Wa the line has ceased and there is now no Ch'iang priest. There must be no incorrectness in the performances or in the repetitions. There is therefore a special priesthood who, however, are also farmers and have wives and children. They are important persons, highly respected in their communities, but they have no distinctive dress.

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The priest officiates in all important ceremonies. At least that is the ancient custom. In localities where there are no priests, as at Tung Men Wai, the local people sometimes officiate, or a Taoist priest may be called to perform funeral ceremonies or to exorcise demons, since the Ch'iang priests are more expensive.

In most of the ceremonies performed to Mu Bya Sei on the housetops, the head of the house officiates. On special or most important occasions the Ch'iang priest is called in. Since he is an important person, whenever he officiates in such a ceremony he must be boarded and lodged, given meat or some other commodity, and there must be a special feast. Sometimes he must be paid money also. Since the priest has no special costume, he wears the white homespun garments such as are worn by all Ch'iang worshippers.

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Priests are responsible for conducting sacred ceremonies that bring contact with and assistance from the gods. They have superhuman potency without which their work and ceremonials would not be efficacious. In 1933 a priest told the writer his ceremonial implements and stated that the reason he sold them and no longer acted as priest was that he had lost his efficacy.

When a priest has finished his course of instruction and is ready to begin his work as a priest, an ordination ceremony takes place. His face is ceremoniously washed with sacred water for purposes of purification. Incense, candles, and cedar twigs are burnt and a white cockerel is killed. After the ceremony, which takes place in the sacred grove, he takes his full responsibility as priest.

The priest, who in different localities is called bi bu (bi- bu-), bi bo or bi mu performs the following ceremonies;—

1. He conducts the worship of the great god or gods in the sacred grove on the first day of the sixth moon, or the first day of

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5 He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo"—son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. ROCK, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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ST 795 of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

ST 162 The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin ST 771 language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

S ST 346 *The Yung-ning Lamasery.* — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already 778 remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 塔佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] [illegible]

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling [illegible]). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 拉羅佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the 769
morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes 788
the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten.

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead 769
with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well- 796
being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement.

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

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out the inscriptions one by one in a chanting voice, handing them as he finishes to one of the children, who then lays them on the wood fire, while another member of the family, a wife or daughter, throws on to the fire strings of "spirit money"—coloured paper representing ingots of gold and silver.

Fresh piles of "books", which have been lying on the ancestral altar, are brought out and the process of reading out the inscriptions and burning the "books" continues until every deceased ancestor has been so honoured. As, in a wealthy family, the records so kept may go back several generations, and the number of individuals so remembered be over a hundred, the ceremony lasts a long time. When all have been read out and burned, the head of the family rises, and bows three times to the altar, while all the other members of the family, men and women in order of age pass behind the altar, and *k'e t'ou* three times—that is prostrate themselves and knock the forehead on the floor. Even the youngest baby is brought by its mother to make this sign of reverence. The head of the family then pours the cups of rice wine on to the ground before the altar, scattering a few drops from each cup into the fire, and takes pinches of food from the dishes and drops them into the fire. All proceed to the street gate where incense sticks are lighted and fire crackers are discharged, to speed the spirits on their way. This ends the rite. The fire is doused, the altar cleared away. The spirits have departed for another year.

The behaviour of all who take part in this rite is in marked contrast to the careless conduct observed at temples. There is here no laughing and conversation. Nothing but the voice of the head of the family chanting out the names and ages of the deceased breaks the silence, and the scene, lit only by the candles and the firelight, is impressive and solemn.

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(1) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

It is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to religious practices that, although the Shu Pao ceremony is a rite of Ancestor Worship, it has become associated with other deities as well. On the day following the ceremony many people, particularly women, go to the temple of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and there offer prayers and burn incense for the repose of the spirits of the dead, with the same ritual as is used in the spring festival of this deity. The difficulty of reconciling the belief that the ancestral spirits have just been dwelling in the home, and the belief that they, or some of them, have been confined in the Taoist underworld until released by these sacrifices, does not appear to trouble the Min Chia mind. This is by no means the only instance in which conflicting theology is ignored in favour of the performance of differing rites serving the same general purpose.

Also connected with the Shu Pao ceremony is the custom of releasing K'un Ming "lamps", in reality fire balloons ingeniously made of paper and bamboo lathes, which rise burning to great heights on still windless evenings, such as are common at this season of the year. These fire balloons take their name from the famous Chinese general of the third century A.D., Ch'u-k'o Liang, or Ch'u-k'o K'un-Ming, who first temporarily conquered Yunnan for the Western Han Dynasty. Legend relates that he used this device to send signals to detached bodies of his troops in his wars with the native princes of Yunnan. Although this is the explanation commonly given for the name of the fire balloons, it is admitted that they are never used till the night of the 14th of the 7th Month, the night of the Shu Pao ceremony, and subsequent nights for about a month. In spite of this rather faint connection with religion, no one is able to explain what function, other than that of entertainment, the release of these fire balloons is meant to fulfil. Releasing

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796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor
527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure
788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are
[764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

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CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 779 796 FOR the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 779 This temple is a large building, or rather series of buildings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

The only shrine which has what might be called a set service is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

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(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight variations. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs derisively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

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235 Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious
842 custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival.
796 Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the
779 whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

796 Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly
779 Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

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burned there also, although it is dedicated to Yu Huang, the Jade Emperor, supreme deity of official Taoism, and not to the Mountain God. A well-kept shrine to the Mountain God is maintained just outside the limits of this temple, possibly as an inducement to the worshippers who might not otherwise make the effort to climb so high. This is one more instance of the characteristic Min Chia indifference to theology and the essential unity of the so-called "three religions." 796 779

The dates chosen for these festivals, almost all either in the spring or autumn, the two seasons when the weather is best, indicate the practical ends in view. In summer when the rains are heavy, few people could be induced to risk a long climb up the mist-wrapped mountain. Equally the winter, a season of high winds, which make boating unpleasant and dangerous, would be unpopular for the festival of the Lake Dragon, when boating expeditions are one of the attractions. This festival is therefore held on the 8th of the 8th month, about the twelfth of September, when the rains are almost over and the winter winds not yet begun. The local Chinese call this the Dragon Boat Festival, after the famous Chinese holiday which falls on the 5th of the 5th month, but in fact it has nothing to do with the Chinese celebration in honour of the poet and statesman, Chü Yuan-Ming who was drowned in the Mi Lo river in Hunan in the second century B.C. A certain similarity in the ritual has been either copied from the Chinese, or more probably arisen from the nature of any water holiday. The real Dragon Boat Holiday, in the 5th Month, is not celebrated at all by the Min Chia, although many of the Chinese shops shut for the day and the schools close. In Ta Li it is only a secular holiday observed by Chinese institutions, without religious significance.

The temple of Lur Wa, the Dragon King, is on the shore

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796 of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by
779 the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great
346 earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The
779 great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an
796 artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed
779 rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin
796 temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

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one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of 779
releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously 796
as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of 527
the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the 796
temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th 796

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796 173 Month commemorates the tragic death of an ancient poet, the Min Chia of Ta Li have a festival which is equally primarily the commemoration of an historical event, although it has now acquired a certain religious significance. In A.D. 731, Pi Lo-ko, one of the most celebrated Kings of Nan Chao, and the actual founder of the present city of Ta Li, planned to entrap and murder the five chief subordinate princes of the kingdom, who appear to have had at that time a more than feudal independence. According to one account these five were the Princes of Mêng Hua, Pao Shan, Chien Ch'uan, Mi Tu and Têng Ch'uan, all cities of west Yunnan. The Princes were invited to a banquet which was held in a tower, or two storied pagoda-like structure, the traditional site of which is marked by a small temple just beyond the north-west corner of Ta Li city wall.

The Prince of Têng Ch'uan suspected treachery, but consented to go, his wife having induced him to wear an iron bracelet, though the story does not relate whether this was a charm or not. When the five Princes had dined and were partly intoxicated, their host the King excused himself and left, whereupon the building was immediately fired, combustibles having been placed in the lower story. All the Princes perished in the blaze, and even their bodies were consumed, so that when their wives came to seek them for burial, only the wife of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan succeeded in identifying her lord by the iron bracelet which he had worn. In raking among the ashes her fingers were burned and blistered.

796 On the night of the 24th of the 6th Month, about the 30th of July by the Solar Calendar, this event is recalled by curious rites. The women, in memory of the Princess of Têng Ch'uan's burnt fingers, dye their finger tips with a red juice, and at nightfall every family sets up large torches outside the street gate. In the country the farmers take

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torches and run round the boundaries of their fields waving them, while in some villages a stack of hay decorated with a flag, no doubt symbolizing the fatal tower, is fired at nightfall. The young married men then make a rush through the flames to secure the flag, it being believed that he who gets the flag will have a son before the year is out. The burning of torches in the streets and round the fields is believed to drive away sickness, and it is considered courteous to wave your torch in a friend's face, as it will bring him good health for the year. 796

During the day the usual festival rites of incense burning enlivened by a stage play, take place at the little temple which marks the traditional site of the massacre, the play being a version of the historical story of the Five Princes, and not as is usual, a standard Chinese play unconnected with the festival. This play is acted in the Chinese manner, and in Chinese, but it does not appear to be known elsewhere, the whole festival being quite local to Ta Li and the villages round about. A month later, on the 23rd of the 7th Month, the date on which the widow of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan is said to have died of grief, many families hold a feast to honour her memory.

It is curious that this massacre should be so long remembered, for King Pi Lo-ko reigned for many years after the fatal year A.D. 731, and was succeeded by his son. It does not seem likely that either would have approved the commemoration of an event which, however necessary for reasons of state, must have seemed to the King better forgotten.

Another festival local to the Ta Li region, and in no way connected with any rite known to Chinese religious custom, is held in the spring. This festival is called in Min Chia "Gwer Sa La", a name which cannot be translated as its meaning has been lost, the Min Chia themselves being un-

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796 able to give any explanation of the words. By the Chinese it is called "Jao Shan Lin" or "Winding (among) mountains and woods", but this name is not admitted by the Min Chia and is not in fact descriptive, for the festival has no connection with either the mountain or the forests. Although the occasion is not recognised by the Chinese as a holiday, and is indeed frowned upon by the government, it is for the Min Chia one of the most important festivals of the year, a kind of country carnival, in which the city plays no part. The participants are Min Chia peasants from the villages, no Chinese taking any part in it, although many of the city people come out to witness the ceremony.

In recent years the government has attempted to suppress this festival on the ground that it had unseemly features, but although proclamations forbidding it were posted in 1936 and 1937, no attempt was made to suppress it by force, and no attention to the prohibition was paid by the people. In 1938 the government ceased even this nominal interference and the rites were held as before. The festival is held on the 25th of the 4th month of the lunar calendar, a date corresponding to a day at the end of May or in the first week in June according to the year. In 1938 this date was the 24th of May, in 1937 the 3rd of June. It may here be observed that this date falls in the margin of two weeks between the wheat harvest gathered at the end of May, and the breaking of the monsoon, which makes possible the transplanting of rice, in the second week of June.

Thus the festival is held after the wheat harvest has been gathered, but before the rice has been planted. This is not an absolute rule. Wheat may still be un-harvested, rice already being planted when the festival is held. It does not, therefore, act as a signal to begin work on the rice transplanting. On the other hand the season is a busy one unsuitable to a festival held merely for pleasure or as a holiday.

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On the day before the Festival, i.e. the 24th of the lunar month, young men from the villages south of Ta Li start to travel north along the old track which connects the villages lying at the base of the mountains. They wear ordinary clothes and their only departure from the routine of a normal journey is that they halt to burn incense and *k'e t'ou* at shrines along the road, the shrines of the local deities of the road, and the Mountain God. No Buddhist temple is visited. Those who pass through Ta Li itself used to worship in this way at the temple of the City God, the official Genius Loci, but since the cult of this deity is not maintained under the republic, and the temple was destroyed in an earthquake in 1925, this is no longer done.

Fifteen miles north of the city the travellers stay for the night at the large village of Hur Chieh, called by the Chinese Hsi Chou, where they lodge in the inns or at the homes of relatives and friends. Next morning, the day of the festival, they form parties and begin to travel southwards, this time by the path along the lake shore, which connects the riparian villages. These parties are composed of from four to eight dancers and four or five musicians. The dancers are young men, but not necessarily unmarried, the musicians may be of any age, and are often elderly. The dancers wear fantastic clothes, not a set costume, but a medley of ordinary clothing worn loosely or awry, with coloured streamers pinned on to their shoulders and arms. They wear a piece of coloured cloth, usually red, round the head, and this is sometimes further decorated with the red woollen pompoms worn by some Min Chia girls in their silver headdresses. It is a question whether these dancers are not, or once were, meant to be dressed as women. For the most part their costume, silk trousers and unbuttoned coats with the sleeves hanging loose, decorated with coloured streamers, is not sufficiently precise to say

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Dancers at the Gwer Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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whether it is really meant in some cases to be a feminine costume, as Min Chia women and girls also all wear trousers, and coats of similar loose cut. Some of the dancers, however, do wear straw sandals with coloured thread and red woollen pompoms on the toes, which resemble the sandals worn by girls on market days. All the dancers wear spectacles or dark glasses, and carry fly whisks or cleft willow wands in their hands. The wands have a coin jammed into the cleft. Usually they also have ears of wheat stuck into the nostrils, held in the lips, or behind the ears.

They approach a village preceded by the musicians, who for their part wear ordinary clothes except for wreaths of willow branches bound round the head. At the entrance to the village, where there is a cross roads or a space by a large tree, the party halts and dances, surrounded by a dense throng of spectators. These, the villagers and people from the city and round about, wear their best clothes and, especially the children, wear small paper charms either crescent shaped or in the form of a Pa Kua design, on the side of the face. Many children and some men and women also have little amulets of coloured wool in human form hung round their necks. The dancers face each other in pairs, rarely more than two pairs at once, as the space is insufficient. They dance with a reeling gait swinging their bodies from the hips, lolling their heads, rolling their eyes and assuming grotesque expressions, while they tap each other and themselves on the shoulders, breast, and back with their fly whisks or willow wands, and wave a piece of coloured cloth in their left hands. As they dance they half chant, half declaim, in a high pitched voice similar to that used on the Chinese stage, their remarks, which are hard to catch, being definitely lewd or obscene, as is shown by the laughter of the men and the blushes of the girl spectators.

This performance lasts a few minutes, and then the party

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passes on to another part of the village, giving about three dances in each village. At intervals of from a quarter of an hour to half an hour other parties arrive and give exactly similar performances, though the funny remarks are not the same, and some make a bigger hit with the crowds than others. The final dance is always given by each party in the open square of Mer Ger Yu village, about four miles from Ta Li, on the shore of the lake. Here the performance ends, and the dancers and musicians are entertained, as they finish, to a feast served under a canopy in the village square. When they have finished this meal they depart to their homes without waiting for the conclusion of the festival.

The concluding rite is somewhat different. At about four in the afternoon the tablet of the Village Ancestor (*Ber Dser*) of Mer Ger Yu is brought out of its temple and placed on a litter similar to a bride's sedan chair, decorated with red cloth and paper streamers, rosettes and artificial flowers. It is then carried in procession attended by a crowd of villagers and other spectators to a point about one mile north of Mer Ger Yu, the point where the lands of Mer Ger Yu adjoin those of the next village to the north. Here the tablet and its attendants await the coming of the last party of dancers, and when they arrive the whole procession returns to Mer Ger Yu, the dancers preceding the litter of the tablet, and dancing more or less continuously all the way. The crowd follows behind waiving willow branches. In the village the final dance is given before the temple of the Village Ancestor, and the tablet is thereafter taken out of the litter and replaced in its temple. The dancers and musicians have their feast and everyone disperses as dusk begins to fall.

The Min Chia give three explanations of this ceremony. To some it is done to honour the Village Ancestor of Mer

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796 Ger Yu, but they cannot explain why, if this is the case, the dancers should be men from other villages rather than inhabitants of Mer Ger Yu itself, nor can they explain why the dances take place in half a dozen other villages to the north as well as at Mer Ger Yu. Yet the connection with the Village Ancestor of Mer Ger Yu certainly exists, since the tablet plays a conspicuous rôle in the final rite, and the whole ceremony ends there. Others say that the main purpose is to rejoice at the success of the wheat harvest and bring benefit to the rice crop which is then being planted. One may observe that the wheat crop is not very important to the Min Chia, and that the festival takes place on a fixed day whether the harvest has been good or bad, or is still ungathered due to early rains (this was the case in 1938). On the other hand, ears of wheat are certainly carried in the mouths and nostrils of the dancers and musicians, and willow boughs, an emblem of spring, are also worn round the head or waved in the hand. If the rites are concerned with the rice crop it is curious that wheat should be used, and no attention paid to the rice fields.

No explanation of the limited route of the processions is forthcoming. Only part of the Ta Li plain is covered, and only about half of the villages on the lake shore, the limit being reached before the northern extremity of the plain, and before the villages nearest to the city are reached. Der Ser Mo, the temple of the Dragon of the Lake, is for example not included in the itinerary. Yet the dancers do not belong to these villages, but to those which are not visited. A festival designed to benefit the crops of the district covering so restricted an area seems inadequate. The use of willow branches in rain-imploring processions in other parts of China is common, but the Gwer Sa La takes place whether the rains have started or not, and in the climate of Ta Li drought is unknown, though the rains are sometimes

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a few weeks late. No Min Chia regards the rite as designed 796
to seek rain.

The use of lewd or suggestive remarks by the dancers, the fact that their dancing imitates drunkenness or perhaps ecstasy, the disarray of their clothing and the similarity of some of the costumes to those of women, suggest another origin for the festival. It is said that in former times, apparently within the lifetime of living men, the girls of the villages where the dances are held surrounded the dancers and sang songs, and it must be remembered that the dancers came from another group of villages. The general use of charms in the shape of human beings, especially by women and girls must also be noticed. These charms are of two kinds, those made of coloured wool in human shape which are hung round the neck, and small stick-on round labels, the size of a shilling, which are pasted on to the side of the forehead. Some of these are decorated with the Eight Diagrams (Pa Kua) well known throughout China, others with a crescent moon.

No Min Chia was able to explain just who the dancers 791
were, how they were chosen, or what qualifications they must possess, but it is perhaps possible to throw some light on this point by considering the character and behaviour of a class of exorcists among the Min Chia, called Sai Dser, about whom much secrecy is observed. The name "Sai Dser" in Min Chia might well mean "Western people" or "Temple folk" or "Fairy people" for as the Min Chia language is not written, a certain ambiguity always exists about proper names formed of words with two or more uses. Actually no Min Chia with whom I spoke was able, or willing, to say definitely which of the above meanings was correct. It would seem that the last was the most probable, but if that is correct it involves a grammatical irregularity, since the word for a fairy is "*sai*" and

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788 La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to
791 see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

796 The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

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appearance of this feature is no doubt due to official pressure. 796

To some extent the Gwer Sa La is felt by Min Chia peasants to be especially their own rite, one in which the city folk, and therefore the Chinese and half Chinese, have no part. They do not mind the spectators from the city coming out to look, but they do feel that the rites are in some way bound up with the country and its farmers, and are not a matter for regulation by city people and government officials.

776 down to coincidence, of course, but its designation can hardly be
171 that. It is known as Abba Malah. Abba means Father: here, the Father in Heaven. Malah is not known other than as a name. They do not seem to be able to define or explain the term, But the pronunciation is very precise. The "lah" is spoken with a definite click, so much so that it is virtually Malak, the Hebrew word for Angel. Have we not in this another strong indication of the Semitic origin of the Chiang religious beliefs?

In connection with this Sacred Roll and angel-Sin-Bearer or Redeemer the student of scripture inevitably recalls the many instances in the Old Testament of the mysterious angel-visitant appearing as God in human form to patriarchs, prophets and saints in times of stress and difficulty. By Isaiah he is called "the Angel of His Presence who saved them ":" in His love and in His pity He redeemed them, and He bare them, and carried them all they days of old. (Isaiah, 62; 9). In Malachi, 3; 1, "He is called the Lord whom ye seek, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."

This delight of the Israelites for their Malak or Messenger of the covenant has a remarkable parallel in the fondness of the Chiang for their Abba Malah or Je-Dsu. They speak of Him in the possessive sense. The prefix of "ga-gee" goes with His name: "Ga-gee Je-Dsu" they say. The sentiment is that of the Christian hymn, "My Jesus I love thee, I know thou art mine."

Among Chiang Christians when the hymn "Jesus loves me" is sung the use of their own name "Je-Dsu" in place of the Chinese "Ye-Su" adds great zest to the singing. Every face then shines —every face is, as it were, a glistening white Stone.

796 At festival times the sacred roll is carried by the priest to the grove on a platter, where its base is embedded or planted in seed wheat. The emphasis is on the seed. The interpretation is not far to find when taken with the use to which this seed wheat is put. It is that death forms the prelude to life, a belief which the Chiang firmly hold. This will become plain as we proceed.

In some places the seed-wheat is carried separately to the grove, but at the grove the sacred roll is placed in it.

Where strict orthodoxy prevails there are three religious festivals in the year. The first occurs at their old New Year time, which falls on the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese calendar. The second comes in the Summer and the third in the Autumn. But the dates vary according to the locality and even may be changed a little, as exigencies of weather and social conditions indicate.

In numerous places now only one religious festival is held in the year; in other places two. Uniformity has lapsed. Even in exact ritual procedure it is not found. One district has preserved customs and conceptions that another has let go or forgotten.

783 For private sacrifices there is naturally no set time. These

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that the presence of these oddities and occult claims does not lessen our admiration for the better class of priests who despise the use of such fraudulent practices in their profession. They refuse to stoop to these mountebank tricks and schemes for the sake of gain but trust to the all-merciful power of a benign God to meet the ills and needs of men. To them God is very real.

Few priests to-day wear a distinctive dress. There used to be priestly sacrificial garments; there is one in the West China Union University Museum, which we procured for it. This one shows a kind of back-plate ornament which is peculiar. Of its significance we remain so far in entire ignorance and until we find a clue there is no use making a guess at it. Nowadays priests mostly perform their sacrificial duties clad in the common white robe of the worshippers.

At the sacrifice in the grove only men are allowed to attend. Mixed worship is forbidden. Distance is no excuse, and nothing save bodily infirmity may deter the heads of households from being present. Worship is congregational and not to take part makes one a religious reprobate.

Elders or leaders of good repute are appointed in turns to see to all the necessary arrangements. It falls to them to select the ram or he-goat. This is done ten days ahead of time. It must be perfect in every part, body, legs and horns. And it must be white. If a wholly white animal cannot be found, a white cock is offered to atone for any spot or imperfection in colour. It is led home the day before and washed. To augment its cleansing it is next bathed in incense which is of cypress twigs. Then it is tethered in a clean place until wanted.

A new and unused rope is used to lead it to the altar. The rope, too, has to pass through the sanctifying fumes of the incense, and afterwards it may not be used for any profane purpose. A special honour rests on the person chosen to lead the victim to the grove. He is always some one reckoned worthy among his brethren. It falls to him to slay the sacrifice, and he receives an extra portion of the divided meat.

Three days beforehand the worshippers cleanse their bodies, wash their clothes and make themselves ready. No pungeant herbs such as garlic or onions may be eaten then or anything regarded as unclean. Even smoking is meantime prohibited. If possible, all go clothed in white. The very poor may wear dyed garments if they are cleansed and they have no other.

The road along which the victim is led to the grove only the worshippers may tread. No others that day may appear thereon, for that day it is sacred. Should any one inadvertently be met on it he must offer a special sacrifice to make amends for his trespass.

No outsiders are permitted to witness the New Year sacrifice. No Chiang even who are not participants are allowed near. The roads and approaches to the grove are carefully guarded against

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casual visitors or curious spying. None are supposed to approach the holy place except sharers in the sacrificial offering.

The procession towards the grove begins about nine or ten o'clock at night. The white clad participants carry torches or lanterns. One carries the sacred roll reverently on a basin or platter of wheat seed. This, at least, is the custom in some parts. In others the wheat seed is taken separately in the priest's pouch to the grove and then poured around the sacred roll on the basin or platter. A halt is made before arrival to re-sanctify the lamb. Water is now, curiously, poured into or over its ears, over its back and legs as a sort of baptismal ceremony. Note is taken whether the animal, under the douching, shakes itself or not. If it does, that is taken as a sign of its fitness; if not, it is unhesitatingly rejected. Naturally a healthy lamb does shake itself and the ritual goes on. A third cleansing or sanctification of the lamb is gone through on its arrival at the grove.

The rule in every observance is, "holiness unto Abba Chee." Worshippers, vessels, utensils must be cleansed. The lamb requires to be perfect. God is a God of purity. Nothing evil or unclean can come before him. Heaven is a pure land. They who seek life there and the divine blessing here cannot obtain such apart from sacrificial purification. These repeated cleansings leading up to it all signify this ultimate purpose in the Chiang worship.

A white banner with a miniature bow and arrow on it is raised on the altar. The white roll is placed directly before the White Stone. A large cake of unleavened bread and a jar of wine are placed beside it. The priest takes his station. A fire is lit in the centre of the open space. These preliminaries over, the ritual begins.

Its opening is announced by the discharge of a small three chambered gun, used only for this purpose. The gun originally was of brass. The writer has part of an ancient one in his possession. Now they are made of iron.

The worshippers now kneel together as the priest begins his chants and prayers. He keeps time with a small drum. Je-Dsu, the angel overseer of all that is done, looks down to see that the hearts of those present are sincere. If not, the reputed punishment is liability to transfixion by a "brazen" arrow from heaven. A special awe, therefore, rests on every worshipper.

At the conclusion of the initatory chants a remarkable ceremony takes place. The priest or "Be-bo" burns incense of cypress twigs and enshrouds the White Stone in a cloud of fiery smoke. The background established, he, removes the rope from the lamb. The rope is wound around the vessel that to receive the blood. He and the elders now kneel and place their hands on the head of the victim. Afterwards all who have specially prepared themselves do the same.

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796 783 After this solemn act of the transference of their sin to the lamb he recites an intercessory prayer. It begins with a triple ascription to God and goes on to invoke him to see and hear that they have assembled to offer sacrifice. He pleads that, "The offering of a lamb has been perpetuated from of old and the paying of vows from former generations. To offer sacrifice is not our invention, it was established in ancient times. This altar of the Most High opens the gate of heaven and the way of sacrifice. It leads men to pay their vows. The leader of the lamb has brought it thither. One hundred and ninety-two pairs of white banners show forth the purity of the altar, and signify that God is pleased to accept the offering. "O ye our ancient priests witness that our offering is very pure, and that it is not our own instituting, but has been from of old. In paying our vows we have eaten nothing offensive for three days, nor gone to any unclean place. We have come to the sacred grove; we have placed in position the vessel for the blood; we have led the lamb thither; we have untied the rope and bound it around the basin; the arrow of the bow we now unloose; we slay the lamb on this floor; O God of heaven come down, come down as we offer it to thee. Thou Yather of Spirit come to our grove. If our garments were not clean we would not dare to wear them; if our shoes were not clean we would not dare to put them on; if our hats were not clean we would not dare to use them; if our backs were not clean we would not dare to bear the drum; if our hearts were not sincere we would not dare to pay these vows or pray these prayers. The grass is in the blood basin; the bread and wine we have brought to our God; Oh, regard the slayer of the lamb and the priest as without sin and undo the sin of all present. We sprinkle the blood to atone for our iniquities; O God accept our sacrifice."

The arrow is now removed from the bow on the White Banner and the lamb slain.

The original practice was to kill the lamb by a brazen arrow, this being the symbol of judgment. But now a knife, the property of the priest, is used. On the handle glitters a white stone or a white bone ornament. The priest hands the knife to the leader of the lamb. The lamb's head is drawn against some one's knee. Another grasps its legs firmly. One thrust of the knife is made and the blood flows into a basin. With a wisp of grass it is sprinkled on the altar with its bread and wine and through the cloud on the White Stone and White Banner and on all sides.

The White Banner with its arrow spent is immediately removed and inserted beside the White Stone because the White Stone is the emblem of the divine holiness.

The action denotes that this is an offering in righteousness. That which their Abba Chee desires is presented before Him. Their plea for mercy is the spent arrow. For in its discharge sin was judged. Since punishment has been meted out to sin, as evidenced

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by the blood they sprinkle before him, they now ask for the remission of iniquity and transgression, which the goodness of God directed them to seek.

A paring from the hoof, the ears and the genital parts of the victim are burned on the altar, apparently as an act of consecration. The undivided horns are presented, but afterwards taken home. An ear is placed on the point of a staff and set up. The head, heart, liver and kidneys, with the flesh of the animal are consumed by fire.

The priest at sacrifices, other than the New Year sacrifice, which is the greatest of all, receives the shoulder or foreleg and breast and skin. Then the worshippers divide up the flesh among themselves. No stranger may eat of it for it is holy. The intestines are cleansed, minced, cooked and eaten with unleavened bread. It is their sacrament. Each worshipper drinks a small cup of wine.

The procedure varies somewhat according to locality. There is no exact uniformity found in the details of procedure. Each district has something of its own in the way of observance. But in the main the order follows a general line which is the same everywhere. Nowhere is sacrifice spoken of as the propitiation of Heaven or of God by man. It is necessary to draw attention to this point. The Chiang know nothing of this heathen doctrine. According to their belief God does not require to be placated. They regard sacrifice as divine and celebrate it as such. The celebration they call "the paying of vows," for this represents their concern in it. For in paying their vows they pledge themselves to God's will and service, which is what God requires of man. He provides the sacrifice; they accept it by vowing to him their fidelity.

The remarkable thing is that bands of these men in the stillness and darkness of midnight meet to worship God in this way, and have done so for over two thousand years in West China. They believe they meet God here. He comes near to them in the person of their angel Je-Dsu. The light of the sacrificial fire, reflected in the glistening whiteness of their White Stone, symbolises His glory. It is their Shechinah. They cannot interpret this with the precision that we should wish, but they are under no two opinions that this sacrificial light represents to them the shining of the divine effulgence.

Here we Christians feel that we stand with them on holy ground and would willingly remove the shoes from our feet. Very solemn and awful is the floor on which they thus worship. Who dare call this litholatry? The man who would is utterly devoid of soul—a hopeless Canaanite in heart and mind.

St. John in his vision of things in Heaven was carried away in spirit to a great and high mountain, where he was shown the holy Jerusalem descending out of Heaven from God and having the glory of God. Her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. The city had no need of

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000 the light of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and The Lamb, (the slain Lamb) is the light thereof. An intelligent Chiang Christian reading this passage in the 21st chapter of the Book of Revelation has no need of any one to interpret it to him, he knows it after the manner born. The spiritual conceptions, the similes, the aspirations are his own. He understands perfectly how the light of the glory of God and of the Lamb is like unto a Stone, most precious, clear as crystal.

In the book of Zechariah where Joshua, the high priest, hears that Jehovah will bring forth His Servant the Branch and lay the Stone before Joshua when the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day, the references for the common reader are very difficult to understand. It is not so with the Chiang. The Branch and the Stone are well known to him on his house-top, and the removal of iniquity in connection with them a periodic occurrence. From Genesis to Revelation the ritual of the White Religion of the Chiang bristles with points of similarity and great mutual illumination.

Take for instance Genesis, 31; 54, where it is said that Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread; and they did eat bread and tarried all night in the mount." What commentator can explain clearly the early usages that led him to do this? But we who have learnt how the Chiang sacrifice and tarry all night in the Mount have our difficulties cleared away. In their practices we see those of Genesis still preserved and observed. The Old Testament is a new book to us, comparatively, after we have sojourned for a time in the Chiang country. Their rocks, towers and fortresses give a vividness to many a Psalm and many a passage, that were previously half obscure to us.

796 Before the worshippers on the Mount separate the priest carefully divides the seed wheat between them, in which Je-Dsu had been planted in the likeness of death. The dividing in some parts is done by sowing. He scatters it over them like a sower when each one collects, what he can by lifting up a fold of his garment. The seed denotes the receiving of new life through death, i.e. by means of the sacrifice rendered to God. Each worshipper had taken to the grove four small white paper banners. Two of these are inserted in the fields and two taken home with the life seed, and preserved in a sacred receptacle called the *Choh-Ch'u*, which rests on a ledge in the corner of the main room of the house.

764 This sowing of seed takes place at marriages and at deaths.
585 It means re-creation and restoration . . . life beyond the tomb.
292 On the coffin a wooden bird typifies the flight of the soul to the Pure Land above. Heaven to them is the land of purity, therefore of gladness and brightness. The bride, after her marriage, lays aside her beautiful marriage attire, that she might wear it again
000 when she passes into this land of purity and of brightness. Among

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000 a people whose religion is so much expressed in types and shadows the sentiment in this, as elsewhere, is very beautiful.

• 796 After the sacrifices, responsive singing, rejoicing and dancing are engaged in by all. The songs now sung are said to be very beautiful. For three days all work ceases. It is a period of festive joy before the Lord . . . a real Sabbath of rest and of gladness, pointing forward, of course, to its counterpart in the Heavens.

N. B.:—For further information regarding Chiang religion and customs see the author's pamphlet, "The History, Customs and Religion of the Chiang"; also article in the 1923 volume of the Journal of The North China Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society, "The Religion of The Chiang".

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time. 574 273

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神會, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest. 774 776 796

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which 791 796

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791 one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. 796 It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localties six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

631 I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the 624 variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

249 II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

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books, are taught by word of mouth, memorized and passed down from generation to generation, from father to son or from teacher to pupil. In Tung Men Wai and at P'u Wa the line has ceased and there is now no Ch'iang priest. There must be no incorrectness in the performances or in the repetitions. There is therefore a special priesthood who, however, are also farmers and have wives and children. They are important persons, highly respected in their communities, but they have no distinctive dress.

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The priest officiates in all important ceremonies. At least that is the ancient custom. In localities where there are no priests, as at Tung Men Wai, the local people sometimes officiate, or a Taoist priest may be called to perform funeral ceremonies or to exorcise demons, since the Ch'iang priests are more expensive.

In most of the ceremonies performed to Mu Bya Sei on the housetops, the head of the house officiates. On special or most important occasions the Ch'iang priest is called in. Since he is an important person, whenever he officiates in such a ceremony he must be boarded and lodged, given meat or some other commodity, and there must be a special feast. Sometimes he must be paid money also. Since the priest has no special costume, he wears the white homespun garments such as are worn by all Ch'iang worshippers.

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Priests are responsible for conducting sacred ceremonies that bring contact with and assistance from the gods. They have superhuman potency without which their work and ceremonials would not be efficacious. In 1933 a priest told the writer his ceremonial implements and stated that the reason he sold them and no longer acted as priest was that he had lost his efficacy.

When a priest has finished his course of instruction and is ready to begin his work as a priest, an ordination ceremony takes place. His face is ceremoniously washed with sacred water for purposes of purification. Incense, candles, and cedar twigs are burnt and a white cockerel is killed. After the ceremony, which takes place in the sacred grove, he takes his full responsibility as priest.

The priest, who in different localities is called bi bu (bi- bu-), bi bo or bi mu performs the following ceremonies:—

1. He conducts the worship of the great god or gods in the sacred grove on the first day of the sixth moon, or the first day of

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the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5 He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

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11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has 778
a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug 755
into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised.

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's 778
ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons.

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are 796 ●
performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be [562]
impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies.

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widesprsad practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrificial animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign fevor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 782 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep then from ente ring the house.

796 776 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves th ree times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month, but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 778 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

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the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died. 796 778

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred, and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple, where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed, and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most 174 114

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimage to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/ 439 796

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet. 796

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal. 871 212 792

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way. 797 804

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether 177 305 796

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
79 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 776
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 177
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewu

obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, i.e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. *The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in* the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

353 Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the entire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

792 does not realize that this view contradicts the essential nature of an incamation. As we said above, people like to give butter to the fu-yeh if he rides to the tent encampment personally to request food for the lamasery. We have also mentioned the fact that when death occurs in a family the fu-yeh must conduct a special rite in the tent of the deceased so that he will not be reborn as an animal but as a human being.

796 /67/ All festivals of the Tibetans, except weddings and part of the New Year's festival, are religious. There are four yearly festivals in the lamaseries: from the 1st to the 15th of the first month, from the 15th to the 25th of the fifth month, from the 1st to the 15th of the eighth month, and from the 15th to the 25th of the tenth month, according to the Chinese calendar. There are no other religious festivals, with the exception of the festival known as "speaking and sitting still." No religious festivals are celebrated in the tents. However, while the lamasery festivals are going on or shortly thereafter, people invite friends and relatives to their tent. The laymen bring meat, wine and money to the festivals as gifts for the lamasery; no gifts are brought when people are invited into the tents. The wine is drunk only by the laymen, never by lamas. At the New Year festival, which as a rule lasts a fortnight, feasts are usually prepared in the tents, but only on the first three days. This festival was formerly more simple among the Fantzu, but has been influenced by the Chinese. On the morning of New Year's day they burn cypress wood as a sacrifice to the mountain spirits. On the fourth day of the year everybody from the tents goes to the lamasery, where a large feast is given - consisting mostly of mo-mo and butter - and fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased fu-yeh. At the same time a festival is held on the obo mountain to invoke the ami. Butter, tea, mutton and cypress wood are offered. At the New Year's feasts in the tents, beef, mutton and pork are eaten - in fact, pork is eaten only at New Year - as well as butter, a kind of bread made of unroasted barley flour, pastry baked in oil and tsamba. In addition they buy bean-flour noodles, carrots and cabbage in Ho-chou, the nearest large Mohammedan commercial city north of Labrang. If the family is wealthy they also eat pao-tzu (tarts) filled with garlic, similar to Italian ravioli, which are popular all over North China as well. Noodles and mo-mo (Chinese bread) are also served exclusively at New Year and on other festive occasions. If possible, they drink wine.

/67a/ Besides the above-described festivals, the niu-na festival 796 is held annually in summer, but only among the tent nomads of the Mewu tribe. The name of the festival means "sitting still and talking." The site of the festival, a shallow valley in the grasslands with steep, pointed limestone peaks in the background, is always the same. The time of the festival is determined each year by the Mewu-hsin-szu Lamasery. The festival honors the spirits to insure the health of livestock throughout the year; prayers are offered for favorable wind and sufficient rain. There is no special sacrifice offered. The festival lasts five days. At least one or two persons, usually more, from each family - men and women, old people and youngsters - participate. Each family is required to send at least one representative. If they fail to do so, they must pay a fine. Only about 20 to 30 people arrive on the first day to erect the tents for the participants which stand along the edge of the circular festival grounds. The area measures about 100 meters in diameter. There is also a beautiful rectangular temple tent in which the lamas say their prayers. It is decorated with a tri-colored cloth frieze and black ornaments. Inside hang Lamaistic images of saints; an altar has also been erected. Next to the temple tent there are two larger tents which serve as the community kitchen. The tents of most of the participants are made of the customary coarse black tent cloth. Only the wealthy people pitch small, white tents of the type the lamas use on their travels. Most of the participants arrive on the second day. They do not eat anything in the morning, only drink something. Toward noon as large a meal as possible is served: tsamba, butter, mo-mo, rice, sour milk, but no wine. The main dishes are mo-mo baked in oil and butter. The meal lasts one or two hours because enough must be eaten for two days. Mo-mo or flat, soft rolls about 30 centimeters in diameter are baked on a large common hearth. The ingredients for this, wheat flour and rape oil purchased in Labrang or Ho-chou, are collected from all the tents. The mo-mo are equally distributed among all the participants. When they /68/ eat, men and women sit on the ground in two rows facing each other. The inmates of one tent, 7 to 10 persons, sit together. After the meal they fast and are silent for the rest of the day. On the third day of the festival they do not eat and do not talk; only prayers are mumbled by men and women. On the fourth day there is again a large meal, but otherwise no one eats or converses. On the fifth day the conduct is the same as on the third: fasting, prayer, silence. On the sixth day the festival breaks up. I visited it on the

796 fourth day, and my impression was that the participants were in a very quiet, dull and somewhat sleepy mood. The festival is conducted by the lamas of the Mewu lamaseries, more than half of whom attend. The chieftain does not come regularly himself, but always sends members of his family. The participants arrive in their Sunday-best, their costumes often being magnificent. The women wear red silk tassels on their conical felt hats. You see a great many purple and scarlet silk jackets with gay collars; red, purple and figured pulu coats; rich hair ornaments of silver and gold. The middle section of the gala hair ornaments of the young girls is decorated with silvery bands of tin. The women's furs are often trimmed with a bias band of cloth that looks like a skirt and is edged with otter fur or colored cloth. Everyone brings along his best saddles and bridles, often mounted with silver. You see many showy weapons, guns with silver-mounted stocks and swords in choice sheaths. The women also wear beautiful knives in their belts.

/69/ Social Life

551 The Mewu-Fantzu are said to have surnames (hsing), a custom
553 which they have taken over from the Chinese, probably only a short time ago for it was not customary among the Fantzu, and the surname is not used in conversation. (1) According to an ancient

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 42, the Amdo-Tibetans have only given names; Rockhill 1), page 724, says the same.

custom, a child is given a name by a lama when it is one or two months old. This name-giving is not connected with a special festival. An adult is usually given a nickname by his friends, which refers to a special characteristic or event, for example, "imperfection," "deformed." I have no information about a change of name as a result of marriage. People with the same surname may marry, likewise relatives, all except brothers and sisters. Thus cousins may marry or a nephew may marry his aunt on either side of the family, or a son may marry the divorced wife of his father. Couples from the same neighborhood or from outlying areas are free to marry, but not those of special tent encampments or special families.

Examples of Evil Gods:

776 Hsing-shang-na-wa ts'un	Li-zé-sié	God of Strange Vines in the Corners of a Farm.
Ah-t'i-hua	Kabre-po-sié	God of Bushes under the Rock.
Hua-peng and La-heh chai's	La-ge-po-sié	God of Strange Forests in the Corners of the Land.
Li-mu-chi and Chi-erh-wa chai's	Yǐ-ta-sié	God of a Strange Stone Resembling a Chicken Pecking Food.
Ma-peng-chai	Ba-ta-sié	Strange God above the Dam.
Mu-erh-ta	Dse-tche-ba-sié	God of Thorny Dam.
Chai-liu-chai	Hngi-gee-po-sié	God of Old Red Trees.
Mu-kung-chai	Dza-gee-kua-sié	Strange God of Broken House Foundation.
Chiu-tza-chai	Man-dio-sié	God of Cliff.
Li-fan (Pao-hsien)	Tsai-zé-tcha-tǐ sié	God of Drinking Wine and Eating Meat.
T'ung-hua	Tso-ge-po sié	God of Gleditschia Sinensis.
K'ung-ti-p'ing	Tcha-se ra-kǔ-cha sié	God of Stone Bridge and Rugged Cliff.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Sagta-lagbo sié	God of the Slope at the End of the Outpost.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai /16/	Tsa-tshi-po sié	God of Thorns.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Ko-bo-tsi-bo sié	God of Stone Piles and Forests.
Chu-erh-shan-chai	Dsü-be-dá sié	God under a Mud Pit.

776 796 Every year, from the middle of the first month to the end of the second month, the Ch'iang tribesmen asked the tuan-kung to exorcise the evil gods on the four days of the boar, dog, dragon, and horse. Mixing the flour of buckwheat or oats with the water used for washing the faces of the whole family, they make a plateful of images of ghosts and devils. Then mixing wheat flour with clean water, they make another plateful of sacrificial offerings to good gods. Wearing a monkey-skin hat, striking a spade, burning pine branches, and chanting the liturgies, the tuan-kung calls on good and bad spirits as he performs his exorcism. (Based upon the oral statements of Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai.)

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777 rainbow you must not indicate where it is with a gesture, but merely say "there is a fine rainbow in the east", or the in the south, as the case may be.

771 In spite, or perhaps, because of, the complexity of their religious system and the number of overlapping deities whom they worship, the Min Chia cannot be called a really religious people. In their culture religion plays a secondary part. Lacking any unified and defined system of beliefs their religion has never been the dominating and co-ordinating force which Islam has been to the Moslems, or as Christianity was to the Christian nations of the west. Very rarely, except in a ceremony, will one hear the names of the gods on the lips of a Min Chia. Religion has never given common expletives to the language, and is seldom a subject for conversation. It is characteristic of their attitude that difference in religion is not felt to be so significant as difference in descent. To the Min Chia a Moslem is not primarily a fellow-countryman with a peculiar religion, he is a member of another race. A man asked to distinguish between two muleteers, one of which was a Moslem and the other a Yunnanese, said, "this one is the Chinese, that is the Hui Tze". "*Han jen*," the word used for Chinese, means Chinese by race and speech, "*Hui Tze*" a Yunnanese slang term for a Moslem, is derived from the name Hui Hui, an old Chinese name for the Uigur tribe of Tartars, who were among the first Moslems to be known to the Chinese. Yet these Moslems, although of alien origin, have been settled in Yunnan for six centuries and are entirely Chinese in appearance, dress, and speech.

771 The same attitude exists towards the Christians. Even
797 well educated Min Chia and Yunnanese are unable to understand or believe that the Christian missionaries have come to the country merely to convert people to a new religion. Such an aim seems to them meaningless. The idea

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of an exclusive creed, the one true way distinct from all 771
others which are false, is so unfamiliar to their mental 797
habits as to be barely comprehensible. They are therefore convinced, against all denial, that the Protestant missionaries are the paid agents of the British Government, and that the Catholic missionaries play the same rôle on behalf of the French Government. These two powers are the only European nations familiar by name to most of the Yunnanese peasants, since their possessions in Burma and Indo-China march with the Yunnan frontier. The feeling that converts to the Christian faiths are in some way the servants of foreign powers and perhaps not really loyal to their own country accounts for a good part of the ill-will with which they are often regarded.

Both missions find the Min Chia refractory material. Nearly seventy years have elapsed since the Catholic and Protestant missions were established in Ta Li, but their respective converts cannot yet be counted in three figures. This may in part be due to the fact that both missions have hitherto concentrated on the city folk who can be reached by missionaries familiar with Chinese, and only in recent years endeavoured to find Min Chia speaking converts who can preach to the villagers in their native tongue.

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CHAPTER 11

FOREIGN CONTACTS AND CHANGES

177 No picture of Min Chia society would be complete if all reference to alien influence other than Chinese were omitted. In earlier chapters the character and scope of the Chinese influence on society in its various aspects has been discussed, here it is intended to review the nature of Min Chia contacts with European and other foreigners and the changes which such contacts have caused.

Although it is in no sense unexplored, there is perhaps no country, except Tibet, which is as little known to Europeans as Western Yunnan. Until very recently the only means of access was a tedious journey of many days over rough roads infested with robbers. Since the war with Japan, and the realisation of the importance of the route to Burma, a growing number of Europeans have made the journey across Yunnan from K'un Ming to Burma, either on foot or as pioneer motorists. Apart from the resident missionaries these travellers are the only Europeans with whom the Min Chia have even a fleeting first-hand acquaintance. As many travellers either do not speak Chinese, or have only an imperfect understanding of the Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, the influence of the chance and brief contacts they may make with the people can be discounted.

797 The Min Chia, therefore, gets his ideas of the European and his culture from the resident missionary, and it is therefore important to describe the character and extent of missionary work in the Min Chia districts. There are Protestant missionaries at five centres in the Min Chia country, Ta Li, Erh Yuan, Shih Ku, Lan P'ing and Chien Ch'uan, places which are on the average fifty miles apart.

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The Catholics have a mission station at Ta Li with an outpost in one of the villages on the lake shore, and they also have a station at Niu Kai, two days' journey to the north of Ta Li, in Erh Yuan *hsien*. The total number of European missionaries of both religions in the Min Chia area is thus about twenty at the outside, including the wives of the Protestant missionaries, who are, of course, all missionaries themselves. Apart from these there are Protestant missions at Li Chiang and Hsiang Yun, just beyond the Min Chia country, but as these missionaries work among other peoples, their direct influence on the Min Chia is slight. 797

Quite recently one Protestant missionary and one of the Catholic Fathers have begun to study the Min Chia language, but until the most recent past no missionary of either religion spoke Min Chia, since in the cities where they are established most of the population is bilingual and can understand Chinese. In the country districts, where Chinese is imperfectly understood, or not at all, missionaries are accompanied by Min Chia convert evangelists who preach to the congregation in their native language. On the other hand the missionaries of the China Inland Mission (Protestant) who are established in Ta Li and Erh Yuan, are proficient and fluent Chinese scholars, speaking the dialect of Mandarin used in Yunnan, and easily understood in that language.

The Protestant missionary societies have a zoning agreement by which the territory of the missions is defined, and it is considered a breach of this agreement for one mission to intrude upon the field of another. It seems perhaps unfortunate that at the time this agreement was made, either by inadvertence or for other reasons, the Min Chia districts were divided between two societies, doctrinally distinct. The China Inland Mission, a federation which includes

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797 Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, but has a strong Evangelical outlook, is the largest missionary society in China, and was the first Protestant body to enter the Yunnan field. The station at Ta Li, one of the first to be opened in the province, dates from the early eighties, and it was only much later that the other societies entered Yunnan, and were given the northern districts as their field. These districts include a large part of the Min Chia territory, and thus the stations at Shih Ku, Chien Ch'uan and Lan P'ing are assigned to the Pentecostal Mission, whose doctrines are in important respects unlike those taught by the China Inland Mission.

The agreement in any case does not apply to the Catholics, who conduct missions where they think fit without regard to whether the Protestants have already entered the region or not. The Seventh Day Adventists, who have large missions in China, also disregard the agreement, but they have no permanent mission station in Min Chia districts.

The Catholic Fathers, of the Société des Missions Etrangères, are French and Spanish, while the Protestant missionaries are Americans, English, Australians and Canadians.

This fact, the division of nationality between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, has led the Min Chia into a very common and not unnatural error. It is the firm belief of all people in Ta Li, even the educated, that Catholicism is an entirely *different religion* from Protestantism, and that whereas the former is the religion of the French, the latter is the religion of the English and Americans. The fact is that the Chinese word for Christianity, "Chi Tu Chiao," is hardly ever used and is barely known to most Min Chia, who, in common with the Yunnanese of other races, always talk about "Ye Su

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Chiao," "The Doctrine of Jesus," which means Protestantism, and "Tien Chu Chiao," the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, which is Catholicism. Very few Min Chia know that these two are variant forms of the general Christian religion. 797

The Min Chia are also under another mistaken impression, perhaps more hampering to missionary work than the first, namely that all Catholic missionaries are the paid agents of the French government, and that all Protestant missionaries are equally the servants of the English government. The fact that many Protestant missionaries are Americans does not shake this universal belief. This idea is not as foolish as it sounds, for the special position of Europeans in China, the system of Extraterritoriality by which no European subject or citizen of the Treaty Powers is subject to Chinese jurisdiction, not unnaturally seems to suggest that these people are the agents of the governments which take such an interest in them. To the rural Chinese or Min Chia it is inconceivable that a government should protect and privilege anyone who was not an official. It is too, equally strange to them that people should give up their lives to change the religion of distant strangers. They find it very hard to understand the motives for this conduct, and the easiest explanation is that the missionary is paid to do it.

The missionaries of both religions lead, in fact, very simple and austere lives, but it would be impossible for them to abandon all the standards of European comfort and hygiene to which they are accustomed, and in consequence, simply by taking some trouble to be reasonably comfortable and healthy, they have to live in a way which seems to most Min Chia very luxurious. Few of the wealthiest Min Chia have glass windows, or oil lamps of any power, or an easy chair, or fly-screened windows. The mission station 797 177

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797 equipped with these simple necessities, seems therefore a
171 wealthy and even prodigal establishment. Many missionary ladies do much of the housework themselves, but they usually have one servant to help in the cooking. Very few Min Chia, if any, have any servant except a more or less imbecile slave girl, and this standard of modest comfort thus seems extravagant to them. In this way, and quite unconsciously, the missions are setting a new standard of comfort and living conditions, which is having a slight but increasing influence on the habits of the wealthier Min Chia class, who are often better supplied with money than the missionaries themselves. This indirect influence on living conditions, of course, only affects the cities where mission stations are established, and only a small class of the richest residents in these cities. Nevertheless, as living exponents of the western manner of life and its modern comforts of which the educated class reads in current Chinese literature, the influence of the missionaries is considerable, if involuntary.

797 The direct influence of Christian teaching is less easy to assess, for the approach of the Catholic and Protestant is quite different. It is true that neither body expects rapid and flamboyant success ; both confess that the Min Chia are an unresponsive people, rooted in their own way of life and traditional, if vague, beliefs. The Catholic hopes to effect Christianisation by a slow and continued process of instruction, and sets less store on individual conversions. The Protestant, founding his practice on the Doctrine of the Elect, only expects a few conversions but expects that these, unrecognised members of the Elect, will at once respond to the Word of God when they are given the opportunity of hearing it. Consequently the Catholic missionaries are concerned with the continuous and close instruction of the group of people among whom they live,

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and particularly of the children, for whom they provide a large and well-attended school. As one of the Fathers said, " We think it takes three generations to make a Christian". 797

These methods are recognised to be slow, for Baptism is only accorded after a very long and thorough instruction, and in consequence the number of Catholics is much smaller than the number of those who attend Church, or Catholic School. There are, perhaps, one hundred baptised Catholics resident in Ta Li and the adjacent villages, but there are also a large number of Catholic children at the school, whose parents live in other places, and send the children to board at the Mission School. This school, which comprises an elementary and Middle School division, follows the curriculum of the National Schools in all respects except the addition of Catholic doctrine. Many of the teachers are laymen and some are not even Catholics. The object of the Catholic missions is to convert the people to Christianity with the least possible change in their culture and way of life, and this outlook is in many ways opposed to that of their Protestant competitors. 797 871

The Protestant missionaries spend a great part of their time preaching in the villages and countryside, endeavouring to bring some knowledge of the Gospel to everyone, in the hope that some will be interested and come for further instruction. They no longer concentrate on the people of Ta Li city or the immediate environs, for these are held to have had every opportunity of hearing and believing the Christian doctrine for many years past. If they have not responded, it is because they have not got it in them to respond, and it would be time wasted to preach to them. Since they are mainly concerned to spread the Gospel the Protestant missionaries do not keep a school. Since, also, they believe that not all humanity can be saved, and that the world as we know it must perish in the catastrophe of 797

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797 Armageddon, they are not concerned with building a Christian community or nation, for they deny that any community is truly Christian. Thus the long-term methods of the Catholics make no appeal to them, for their approach is to the individual soul. On the other hand they require their converts to abstain from tobacco smoking, and alcohol, and discourage them from attending stage plays and similar entertainments. They thus require a Christian to change his manner of life entirely, and give up many of the characteristic customs of his native culture.

Like the Catholics, the Protestants also do not easily accord baptism, and as the convert has to shoulder some financial responsibility for the maintenance of the Church, and suffers some social disabilities for his new belief, there is little temptation to join the Church for unworthy motives. No doubt for this reason the number of professing Protestants does not exceed seventy in Ta Li and the adjacent country, and many of these are old women. It is, of course, possible that when the missionaries of both religions are proficient Min Chia speakers they will make more converts among the outlying villages where Chinese is only partly understood. The fact that the language is not written, and thus cannot be used for instruction in the schools or for translations of the Scriptures, has discouraged the missionaries from learning it.

797 771 Ignoring, for the moment, theological explanations, it is of some interest for the ethnologist to consider why it is that the missions have produced so small an effect on the Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese, peoples who at first sight, from their attitude to their own religions, would seem to be ripe for conversion. The Min Chia, although traditionally attached to Ancestor Worship and the festivals of the gods, are very little interested in theology and abstract ideas. They are not disturbed by conflicting beliefs

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and do not seem to have that craving for certainty and 797
authority in religion which marks the peoples of the West. 771
Like the Chinese, who by their proverb "Three Ways to one Goal", deny the exclusive validity of any one creed, the Min Chia are quite prepared to add another god to the pantheon, but not willing to recognise any one god as supreme and unique.

The Chinese attitude to religion has always stressed the ethical rather than the theological side, it is always more important to them that men should act rightly rather than believe the Truth. Consequently their approach to the teaching of Christianity is not by faith but by ethical judgment. The Catholics would have people believe in the dogmas and doctrines of the Church, but to the Min Chia and Chinese this is less important than the code of behaviour which these doctrines authorise. Here they find little that is new to them. Christians are monogamous, but so, for economic reasons, are the vast majority of the Yunnanese of all races. The existing code of morality is high and strict, and they do not find in Christian ethical teaching any call to a radical change in morality which would necessitate the abandonment of Ancestor Worship.

The Protestants require them to give up smoking, wine 797
drinking and seeing theatricals. These injunctions do not 183
make a wide appeal to ordinary men. Opium smoking is indeed generally condemned by the Chinese moralists themselves, and the government is endeavouring to suppress it, but tobacco seems to most Chinese, as to many Europeans, a harmless indulgence. Nor is drunkenness a social evil among the Min Chia or Chinese. Wine is never drunk except at a party, and then very rarely to excess. The Chinese stage is probably the least licentious, not to say the most moral, of any in the world, and most plays are definitely based on an ethical idea such as loyalty, conjugal

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797 fidelity, or patriotism. The Min Chia therefore does not
183 easily recognise these activities as immoral or inconsistent with the good life, and is apt to regard these prohibitions as rather mysterious taboos similar to the Moslem avoidance of pork. Unaware of the European social background which has led many Christians to condemn the stage and the public house, the Min Chia does not see any connection between these things and ethics.

If, then, the Catholic appeal to some extent fails because people are not called upon to give up enough, or rather to make what would seem to them intelligible changes in their way of life, the Protestant message seems to the Min Chia to demand strange and, as it were, irrelevant sacrifices. Neither mission has yet found a simple and compelling appeal in tune with the real needs and aspirations of Min Chia society. Yet these needs and aspirations exist, and among the educated younger generation there is a profound dissatisfaction with many things in the present order of society. A growing number of young people resent and resist the compulsory marriage of a couple wholly unknown to each other personally, and very few men of under middle age can now be found to defend the institution of concubinage. Young men are becoming aware of the poverty about them, and of the lack of modern conveniences which elsewhere are accepted as a matter of course. The consciousness of a defective economy and of social injustices naturally leads to disbelief in the values underlying all existing institutions, in fact to revolutionary sentiment.

178 It must be remembered that in its attitude to revolution-
797 ary opinions the Chinese Government is in a peculiar position. It claims to be itself a revolutionary government, the destroyer of the Manchu Empire and of the military juntas which succeeded the fallen Emperors. It has itself condemned in outspoken decrees many of the institutions

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and customs of the past. At the same time the government is anxious to regard the revolution as definitely over, at least in matters of internal policy. It plans and hopes to execute reforms and a vast reconstruction of the economic life of the country, but it is silent upon questions of social change, and was, until the outbreak of the war with Japan, definitely fighting Communism, which in China meant in practice land reform without compensation to the landlords. Yet everyone really knows, and many privately admit, that land reform is essential if any change or economic progress is to be made, and everyone knows that even before the Japanese invasions impoverished the country, there was no possibility of landlords being compensated at anything approaching the market value of their land.

For the time being this unresolved problem can be shelved until the Japanese are driven out, and when that happens it will most likely be found that in the areas of guerilla warfare the problem has solved itself by the disappearance of the wealthy class and the actual occupation of the land by the guerilla peasants. In western Yunnan, which is never likely to be invaded, the problem will have to be solved by other means. Some realisation of this, a growing knowledge that they live in a world which must soon see vast changes, is permeating the literate Min Chia and spreading as a vague unrest through all classes of society. People begin to ask what will happen when the soldiers, or some of them, who have gone to the war, come back. More Yunnanese than at any previous time in history have now been taken out of the province and inured through war to scenes of violence and destruction.

Among those who become converted to Christianity there are many who feel this sense of impending changes and the need for them. Men who are of independent mind and observe what goes on, seek for some organisation which

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797 178 will direct the inevitable changes into beneficial reforms, and some find it in the Christian churches. Others, inspired by very similar feelings, but of a less religious turn of mind, go to the teaching of Communism or the more left wing interpretation of the doctrines of Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Nationalist Party of China. Neither missionary nor party organiser is willing to recognise the essential identity of the psychological motive which impels convert and recruit, but to the observer outside these organisations it is often apparent.

797 Among some of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan the missionaries have had much success. The Li Su, and in some places the Miao, have been converted in large numbers, but so far no similar movement has touched the Min Chia. As a general rule it may be observed that the peoples least touched by Chinese culture are more easily converted to Christianity, and those who have more thoroughly adopted Chinese ways are the least susceptible to missionary enterprise. Thus, the Li Su are a primitive mountain folk who had never adopted Buddhism or the Chinese form of Ancestor Worship. It is, however, an open question how far these mass movements towards Christianity are really religious rather than vaguely political. It must be remembered that the more primitive peoples still retain a considerable hostility to the Chinese government and settlers, and that the missionary is, mistakenly, but universally, looked upon as the representative of a foreign power. The idea that by becoming Christians they would cease to be under Chinese control has undoubtedly existed among the primitive tribes and contributed in some degree to the rapid conversion of many of the Li Su.

The Min Chia are untouched by this consideration because they do not feel themselves to be an oppressed people and have no desire to distinguish themselves from the Chinese

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among whom they live. Their aspirations are all towards 797
acquiring the advantages open to an educated Chinese, and which are not denied to a Min Chia who has the same standard of education. Consequently no political advantage is thought to accrue from becoming a Christian, and some social disabilities undoubtedly do exist. Missionaries fre- 797
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undergo, and the expression is strictly correct if it is understood as a covert enmity and family disapproval. There is no organised or systematic persecution by the authorities, who, indeed, are bound in law to toleration. Nor is there a ferocious anti-Christian sentiment among the people such as makes any conversion of a Moslem to Christianity almost a sentence of death in many parts of the world.

Persecution in Yunnan means cold looks and unfriendly remarks ; family pressure upon the convert ; perhaps the loss of a position with a house of business or a school. It is in no sense a general hostility felt and expressed by all the community. Nevertheless, there is enough ill-will to prevent many faint-hearted people from professing what they would like to believe, and the embarrassing relationship with an unconverted family restrains others. The Christian convert must withdraw himself from the worship of ancestors, and as has been shown in earlier chapters this means that he must cut himself off from the intimate ceremonies and holidays of the home. The Min Chia home is also the temple of ancestral worship, and each member of the family has a part to play in the rites. It would be easy for the convert to cease to frequent Buddhist shrines or the temples of other gods, but he cannot avoid the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship which take place every day in his own home.

A junior member of the family may find this atmosphere

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797 so difficult that he will prefer to emigrate to some other
798 place where he will not be under family pressure, but when the head of the family is converted it often leads to a real breach, since other members refuse to permit the worship of the ancestors to cease, and the only solution is to divide the home. Perhaps for this reason conversions are usually confined to members of less importance, students far from home, old women whose rôle in the family is of minor importance, or young girls who will in any case soon marry into another family. Much pressure is exerted on young women who become converts as it is felt that their attitude may be displeasing to the family into which they are betrothed, while they themselves are often unwilling to marry non-Christians. These family difficulties account for a large part of such hostility as is generally felt to Christianity, for older people often fear that such complications will disturb the arrangements they have made.

797 The influence of missionaries resident in the country is thus perhaps more indirect than direct. The Christian community is small, and in spite of the fact that several of the highest Chinese National leaders are Christians, there is in Yunnan no general movement towards the western religion.[1] As members of those western nations who are most strongly influencing the Chinese culture, the missionaries by their way of life as much or more than by their teachings are exerting an increasing influence on the standard of living adopted by the wealthier class. This influence is the more important as they are the only foreigners of any race who come in contact with the Min Chia people. Those members of the non-Chinese races

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who visit the Min Chia country, Tibetan horse and tea dealers, Li Su and Miao villagers, are all primitive people whose culture is inferior to that of the Min Chia themselves.

Although Burma is not far away as the crow flies, about two hundred and fifty miles at most, there is only the slightest contact between the two countries. Many Min Chia it is true do go to Burma to work in the winter season, but they congregate in the jade mines of the north where they see hardly any Burmese, and associate only with their fellow Yunnanese workers. The Burmese do not travel. All trade between the two countries is in the hands of Yunnanese, largely Moslem muleteers and merchants. The Indian merchants and traders who are so conspicuous in Burma itself never cross the frontier into Yunnan, and none are ever seen as far east as Ta Li. To most Yunnanese and Min Chia, Burma is "Ying Kuo," that is to say "England," and the belief is general among the less educated that it is the home of the English themselves, who they regard as a kind of ruling caste of Burmese.

Burma thus plays little part in the Min Chia conception of the outside world, and the influence of western culture is spread more through Chinese adaptations of our institutions and inventions than by direct contact with the neighbouring countries under English and French rule. The Chinese newspapers and periodicals filtering through weeks late into the towns of western Yunnan bring news of strange and far-off places with queer names ; Ch'e K'e (Czechoslovakia) and P'o Lan (Poland) ; the activities of a certain Hsi Te La (Hitler), and their bearing on the war with Japan. On a high pass between the Yang Tze and the Mekong, a Min Chia merchant on his way up into Tibet explained to me that England could not help China against Japan because if we brought our fleet to the eastern

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narrow valley, the eye meets wonderful mountain ranges and deep, narrow canyons, all densely forested. Indeed a wild and glorious country.

Nying-ser La (Pass). — From the Ser-wa lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo of the Li-su) the trail ascends gradually, at first zigzag and then steeply, through Abies and Picea forest, with undergrowth composed of several species of rhododendron. To the south the Nam-la-shu-ga Peak [43] glistened in the morning sun; a pale pink sky illuminated the lovely icy scenery, while the deep valley of the Ser-wa lung-pa lay hidden in purplish-black shadows; only the projecting ridges were aglow from the faint, misty rays, reflected from the snow peaks. Higher and higher we ascend, stately Abies trees, 80–90 feet in height, towering all around us, their somber branches festooned with the long, yellow streamers of *Usnea longissima* and their feet embedded in soft, rich, green moss. As the sun appeared above the great divide and a flood of light permeated all, the frost and icicles glistened like diamonds in the morning sun and the entire forest likened a transparent, flawless emerald.

We reached the pass called Nying-ser La [43] (Yellow bamboo pass) at an elevation of 12,400 feet, and a wonderful panorama lay before us (PLATE 186). A tangled mass of rhododendrons, mixed with the ericaceous *Cassiope dendrotricha* with quadrangularly arranged foliage, covered the ground. Looking east there towered the great Salween—Mekong divide with its conical peak Dra-chhen; and to the west lay the huge Salween valley with its central barrier range called A-lo-la-kha. This range is much lower and the Doyon Stream flows east of it parallel to the Salween, into which it debouches farther south, united with the Ser-wa lung-pa. Buttresses covered with deciduous forest now in the most glorious autumn tints, drop abruptly into the deep valley below. From the Mekong divide a triangular spur extends steeply into the Salween valley, while to the south of it, a deep valley opens from the west, up which a trail leads to the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang 秋江), the Trun [44] of the Lu-tzu and Ch'iu-tzu. From the Nying-ser La (Pass) we descend through somber Abies and Picea forest with rhododendron bushes, and over an open fell which further on gave place to deciduous forests of Sorbus, Prunus, Pyrus, Populus, Litsea, Aralia, and rhododendron.

Bahang village of the Lu-tzu tribe. — Bahang (Pai-han-lo 白汗洛), situated on a grassy bluff composed of granite-gneiss is reached after a zigzag descent through pine forest mixed with willows and poplars. The largest part of this bluff is occupied by the Catholic mission, with the Lu-tzu huts arranged around the slopes (PLATE 187). Bahang consists of 18 huts, besides the mission, and Père Georges André, the most friendly host, is the spiritual adviser of the Lu-tzu. The mission had been burnt twice in 34 years by the lamas of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, the last time in 1905. For four or

[43] This is the Nange La of HANDEL-MAZZETTI. The real Nange La Pass and Peak is however south-west of the Nam-la-shu-ga. The latter is a Lu-tzu name.

[44] This is the Nisirengo of HANDEL-MAZZETTI, *see*: note 36, page 330.

[44] The Ch'iu-tzu name is Trun, and not Taron as given on the maps and in books.

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Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

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NUMERALS

802 The Min Chia numerals are corrupt, Chinese forms being mixed with the Min Chia. From One to Thirty, Min Chia words are used, but from Thirty to Thirty-nine and from Fifty to a Hundred, corrupt Chinese forms are used, with the exceptions of Forty to Forty-nine, and the numbers Fifty, Sixty, Seventy, Eighty and Ninety. Over One Hundred, corrupt Chinese is used except for the numbers One Thousand and Ten Thousand.

One	= Yi	Eleven	= Dser Yi
Two	= Go	Twelve	= Dser lai
Three	= Sa	Thirteen	= Dser sa
Four	= Shi	Fourteen	= Dser shi
Five	= Ngur	Fifteen	= Dser ngur
Six	= Fer	Sixteen	= Dser fer
Seven	= Chi	Seventeen	= Dser Chi
Eight	= Bia	Eighteen	= Dser bia
Nine	= Jiu	Nineteen	= Dser jiu
Ten	= Dser	Twenty	= Lai
Twenty-one	= Lai yi	Thirty-one	= Sa yi
Twenty-two	= Lai lai	Thirty-two	= Sa er
Twenty-three	= Lai sa	Thirty-three	= Sa sa
Twenty-four	= Lai shi	Thirty-four	= Sa ssu
Twenty-five	= Lai Ngur	Thirty-five	= Sa wu
Twenty-six	= Lai fer	Thirty-six	= Sa lu
Twenty-seven	= Lai chi	Thirty-seven	= Sa chi
Twenty-eight	= Lai bia	Thirty-eight	= Sa ba
Twenty-nine	= Lai jiu	Thirty-nine	= Sa jiu
Thirty	= Sa dser		

40 = Shi	50 = Ngur dser
41 = Shi yi	51 = Wu yi
42 = Shi lai	52 = Wu er
43 = Shi sa	53 = Wu sa
44 = Shi shi	54 = Wu ssu
45 = Shi ngur	55 = Wu wu
46 = Shi fer	56 = Wu lu
47 = Shi chi	57 = Wu chi
48 = Shi bia	58 = Wu ba
49 = Shi jiu	59 = Wu jiu

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60 = Fer dser
61 = Lu yi
62 = Lu er
63 = Lu sa
64 = Lu ssu
65 = Lu wu
66 = Lu lu
67 = Lu chi
68 = Lu ba
69 = Lu jiu

70 = Tser dser or Chi ser 802
71 Chi yi
72 = Chi er
73 = Chi sa
74 = Chi ssu
75 = Chi wu
76 = Chi lu
77 = Chi chi
78 = Chi ba
79 = Chi jiu

80 = Bia dser
81 = Ba yi
82 = Ba er
83 = Ba sa
84 = Ba ssu
85 = Ba wu
86 = Ba lu
87 = Ba chi
88 = Ba ba
89 = Ba jiu

90 = Jiu dser
91 = Jiu yi
92 = Jiu er
93 = Jiu sa
94 = Jiu ssu
95 = Jiu wu
96 = Jiu lu
97 = Jiu chi
98 = Jiu ba
99 = Jiu jiu

100 = A Ber
1,000 = A Chi
10,000 = A Ngur

[p. 238 is blank]

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243 in favour of rice cultivation. The yield of rice, very much higher per acre than that of wheat or maize, the alternative cereal crops, enables a larger population to live in a restricted area. Furthermore, the climate of Ta Li (though not of the northern Min Chia areas) makes it possible to grow wheat and beans on the rice lands in winter, so that two crops a year can be harvested off the same land. A comparatively small holding of rice land, ten Chinese acres (*mu*) or an English acre and a half, is sufficient to support a family of five persons.[1] Consequently there was little incentive to undertake the cultivation of maize or fruit on the mountain sides while population still remained low, or fresh rice land in adjoining valleys was easily available. When these conditions ceased to apply the tradition of rice farming had secured so strong a hold upon the people that they preferred to emigrate to great distances rather than abandon their manner of life.

243 Other considerations have combined to enhance the
311 value of rice land and reinforce the hold which the "rice
423 standard" has obtained on the Min Chia mind. Since the area suitable for rice is limited, and was long ago brought under cultivation, good land has acquired a scarcity value, and this in turn has been enhanced by the universal will to ownership. The poor seek to buy land even at great sacrifice, the rich regard land purchase as the only safe investment. To be landless is regarded as a grave misfortune, and even to have to rent additional land is considered regrettable. It is of course true that in a community without banks or joint stock companies, land is the best investment, indeed the only really safe one. Land will survive most calamities. Fire may destroy merchandise or a hoard of treasure, and insur-

804 [1] The *Mu* or Chinese Acre by which land all over China is measured, is not, however a fixed unit. The *Mu* varies slightly in every district, and even in different villages. In Yunnan the equivalent of ⅙ of an English acre to the *Mu* is approximately correct for the Ta Li district.

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243 beds, an arduous task for which all the labour of the village, men and women, is needed. Once the transplanting is over, the crop, apart from a little weeding, is left to grow until it matures in October. The harvest at Ta Li is usually ripe by the beginning of November, when the fields are drained, and the crop gathered. One kind of rice, which has become popular in recent years owing to its higher yield, is called "Tiao Ku," "Dropping rice" because the grain falls very readily when ripe, and therefore has to be threshed in the fields and cannot be carried back to the farm house. Large baskets are taken out to the fields and the grain is beaten out into them as the sheaves are reaped. The usual method with other kinds of rice is to bring the sheaves back to the village where they are threshed on a prepared floor with the flail. The rice is then taken to the mill to be husked, or stored [376] until required. Husking is always done at a water mill on the Ta Li plain, as the abundant water power makes the use of the treadmill found in other parts of Yunnan unnecessary.

804 In the vicinity of Ta Li it is calculated that in a normal year one *mu* yields from ten to twelve Chinese pecks or *tou* of rice. The *tou*, like other weights and measures in Yunnan varies from one [illegible] to the next, for though it is always made up of ten [illegible] measures, these in turn contain a varying number of rice bowls, which being the only constant measure are the best standard for comparison. The following table sets out the measures as used in the Ta Li district and their equivalents in English measures.

Measures and weights compared

12 bowls	= 1 *sheng*	= 9 lb avoirdupois	
120 bowls	= 1 *tou*	= 90 lb	,,

243 One sixth of an English acre (one *mu*) produces on average ten *tou* or 900 lbs of rice. If it be calculated that each member of a family consumes daily eight bowls of rice (four at

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be much dryer and less wooded than the western face, 491
where the monsoon rains strike. The path, which is difficult enough for the animals on the climb, becomes much worse on the descent. Only a Yunnan-bred mule or pony would face a descent of broken stone steps, steep, set at all angles, often slippery with wet mud from some oozing stream, and the animal fully laden with loads weighing up to two hundred pounds. Yet they very rarely fall, picking their way from stone to stone, jumping a mud hole, or wading gingerly through the discoloured waters of a stream. This descent may take from two to three hours, about seven or eight miles, and leads to the last section of the stage, the final two or three miles across the cultivated valley to the small town or village which is the stage point.

Sometimes, even on the main routes, as for instance on 491
the road to Bhamo four days west of Hsia Kuan, there is 485
a long stretch of uninhabited mountain country with no cultivated valleys or villages. Here, after toiling all day up and down wooded ranges the caravans must rest for the night at some tiny collection of huts on the mountain side. Even on the most frequented roads it is rare to see any habitations after the valley is left behind, except perhaps at the midday halting place where there are a few teahouses and food stalls. Distances are long, roads execrable, the country deserted (and formerly full of robbers), the inns, when the day is done, dirty and dilapidated. The scenery and the climate are superb, but the inhabitants, accustomed to them from childhood, see no pleasure in travelling.

Distances in China are measured by the *li*, which is 804
approximately one-third of the English mile. As is often the 491
case with peasants in mountain lands, the measure is a variable unit depending on the nature of the road. Thus, in flat country, a *li* is really about one-third of a mile. Ta Li

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804 to Hsia Kuan is always said to be thirty *li*, along the plain,
491 and is ten miles in fact. When a muleteer says that the day's stage is seventy *li*, which includes crossing a range, the real distance is not twenty-three miles or so, but more nearly nineteen or twenty. This is the average length of a stage, but often it is called eighty *li*, which means a full twenty miles or more, and the longest stage on the K'un Ming-Bhamo road, from Sha Ch'iao to P'u P'eng, midway between Ta Li and K'un Ming, is said to be one hundred *li*, and is in fact a full thirty miles. Muleteers always know the length of the stage, but they usually have no idea of the distance between intermediate points. If, after travelling for about half the day, one asks a muleteer how far it is to the stage point, he may reply forty *li*, or ten *li*, or fifteen, apparently unable to calculate broken distances.

491 Stage points are either small cities or villages, which in
485 wild country may be only a few houses. The administrative walled cities, *hsien*, are often not situated on the main roads, or do not form stage points if they are, but only midday halts. This may be because the muleteers prefer to avoid the seats of authority. The administrative cities are generally up to three days' journey apart, and the intermediate stage points are villages, some of which are only collections of inns living entirely on the transit trade. Inns are of two kinds, "horse inns" and "guest inns". The "horse inn" is what in western Asia is called a caravanserai, a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by stables, and a big room on the fourth side for the muleteers, with a loft for hay and fodder overhead. These inns are frequented only by the regular transport caravans, and can stable about a hundred horses a night. Guest inns are also built round courtyards, and often have two, the one at the back surrounded by stables for the riding and baggage horses of

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i. e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but 439 they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. 796 Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two- 796 to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

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1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), pag 796 451.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
79 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
785 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and bŏm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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(3) MAGIC AND MYTH

Chinese folklore the shape shifter is always a fox, not a tiger, and it is a fox who can assume human shape, not a human who assumes the shape of a fox. This Min Chia story, however, was positive that the shapeshifter became a tiger, and everyone denied ever hearing of a case of shape-shifting before. 774

Other stories connected with the lake might perhaps be explained if it could be proved that in certain lights mirage effects were possible, but I never observed any such effects nor heard of others who had done so. It is said that "several" years ago a phantom ship was observed from the western shore, apparently leaving Wa Shih, across the lake, about four miles distant. This ship was much larger than any seen on the lake, and—a modern touch—had a deck house with glass windows. No such ship exists on the Erh Hai lake. Halfway across it suddenly vanished. Another phantom apparition on the lake was seen eight years ago (1931). A large and well-attended market was seen from the western shore, apparently taking place on the still waters of the lake, far out from the shore. Hundreds of people going and coming could be seen, with horses and mules. After being clearly visible for some minutes it suddenly vanished. This did not happen on a day when market was being held in Ta Li. As there are several market villages scattered round the shore of the lake the possibility of a vivid mirage cannot be ruled out. The Min Chia know nothing of mirages and considered these phantoms to be supernatural manifestations of unknown import. 774 822

Other happenings confirm the fact that the myth making faculty still functions actively among the Min Chia peasantry. A short while after the war with Japan had begun a miracle was reported from a temple near Hsia Kuan, at the lower end of the lake. This temple, on the mountain slope above Hsia Kuan, is dedicated to the Chinese general Li Ming who with 774

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

778 The use of a sacred White Stone is a leading feature of Chiang worship. It is set up both in the groves and on the roofs of their houses. In the grove it stands above the altar of sacrifice; on the roof it is placed ever the middle of the battlement above the back wall. The Deity is not supposed to reside therein and it is not, therefore, worshipped. The Stone is sacred, in the first place, because of its whiteness. Whiteness betokens goodness in contrast to blackness, which betokens evil. Its colour thus symbolises the holiness of God who hates evil and loves good. It is sacred, secondly, because it reminds men that he is the natural Rock or Mount of their strength. That God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, and that he is the Rock Source of all good and blessing, constitute the twin fundamental tenets of their belief.

778 The Stone requires to be conical or mount-like in shape and set up as found in its natural or unchissled state. Occasionally small white stones are placed around its base but these have no religious meaning. The significance of the Stone itself is the continual intimation it makes that God may only be approached by the way of holiness, and is only found when men respond to this demand of his character. As a monument on the house top it bears an unambiguous witness that those who dwell under it are a people who recognise the God of Heaven as their God, and are willing to serve him according to the immemorial customs of their fathers.

776 It will be seen from this that the religion of the Chiang is not one of stone-worship. To speak of it as such is to talk at random and gives a misleading impression. Some who want to believe that it is, because the affirmation sounds sensational, are the worst offenders. They prate about the White Stone worship but they have nothing to support the assertion except ignorant hear-say, or wilful misrepresentation. The Chiang are not animists. They know whom they worship and they do not worship him ignorantly. This requires to be said because already it has been stated far and wide that the Chiang worship the White Stone. A foreign journal once announced that the tribes people worshipped a white stone. The news was sensational; that was the effect desired. Truth, therefore, went by the board. Now, litholatry is a big word. It has a scientific or learned sound. The mere use of it is supposed to be ample proof that the Chiang are litholatrists, and the proving of this is necessary to be able to say they are animists—another big word. The Israelites had two sacred stones in their Holy of holies. Were they litholatrists? They lifted up their eyes unto the hills from whence came their help. Did they worship the hills? Did they not expressly state at the same time that their help came from Jehovah who made the Heaven and the earth? Let us be as just to the Chiang as we are to the Israelites.

It is useless to say that one was told by the Chinese that the Chiang worshipped the White Stone. The Chiang themselves deny

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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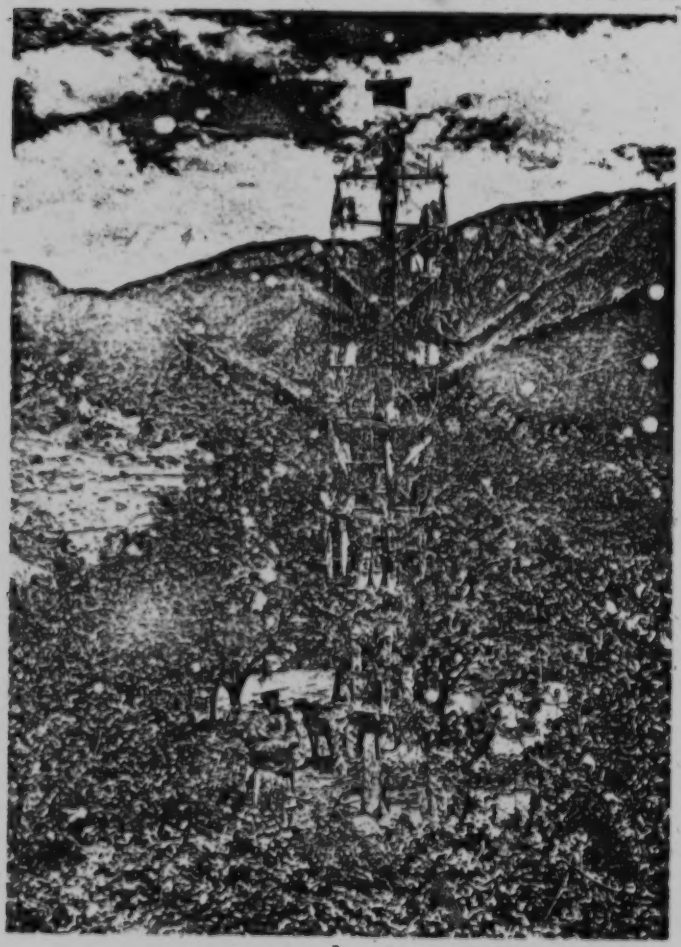

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 223. — A HA-PA CONTRAPTION TO PREVENT HAILSTORMS

本事寺巴教派黑教喜為黑教

This structure is called Nya-ta and is erected once every three or four years by the ancient sect of sorcerers called Ha-pa who have survived in Yung-ning and in Mu-li. The Nya-ta is built of wood and is surrounded with a network of string known as Na-k'wai by the Na-khi Dto-mbas. It is erected in the first moon, first in a valley, and in the second moon is moved to a hillside where it is left until a new one is needed.

[p. 410-0]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

or ch'i means god. Literally it means sky god. This idea is closely related to that of T'ien 天, meaning sky, God of the Sky or Heaven, of the Chou dynasty Chinese, and it must be remembered that the Ch'iang lived close enough to the Chou about 1121 B. C. to unite with them in the conquest of the Shangs.[1] At present many of the Ch'iang identify Mu Bya Sei with Yu Huang Shang Ti 玉皇上帝, the highest god of the Taoists, and also with the Christian God. Mu Bya Sei is the greatest of all gods, is righteous and pure, controls everything everywhere in heaven and on earth, requires righteousness among men, protects men and domestic animals, gives rain and good crops, and helps people secure children and a numerous posterity. 776

The supreme god is worshipped near sacred white quartz stones, called in different localities lu sha, lu ts'a, lo p i etc. Its whiteness symbolizes the purity and righteousness of the god. The white stone is sacred and holy, and near it communion with the god is natural and easy. Not every white quartz stone is sacred. It must be the right shape, somewhat pointed at the top and with a wide base on which it can stand upright. The sacred white stone has superhuman power, and for this reason it is placed on top of graves, and on walls in front of doors to keep demons from entering the house. Generally the sacred white stone is not identified with Mu Bya Sei, but we have met some individuals who have affirmed that the white stone is Mu Bya Sei. The use of sacred white stones is widespread in Si K'ang, eastern Tibet, and among the tribespeople of western Szechwan. 778 776 823

The sacred white stone is used as a place of worship on the top of every house, at the rear and in the center, on the highest point of the back wall. Below it is a small platform and a hole for burning incense. Here Mu Bya Sei is worshipped by the men of the household. Another sacred white stone is found in the temple in or near the sacred grove, and still another on the shrine near the sacred tree or trees in the sacred grove.

A second god is Abba Mula(a· ba· ma la·), mo lo sei (mo· lo· sei) or abba mo lo sei. Near Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, and Mu Shang Chai he is sometimes called Ndjei Tsu or Nyei Su. No priest is without this god, for without it he would be powerless. It is his patron or guardian deity and instructor. This god consists of the skull of a goldenhaired monkey wrapped into a round bundle in sheets of white paper. Inside are also dried pieces of a golden- 776

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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313 nightly markets in Ta Li. The cedars in the rain forest which begins near 13,000 ft. and continues to the crest are cut for building timber to some extent. As they grow on steep and often almost sheer slopes and precipices, much of the timber cannot be cut, or if cut cannot be fetched down. This industry is therefore very limited, and the lengths obtainable small. Large beams for house building and boat building are more easily obtained from the forests on Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain behind the eastern shore of the lake.

824 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which
261 grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

313 In recent years the *hsien* government, which acts as trustee for such public land as the mountain, has done something towards reafforesting the lower slopes with pines. Much of the ancient pine forest has been cleared by woodcutters, but re-planting undertaken within the last twenty years has restored the lower slopes to forest, and strict licensing of wood cutting is now enforced. On the other hand no attempt has been made to exterminate or even reduce the wolves which infest Ts'ang Shan and not only prey upon the small flocks of sheep, but also raid the villages of the plain
312 for pigs and chickens. The main value of Ts'ang Shan, in Min
316 Chia eyes, is as a source of perennial streams for irrigating the rice land, its secondary value as the source of the famous Ta Li marble for which the city is known all over China.

226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

137 Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of
824 flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their
[247] courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea, which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed the people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is e-pecially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

774 account for the destruction of statuary not only in this region but in other places also.

825 774 Lu Da was also the scene of an alleged encounter with wolves, during the spring of 1937. A farmer working on the mountain side found a young wolf cub, and putting it in his sack brought it home as a pet. That night he was awakened by a pounding on the street gate, and when he rose to see who it was, found two wolves, a male and a female, leaping up at the gate. He realised that they had come to seek their cub, and fearing that they would jump the wall, he climbed to the top of the gate and spoke to them, saying, "Wolves, I know why you have come here, and I confess that I did wrong to steal your child. Now, if you will go off a little way so that I may safely open the gate, I will let your cub go, and you may depart in peace." When the wolves heard this, they drew off some way down the street, but remained in sight, watching. The farmer then let out the wolf cub through a crack of the gate, and the reunited wolf family at once made off to the mountain. This story was generally believed as true in all particulars, and created a great deal of interest in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps because they are not a hunting people animals play rather a small part in Min Chia superstition. It has already been remarked that they do not share the Chinese belief in were-foxes, although they agree with the Chinese in considering it to be unlucky to kill wild geese. Swallows, as with most peoples, are also protected by a similar belief. [147] The Min Chia say that anyone who kills a swallow will go bald. This is curious, as the Min Chia hardly ever suffer from this disfigurement, and in fact have no word for baldness in 777 the language. They have like other peoples a number of superstitions not connected with any definite system of beliefs. For example it is considered unlucky to point at a rainbow. If one wishes to draw the attention of others to a

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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101
meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563
names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [291]
Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563
disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554
plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829
are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

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563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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691 vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

671 In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil juris-
626 prudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of govern-
829 ment still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The
642 duties of the government in former times were three; to
626 collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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to the village elders and the arbitrators they agree to appoint. The government is not informed, nor does it wish to know what is decided. 829 642 626

This indifference to and independence of the government is carried over to matters of criminal nature, where the law might be expected to take an automatic course. In practice the people rarely invoke the law except in cases of armed robbery. A bandit is not a person towards whom one needs to use any consideration; if he has a family they will probably have disowned him to avoid being held as accomplices in his crimes. Therefore with a bandit one can safely call in the forces of law and order, since no unpleasant social relations with other members of his family are likely to result from such action. But with other kinds of criminals this factor is always present. The villagers themselves prefer to deal with a thief in their own way, sometimes a very drastic way, for if a man is found to be an incorrigible petty thief, the village assembles, sometimes asks and obtains the consent of the man's family, and either drives him out or even puts him to death by drowning. Consequently between the penalties enacted for various crimes and what actually happens to a detected criminal who has committed such a crime, there is often a wide difference. This is nowhere more evident than in crimes of a sexual nature. 626

Unlike their neighbours to the north, the Na Khi, who still retain a tolerance of pre-nuptial intercourse shocking to the Chinese, the Min Chia have wholly adopted the strict and uncompromising morality of the dominant culture. As has been mentioned, the seduction of a virgin, or even of an unmarried girl previously seduced by another (if such a case occurred), is not merely sin, it is a crime, which is punishable by a sentence of two or three years' imprisonment for the man concerned. The girl is not held guiltless of course, but the law takes no account of her fate, which is left to her 834 626

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582 by his intended. But they can usually be consoled by some diplomatic relative who can point out that really they are well out of it, for such a girl would clearly not have made a good daughter-in-law. The youth himself has of course to settle matters with his own family. They will probably be more concerned to placate the family of the girl to whom he is betrothed, justifiably indignant at the neglect of their own daughter and anxious about her future. Sometimes the boy will have to marry both to settle matters amicably, his betrothed as first wife, his love as concubine. This may seem ideal to the parents, but is hardly a promising arrangement
582 for future domestic peace. On the other hand the family of
626 the abducted girl can insist that marriage does in fact take place. Cases where the girl is seduced and abandoned are so rare that I was not able to hear of one. Here, at length, the law could be invoked if necessary, and the seducer, in danger of going to gaol for two or three years, would certainly prefer marriage even if his passion was cold.

In practice it is never necessary to bring things to this point. The law is never invoked, and not being called upon to act, the officials take no steps, even when the facts are well known, the subject of gossip on all sides, and the offender and his would-be bride living at hand within easy
626 reach. No one wants the law and its officers poking their
829 noses into private business. Even the well known fact that armed men were afoot, and a breach of the peace likely, does not rouse the police to action. If manslaughter were done, a reluctant government would be forced to take action, but it is fairly plain that no one expects this to happen. Thus in civil disputes, and even in criminal cases where the motive is not robbery or banditry, the government remains passive and the law is allowed to slumber. The Chinese government, whatever the theory of the reformers, is in practice still actuated by the Taoist principle of "non-

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action", preferring to leave the people to govern themselves which they do very well, and which is all they ask. 626 829

Even in cases where the crime is in no sense a family matter the action of the law is reluctant and the possibilities of compromise infinite. During my residence in Ta Li a case of robbery with some violence occurred, which illuminates the attitude to crime on the part of people and officials alike. A young man of good family and education, impelled by some romantic or neurotic impulse, committed a series of burglaries, not because he was poor and needed money, for the objects he stole were of little worth. On the last occasion he was surprised in the room of the house he was robbing, and discovered. In the struggle that followed he stabbed the householder in the leg with a small penknife, inflicting a painful but not fatal or dangerous wound. He was overpowered by others in the house and the police summoned. The case being clear, he was carried off to the magistrate's gaol and held there while preliminary enquiries were made—enquiries which dragged on from month to month. There seemed no reason why the trial should be so delayed, since the facts were hardly in dispute. 696 627

Meanwhile his relatives, related as they were to every one of influence in the town, began negotiations for a compromise. By circuitous channels, through a relative who knew a friend, who had a friend who knew the victim of the robbery and assault, a proposition was at length put forward. If the victim would agree to forgo prosecution, various men of substance would be found to guarantee the criminal's future behaviour. The officials were perfectly aware of all this and eager to promote the compromise. At last it was agreed that if the criminal could find six men to guarantee his behaviour, who would also undertake to provide him with some means of livelihood, since his reputation and his occupation were equally lost, the victim would write to the

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626 father's discretion. In former times a father might slay an
834 unchaste daughter, just as a husband could put an adulterous wife to death; this is now expressly forbidden by law, and does not in fact seem to have been the usual fate of erring women, even when it was permitted.

The law is thus, even now, severe, but in practice such cases hardly ever come before the courts. The idea of invoking the law in a public court in matters of this intimate nature is extremely distasteful to the Min Chia, as to the Chinese. These things are family matters to be settled by and in the family itself, or with the assistance of relatives as arbitrators. For this reason it is usually impossible to hear of cases of the graver sexual offences such as incest, for such
583 things are never made public. On the other hand the abduction of girls—with their own consent—is a common event, and admitted to be so. This, of course, comes strictly within the criminal category of seducing an unmarried girl, but it is rare that the case is brought to court.

To understand why this is so needs a word of explanation. Marriage among the Min Chia is arranged by the parents, the parties themselves not being permitted as much as to see one another before the wedding ceremony, and the betrothal often takes place when both children are still almost infants. There is thus no legitimate free sexual selection, no means of legalising the love which a chance meeting may have kindled in an unbetrothed pair. The Min Chia, however, are no more rigidly bound by their own conventions than other peoples, and thus when a young man and a girl meeting and loving by chance, refuse to renounce their passion, there is only one way out. The man abducts the girl and endeavours to get her to his own home. If he succeeds, after a more or less prolonged wrangle between the parents of both parties, and the parents of those to whom the erring couple were betrothed, the marriage is at last recognised, the customary

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735 Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious
842 custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival.
796 Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the
779 whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

796 Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly
779 Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

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585 paternal uncles. The groom's family sends two boys ten-odd years old to escort her, and also two young girls. The bride and the groom bow to the house-god, to the parents and grandparents of the groom, to the groom's uncles, to the female relatives, then to all other friends, relatives, and guests. Then in the main room they drink tea.

On the day after the wedding the bride returns to her home. If it is near, she returns the same day. If it is far, she stays over night and returns the following day.

584 Sometimes two families who have both sons and daughters trade daughters and give with the daughters two boxes, bedding, and a few other articles. This saves a great deal of money.

597 If a family has daughters and no sons to continue the family name, it often adopts a son who is married to a daughter. He takes the name of the bride's family, and his children after him. The writer heard of a family in which this occurred for three generations.

587 Sometimes when an older brother dies leaving a widow, a younger brother marries the widow and the children born are reckoned as the children of the older brother. An older brother can not marry the widow of a younger brother.

A widow may take a husband who comes and lives in the family home. The children are considered the children of the first husband, and take his family name.

585 The priest is sometimes invited to perform a religious ceremony as a part of the wedding ceremonies. Burning cedar twigs as incense and chanting his liturgies he informs the great gods, before the sacred white stone on the housetops, of the marriage and invokes the blessing of the gods, especially of Mu Bya Sel, upon the young couple.

4. Birth.

844 At Trin To we were told that when a child is born the mother's parents give her a peck of rice, one hundred eggs, ten catties of pork, a bowl of *chiu mi* or wine rice, and clothing, a hat, and shoes for the baby. This custom also varies greatly with different families. A mid-wife helps the mother at childbirth. After the child is born the mother must not leave the house for thirty some-

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times forty days. Later the mother's relatives are invited to a 844
feast and the child is given a name.

When the child is forty days old it is taken to the sacred grove 851
and there is a ceremony which is performed by the priest or *bi bu*.

5. Sickness

Among the Ch'iang disease is one of the most deadly enemies, 164
for the people know little about the principles of health and sanita- 751
tion. On the first story of the homes are the latrines and the 759
domestic animals, and there are few if any windows excepting
those opening into the small front courtyard. The unsavory air and
smells constantly rise into the living-rooms above. The air is
smoky and the windows small. The habit of spitting on the
floor means that the floor is covered with germs. In addition there
is the night-soil of the dogs, cats, chickens and sometimes goats.
Children playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then
into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the dust and it is breathed into
people's lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, and bedbugs spread disease.
Smoke causes eye-troubles, and colds in winter-time sometimes turn
into pneumonia. Epidemics of measles, smallpox, typhoid and other
diseases spread through the villages. Sickness is so common that a
foreign visitor is constantly appealed to for medicine.

The people often use medicine, but they frequently misuse it and
it often causes death. Some of the practitioners who call themselves
doctors are worse than useless. A Ch'iang friend told the writer
that his daughter had a discharge in one of her ears. He called a
local doctor who washed out the ear by squirting cold unboiled water
into it. The child died next day with severe pains in her head.

It is believed that all diseases are caused by demons, so when 753
people become ill they often call the priest to exorcise the demon
that is causing the disease.

6. Death and Burial.

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping 764
with tears. The newest and best clothing of the deceased is put on,
and the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin. For two or three days
it is left in the home, after which it is carried out and buried or
cremated. A priest performs the ceremony of opening the way.

Formerly cremation was the one way of burial, but in recent 761
years burial in graves has become customary in villages where 177

585 /71/ The wedding celebration varies according to whether the woman marries into the man's family or whether a son-in-law is adopted. In the former instance she rides to the tent of the man on the wedding day, wearing a new dark or light-blue cotton coat (seldom a red one) over her fur coat. She is accompanied by the go-between, her sisters, and young men and women from the neighborhood. When they arrive at the tent of the man, there are no particular ceremonies as in Chinese weddings, where fireworks are set off and musicians blow their horns. The bride is received in front of the tent by a neighbor of the bridegroom who does not himself come out of the tent. These people have not adopted any Chinese marriage ceremonies, such as kowtowing to the parents-in-law, to the ancestors, and to heaven and earth. The woman with her attendants enters the left (female) side of the tent, the male attendants enter the right side. After the bride has arrived, a sumptuous wedding feast begins, which lasts from morning to evening and is shared by the relatives of the bridegroom and those of the bride who have accompanied her. For the wedding feast the relatives of the bride bring wine and money. At this feast, the men, of course, again sit on the right side of the tent, the women on the left. During the feast they occasionally sing, but they do not play any instruments nor do they dance. The food consists chiefly of mo-mo baked in butter, meat and tsamba, with wine to drink. I did not learn of any other wedding customs. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to be present at a wedding.

When the bridegroom is adopted into the family of the bride, his future father-in-law fetches him from the tent of his family. The bridegroom's relatives accompany him to the tent of his adopted parents or parents-in-law. His father-in-law presents him with a gun, a horse and a pulu coat. /72/ The feast is the same as the one we described above, except that the relatives of the bride give no money or presents at the wedding feast.

846 Directly after the birth of a child, the woman goes to the nearest brook to fetch a tub of water which, as usual, she carries home on her back, in the belief that carrying a heavy burden is [844] beneficial to her health. She often does not have any kind of help during childbirth. The baby is not washed after birth. The mother may not eat sour milk or anything cold; she must drink sweet, warm milk and if possible eat only good cooked mutton. If the father has time, he helps his wife prepare meals during the first few days; otherwise he need not observe any particular customs.

753 caused by the curse of other people can also be cured by asking the tuan-kung to perform service before the local god.

Besides, the Ch'iang believe that strange dreams can too cause diseases. A cow that drinks water or a woman who does not •[844] avoid a shadow may also cause diseases. Born in an unlucky hour also can cause diseases (to the baby). If the source of the disease is unknown, the tuan-kung is requested to burn a sheep's thigh-bone with wormwood to discover it by divination. (The method of divination will be discussed elsewhere.)

755 The tuan-kung has different ways to cure diseases. The commonest is the method of supplication and sacrifice, called mǔ-tchi-shōo-tchi-sa-wōo, i.e., substituting sheep for human life. Make a human figure with straws and put on it the patient's hat, clothes and stockings. Take a little tea, flour, and beans; and put them into a paper bag. Next, send the straw man and a sheep together to the graveyard, where the sheep is killed and the straw man burned. Then the tuan-kung prays, saying that the sheep has died for the patient and that the straw man, representing the devil of disease, is riding the sheep to go far away. The patient's relatives are not allowed to eat the meat of this sheep. On his way back, the tuan-kung will call the soul for the patient. Putting a piece of paper on the ground, planting little flags on its corners to represent the ancestors, and placing beside the paper a few moon and sun cakes and in the middle, pine branches, buckwheat, oats, or other grains and lard, the tuan-kung chants the liturgy of calling the soul -- shōo-wo-dio-shuei -- and sees if there is any insect climbing onto the paper. If so, he considers that the soul has returned. (If there is no insect, he uses the lard to paste one on it.) Then, he wraps up the paper and puts it in a basket in which there are a hat, eggs, and other things. A relative of the patient carries the basket and follows the tuan-kung home. On his way back, the tuan-kung points at the hills and streams and calls the soul to return. Arriving at the door, the tuan-kung requests the Door God to open the door and asks, "Has the soul returned?" People inside answer, "Yes." Thus, three times he asks and three times, they answer. Then the tuan-kung sends the wrapped paper to the spirit tablet of the ancestors, /20/ as he beats the drum to declare the conclusion of the service. (If the patient is a female and a woman's long hair is found on the paper when the tuan-kung summons the soul, they regard it as the greatest success. And the patient is going to live several years more than his normal span of life.

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The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 862
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 593
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can-
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed- 586
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 428
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-MU = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]

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During the early years of life children are left to the care of the women of the household and, in poorer families, are carried about on their mothers' backs to the fields or the market place, until they are old enough to walk by themselves. As is also the case in other parts of China, where the use of cow's milk is unknown, weaning does not take place till a child is three years old or more, and the change to a rice diet often brings digestive troubles and ill-health. The Min Chia, who do use cow's milk, do not seem to know how to make use of it for feeding young children. As soon as the child is weaned it is given the same food as adults—rice, vegetables and fish or meat in small quantities—while the milk which would be more suitable in plain dishes is made into cheese. Infant mortality, already very high on account of the unchecked epidemics of measles, scarlet fever and typhoid, is largely increased by digestive disorders due to the change to unsuitable diet.

Once a child, especially a boy, has got over this difficult period it has a happy life, for the Min Chia are extremely affectionate to children, who, within reason, are allowed to do much as they like. As might be expected under these circumstances the children end by doing something which is very annoying or mischievous, and their enraged parents then chastise them On such occasions the outcry made by boy or girl might suggest that they were being beaten to death, but this is largely a conventional manifestation of grief rather than of pain, for it would be considered most unfilial and almost indecent for a child to bear punishment with fortitude; this would seem to the Min Chia not a proof of pluck, but a display of obstinacy and sulkiness. Consequently the child howls its loudest and the parent, satisfied by this evidence of contrition, is rarely very severe.

Min Chia children have quite a large variety of toys, all

164 The Tibetans are a very strong race of men; I did not see a single asthenic type among the Mewsu-Fantzu. Their health, apart from infectious diseases, is good. The most frequent complaints of patients who came to me were of rheumatism and stomach disorders. The latter often seemed to indicate chronic catarrh of the stomach and also stomach ulcers. There is a very frequent incidence of conjunctivitis, probably often trachoma. Smallpox is very prominent among the infectious diseases, and syphilis among the chronic ones. I did not observe any cases of tuberculosis, but there is leprosy, infrequent, in spite of the fact that lepers are not segregated. All the more ravaging are the effects of syphilis which here goes hand in hand with deterioration of the skin, mucous membranes and bones.

164 853 Infant mortality is extraordinarily high. Most families have only one or two children, although women often give birth to as many as ten. The reason for this may be in the strange way babies are fed. People prefer to give their children yak milk rather than mother's milk, because they say mother's milk makes them stupid. Although yak milk is richer than cow's milk, the children get the boiled milk undiluted, /10/ often with added butter and roasted barley flour (tsamba).

Men's Dress

291 We shall touch only briefly on the dress (1) of the Mewu-Fantzu

1. Compare Rockhill 1), page 684 ff. His illustrations and descriptions give a good general idea, although they are not specifically of the Mewu-Fantzu, and despite the fact that each tribe has definite characteristics of costume, ornament and hair style.

because it is the common dress of Tibetans in general. The chief article of clothing is a large sheep fur. It has very long sleeves that extend far over the hands. They prefer to put only their left arm into the sleeve and leave the right arm and shoulder free. The fur of the nomads is usually bordered at the neck with a band of leopard skin about 10 centimeters wide. The coat has a hem at the bottom of black woolen material. Poor people omit the leopard skin trimming or replace it with a border of pulu. This is a Tibetan woolen material. It is not made by the western Tibetans themselves, but is imported from the highlands of Inner Tibet. The leopard skin trimming is obtained ready-made from Chinese traders; the grassland

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857 children have quite a large variety of toys, all
524 made locally, for the cheap Japanese toy, or its Shanghai-made competitor, have not yet reached the rural parts of Yunnan. Hobby horses, spinning tops, wooden swords and spears, marbles, dolls, and small wooden toy water mills, are the most elaborate and enduring, for many toys are made of paper for some special occasion, such as the Kwan Yin festival and the New Year. Kites are not regarded strictly as toys, for they are also flown by men as well as by boys. The kite flying season is conventionally limited to the spring, and any one who tried to fly a kite at other seasons would be considered eccentric. This curious idea prevails all over China, but I have never been able to hear a satisfactory explanation. The kite is a Chinese invention, and of great antiquity, often made in the shape of a dragon. It seems possible that it was originally a representation of the Rain Dragon, flown in spring in connection with some rain making rite, and that some faint memory of this inspires the convention which limits kite flying to that season. The fire balloons called K'un Ming lamps, mentioned earlier, which are now regarded as toys, are also only flown at one season for a limited period, and some connection with the Shu Pao ceremony is admitted.

Children also play a number of round games such as hide and seek, touch-last, hop scotch, and one, of Chinese origin, called "breaking the city wall", in which a line of boys hold hands and one other has to charge them and
[304] break through, but without using his hands or fists. Except for the last, which is a boys' game, all the others are played by girls and boys together, in the courtyard of their home, for as the Min Chia have never bound the feet of their girls, and the custom is now rapidly disappearing among the Chinese and half Chinese, little girls are quite as active as their brothers. In recent years the introduction of basketball as a school game has led to this becoming the national

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524 Chinese, for it can be played on a small piece of ground, which is often all that is available, and it does not require the special boots needed for football, which few Chinese schoolboys could afford. In most parts of China the ground is hard and dry for a large part of the year, and any game such as Rugby Football, or Association, in which the players are likely to fall, or be barged down, is dangerous unless played on a specially softened and prepared ground, and that of course is rarely available. Basket ball, introduced by the schools and also played by soldiers in barracks, is thus the only foreign game known to the Min Chia.

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Mewu

The women of the tent nomads do not go out to work like the 462
wives of the sedentary Fantzu. Year in and year out their whole time is taken up by caring for the animals.

The children are put to work early tending the animals. The 857
girls must, in addition, also gather dung, but the boys do not help in this occupation. The girls start to milk when they are 12 or 13 years old.

Animal Husbandry

The Mewu-Fantzu live exclusively from the products of their 231
livestock. They keep yaks, cattle, sheep and horses, also dogs, of course. The most important animal is the yak. The yaks of the Mewu region are generally pure black, occasionally /24/ spotted with white. There are yaks with and without horns. Lack of horns seems to be a recessive hereditary characteristic. There are wealthy families who own more than 100 yaks; but the average number is much less. The 20 tents in the community where I lived together owned 700 yaks, which means an average of 35 per family. The highest number of yaks per family in this community was 70, the lowest 7. It can also happen that poor people do not own any yaks at all, but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows.

Not all families have bulls, but the owner of a bull does not get paid for covering. A cow drops her first calf when she is 2 to 3 years old. The gestation period of the yak is 9 months. Most calves are born in the third or fourth month. In the seventh or eighth month the cows are again covered. Good cows are allowed to grow very old; they are alsughtered only when they are 17 or 18 years old. The calf is gradually weaned, but the amount of milk it gets is reduced very soon after birth. When it is one or two months old the calf gets a nose plug, to prevent it from sucking. The adult yak gets a nose ring made of a bent length of a sturdy withe. Calves and young bulls are often driven to pasture in pairs with their fore-legs tied together, so that they cannot stray too far away.

The oxen are used as pack animals when they are three years old. At the age of 15 or 16 they are fattened and killed. The yaks graze all the year round; only when there is deep snow, which may happen every year in January and February, do they get some green cut oats. The yaks are never given any salt, and therefore always show a definite hunger for it. Milking is done exclusively by the 234
women and girls. The yak cow will let itself be milked only when her calf is tethered near by. A very good milch cow gives a bucket

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During the early years of life children are left to the care of the women of the household and, in poorer families, are carried about on their mothers' backs to the fields or the market place, until they are old enough to walk by themselves. As is also the case in other parts of China, where the use of cow's milk is unknown, weaning does not take place till a child is three years old or more, and the change to a rice diet often brings digestive troubles and ill-health. The Min Chia, who do use cow's milk, do not seem to know how to make use of it for feeding young children. As soon as the child is weaned it is given the same food as adults—rice, vegetables and fish or meat in small quantities—while the milk which would be more suitable in plain dishes is made into cheese. Infant mortality, already very high on account of the unchecked epidemics of measles, scarlet fever and typhoid, is largely increased by digestive disorders due to the change to unsuitable diet.

Once a child, especially a boy, has got over this difficult period it has a happy life, for the Min Chia are extremely affectionate to children, who, within reason, are allowed to do much as they like. As might be expected under these circumstances the children end by doing something which is very annoying or mischievous, and their enraged parents then chastise them On such occasions the outcry made by boy or girl might suggest that they were being beaten to death, but this is largely a conventional manifestation of grief rather than of pain, for it would be considered most unfilial and almost indecent for a child to bear punishment with fortitude; this would seem to the Min Chia not a proof of pluck, but a display of obstinacy and sulkiness. Consequently the child howls its loudest and the parent, satisfied by this evidence of contrition, is rarely very severe.

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other hand the third channel of contact, education, is inspired by the ancient Chinese belief that alien peoples can be brought into the Chinese culture by teaching them to use the Chinese script and adopt the moral and ethical principles which Chinese literature expounds. At the present time this well tried method of spreading Chinese civilisation has been revived by including patriotic and political teaching in the curriculum of the schools, with the deliberate intention of welding the varied provinces of China into one nation concious of its unity. The Min Chia lend themselves readily to this process, for, long before the Republic was established, the Imperial Civil Service Examination system had opened a road to wealth and power for all who acquired Chinese learning. The characteristic Chinese respect for education is thus fully shared by the Min Chia.

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and particularly of the children, for whom they provide a large and well-attended school. As one of the Fathers said, " We think it takes three generations to make a Christian".

These methods are recognised to be slow, for Baptism is only accorded after a very long and thorough instruction, and in consequence the number of Catholics is much smaller than the number of those who attend Church, or Catholic School. There are, perhaps, one hundred baptised Catholics resident in Ta Li and the adjacent villages, but there are also a large number of Catholic children at the school, whose parents live in other places, and send the children to board at the Mission School. This school, which comprises an elementary and Middle School division, follows the curriculum of the National Schools in all respects except the addition of Catholic doctrine. Many of the teachers are laymen and some are not even Catholics. The object of the Catholic missions is to convert the people to Christianity with the least possible change in their culture and way of life, and this outlook is in many ways opposed to that of their Protestant competitors.

The Protestant missionaries spend a great part of their time preaching in the villages and countryside, endeavouring to bring some knowledge of the Gospel to everyone, in the hope that some will be interested and come for further instruction. They no longer concentrate on the people of Ta Li city or the immediate environs, for these are held to have had every opportunity of hearing and believing the Christian doctrine for many years past. If they have not responded, it is because they have not got it in them to respond, and it would be time wasted to preach to them. Since they are mainly concerned to spread the Gospel the Protestant missionaries do not keep a school. Since, also, they believe that not all humanity can be saved, and that the world as we know it must perish in the catastrophe of

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but 439 they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. 796 Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two- 796 to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The 871 lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan 212 knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas them- 792 selves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect 717 of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese 804 abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) How- 177 805 ever, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), pag 796 451.

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872 For most Min Chia farmers the educational system begins and ends in the village school, which is held in the village Ancestral Temple, and maintained by the revenue of the village public lands. In those villages which are wealthy the education given in these schools is often free, or the fee charged practically nominal. The children attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen or fourteen, and the instruction is mainly in the arts of reading and writing Chinese. To these necessary subjects a little simple geography, elementary arithmetic, and Chinese history are added. In recent times even the village schools have been required to teach the outlines of anatomy and physiology as part of the government's effort to improve health and eliminate superstition. The political doctrines of the Nationalist Party, designed to arouse patriotism and national consciousness, are also a compulsory subject.

Approximately 70 per cent of the boys and 30 per cent of the girls in the villages of Ta Li Hsien attend these village schools, for a varying number of years, and most of them carry away enough knowledge of Chinese to read easy text books or simple inscriptions. The practical value of this education is perhaps not very great, but it enables the peasants to keep accounts and protects them from some of the more obvious forms of cheating such as the circulation of worthless coloured paper for bank notes.

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191 teaching now coming into use will produce a greater change in the educational standard of the peasantry than the old methods of memorising Chinese classics, which too often left the student with no real understanding of what he had laboriously committed to memory. It is perhaps to these old methods that the Min Chia language owes its survival. When

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The peasant boy begins to work as a herd before he is strong enough to do field work. Oxen, water buffalo, and sheep are usually left in charge of small boys of eight or nine years, who spend the day with their charges on the slopes of the mountain, or by the shore of the lake among the willow groves, playing the flute, or astride the broad back of the good-tempered water buffalo, wallowing in the shallows of the lake. The animals are allowed to graze on the narrow dykes between the rice fields, but under the watchful eyes of their young herdsmen the well-trained beasts never dare to wander into the tempting unfenced crops on either side. The complete control which a small boy exercises over a huge water buffalo in these circumstances, though it does not seem strange to the Min Chia, astonishes visitors who know the ways of domestic animals in other lands. The lazy, sunny days on the back of a water buffalo must seem in retrospect a golden age to the young Min Chia when he has grown old enough to do the hard unceasing work on the land, wading through thick mud when ploughing, or hoeing the roots out of the heavy black soil of the drained fields. 883 462

The peasant girl begins to work at the same age, or earlier than her brother. Apart from helping the older women at the domestic tasks, the young girls carry loads of produce to the market, and at an early age, thirteen or fourteen, they are left in charge to sell this and bring the proceeds home at night. This free and independent life spent all day in the busy scenes of a town street, or a village market place away from the supervision of parents gives the Min Chia girl a self confidence and assurance rarely found in the women of eastern countries, and is at once a proof of, and a tribute to, the good sense of the Min Chia mothers and the good

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Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves. Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist, and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends which word occurs to the speaker first. As however the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely Chinese educational system is making an impression on the language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect. Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance. The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

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The peasant boy begins to work as a herd before he is strong enough to do field work. Oxen, water buffalo, and sheep are usually left in charge of small boys of eight or nine years, who spend the day with their charges on the slopes of the mountain, or by the shore of the lake among the willow groves, playing the flute, or astride the broad back of the good-tempered water buffalo, wallowing in the shallows of the lake. The animals are allowed to graze on the narrow dykes between the rice fields, but under the watchful eyes of their young herdsmen the well-trained beasts never dare to wander into the tempting unfenced crops on either side. The complete control which a small boy exercises over a huge water buffalo in these circumstances, though it does not seem strange to the Min Chia, astonishes visitors who know the ways of domestic animals in other lands. The lazy, sunny days on the back of a water buffalo must seem in retrospect a golden age to the young Min Chia when he has grown old enough to do the hard unceasing work on the land, wading through thick mud when ploughing, or hoeing the roots out of the heavy black soil of the drained fields. 883 462

The peasant girl begins to work at the same age, or earlier than her brother. Apart from helping the older women at the domestic tasks, the young girls carry loads of produce to the market, and at an early age, thirteen or fourteen, they are left in charge to sell this and bring the proceeds home at night. This free and independent life spent all day in the busy scenes of a town street, or a village market place away from the supervision of parents gives the Min Chia girl a self confidence and assurance rarely found in the women of eastern countries, and is at once a proof of, and a tribute to, the good sense of the Min Chia mothers and the good

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883 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected
462 and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot
[482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling
[533 of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually
461] done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged
583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

787 earnings from the festival to buy a white dog and go to the Tu-hsiung Temple at Jen-ts'un to hold a dog-hanging meeting. The dog is hanged upside down on a branch of a tree in front of the temple. Food is placed below the dog's head but the dog cannot reach it because of the distance. The dog is left to die like that. If it does not die after seven days, a rich harvest is predicted, otherwise, a poor crop.

Special Programs in the Ch'iang Capping Ceremony and Funeral Ceremony--Practices concerning the Ch'iang capping and funeral ceremonies are very complicated. However, analysis shows that they include probably only two kinds of material: one is the material related to social systems and another to religious beliefs. I will mention here only a few important points in the programs of the capping and funeral ceremonies that have religious significance. This may help us understand more clearly the entire Ch'iang beliefs.

• 885 Capping ceremony (or adulthood ceremony) is called ye-boo-dei-sawoo in the Ch'iang language. This is a large-scale celebration. A tuan-kung is invited as early as the eighth month to cleanse the house and expel misfortunes so as to prepare for the capping ceremony which is to be held in the tenth month or as late as the twelfth month. The length of time from beginning to end is not shorter than the capping ceremony of the Australian aborigines. When the time for the ceremony comes, there are other complicated preparations to make. All sacrifices have to go through purification. We have no time to describe those details here, but one important program of the ceremony must be described. With his relatives sitting around a fire, the one to be capped always wears new clothes. A tuan-kung kneels and holds in his hand a fir stick, on the top of which is a paper image of the ancestor of mankind. The one to be capped kneels before the ancestor of mankind as another tuan-kung, holding some mo-ngi (white he-goat wool threads strung with stripes of colored cloth) which represent gifts from the ancestor of mankind, circles it around his neck. Then, the tuan-kung all kneel down and pray, saying briefly, "Since the very beginning of the earth, there has been the ancestor who created all things and men. Although his age is unknown, he is forever existing like the big fir trees on the rock beyond the reach of axes. His descendants should also receive his protection and live as long as heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, and enjoy good fortune, longevity, and peace..."

After the praying, gifts of the ancestor are distributed among the children of all the relatives present, regardless of sex, each receiving a gift. All are happy and the capping ceremony then begins. On the one hand, the clan chief tells the history of their ancestors. On the

other, the tuan-kung chants liturgies as he sacrifices to all the gods
• 885 in the house. In the sacrifice to the Sheep God, there is a special program. A chicken and a living she-goat are used during the sacrifice to the Sheep God. The tuan-kung must regard the sheep as a person and giving it a portion of the ancestor's gifts, wishes it prolific in production. After the sacrifice, the sheep must be fed until its natural death and must not be killed or sold. Special food (dry cabbage) is used to feed the sheep which is called "Sacred Sheep," or hitu-tzé-sawoo. Among other programs, the sacrifice to the God of Granary must be given by the mother of the youth to be capped. In the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof, the heart of the white sheep must be taken out and the black sheep must be killed. These all have their specific meanings which will be discussed in the conclusion.

The funeral ceremony of the Ch'iang is also very complicated.
764 We will discuss here only one of its most characteristic scenes. After the death of a Ch'iang tribesman, a goat is often killed /25/ to guide the dead man. It is called la-par-sar-ma-tchi, or the guiding goat. The man who kills the goat must be a senior of the deceased. If the deceased is a male, a he-goat will be killed; if a female, a she-goat. The place for killing the goat is right in front of the corpse. At that moment, a prayer must first be said: "The goat is guiding you. What disease you died of will be shown on the body of the goat." After the prayer, the goat is killed. The first gush of blood is received in a bowl. Wheat straws are dipped into the blood. The goat's blood is spread on the palm of the corpse (left hand for male and right hand for female) to let the deceased know that the goat will act as his guide. Then the body of the goat is dissected to discover the cause of his death. The disease found in the goat signifies a corresponding disease in the man that causes his death. After the disease is confirmed, relatives begin to cry sorrowfully and regret that they have not known its cause earlier and have not given him the right treatment. The relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this goat.

Although this scene is quite strange, it is not unique. Among the Tchuktchi tribe in Siberia, who practices funeral by exposure (discard), the corpse is cut open in the shape of a cross before the funeral to examine the cause of its death. If cremation is adopted, the corpse does not have to be cut open but the throat must be cut. (10) The Azande (or niam-niam) people in Africa believe that if a

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

●888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692a 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than